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A HISTORY OF THE ARABS
IN THE SUDAN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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A HISTORY OF THE ARABS IN THE SUDAN

AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE
WHO PRECEDED THEM AND OF THE
TRIBES INHABITING DÁRFŪR

BY

H. A. MACMICHAEL, D.S.O.
SUDAN POLITICAL SERVICE

VOLUME II

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

1. Square brackets [] are used :
 - (a) to enclose words which do not occur in the Arabic text but which are added in the translation to complete the obvious meaning;
 - (b) to enclose a transliteration of an Arabic proper name or other word.
2. When a line of dots occurs thus, . . . , some words or sentences have been omitted in the translation. Such omissions are made in six cases :
 - (a) When there occur laudations of God following mention of His name.
 - (b) When there occur complimentary phrases, such as "upon him be blessings," which always follow mention of Muḥammad, the Prophets or the Companions.
 - (c) Where a passage is identical, or practically so, with a passage quoted elsewhere. In such a case the reference is always given.
 - (d) —Chiefly in AB and D₃—where the subject-matter is of insufficient interest to warrant translation. In such a case a short *précis* is generally given of the passage omitted.
 - (e) When the author has added an explanation as to what are the vowel points of the preceding proper name: the result in such a case is made clear by the English transliteration.
 - (f) When a word is illegible: in this case the word "*illegible*" is added in brackets.
3. When it is said that a passage is identical with another the statement must be understood with the implied reservation that there may be slight grammatical variations not affecting the meaning.
4. The textual notes give obvious emendations for misprints that occur in the text, and conversions of dates from the Muham-

madan to the Gregorian calendar. As regards the former, it may be noted that throughout the MSS. there is a continuous confusion between ق and غ.

5. It is not enough merely to compare the genealogical trees and neglect the text, because several persons or tribes, whose names occur in the text, are not entered in the trees owing to their relationship to the main stock not being specifically defined.

6. In common parlance the forms "GA'ALIŪN," "'ARAKIŪN," etc. are used in all cases instead of the grammatically correct forms "GA'ALIYYŪN," "'ARAKIYYŪN," etc. In the MSS. sometimes one form and sometimes the other is used, independently of the grammatical construction. For the sake of consistency I have used, in translating the MSS., the form ending in -IYYŪN throughout.

7. The paragraphs have been numbered by the translator for the purpose of reference.

NOTE

The three trees following Chapter I of Part II illustrate the genealogical connections between the Arabian tribes to which reference is frequent in Part IV. Thus, when there is a reference to Wüstenfeld's *Register* in the notes, recourse may be had to these trees, which are compiled from that work, and the introductory note which precedes them in Vol. I, p. 154.

PART IV
THE NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN

INTRODUCTION

I The line of cleavage between the two great Arab groups of descendants of Ẓaḥṭān on the one hand and of Ismá'il and 'Adnán on the other has not been obscured by the lapse of ages, nor by the tremendous unifying force of a common religion, nor by continuous intermarriage, nor by migration to distant lands. The distinction, still jealously preserved in Arabia¹, is, in another form, clearly traceable in the Sudan at the present day, and its persistence is due to the unquestioned authority of the Ẓurán and of certain of the Traditions.

As being a revelation from the very mouth of God the contents of the Ẓurán are familiar to the masses and unimpeachable both in doctrinal matters and as a storehouse of historical facts. The best authenticated traditions carry an almost equal weight.

No one familiar with the historical portions of the Ẓurán and the biography of the Prophet could be oblivious of the distinction between the Ẓaḥṭānite and the Ismá'ilite; and, in the second place, the careful preservation of pedigrees is enjoined by the Ẓurán and the traditions as an act of piety. The injunction is frequently quoted and to some extent obeyed.

Thus any respectable member of society, and particularly the *feki* whose concern is immediately with things of religion, must needs be prepared to produce his pedigree. Some of the links may be faulty—they invariably are so—but the ground is fairly sure in places, and by a system of comparison one obtains certain valuable indications.

II Corresponding to the old division between Ẓaḥṭānite and Ismá'ilite we find in the Sudan a definite line drawn between the two great groups of tribes claiming descent on the one hand from GUYAYNA and on the other from 'Abbás the uncle of the Prophet.

The period from the present day to that of the Aḥḥáb is generally shewn as covering about forty generations, and in the case of a typical *feki* or sheikh of good family one may generally accept the first five or six generations from the present as stated accurately, and

¹ See Zwemer, p. 259. "The animosity of these two races to each other is unaccountable but invincible. Like two chemical products which instantly explode when placed in contact, so has it always been found impossible for Yemenite and Maadite [*i.e.* 'Adnánite] to live quietly together."

the next eight or nine as less so. Then follow seven or eight successive ancestors whose names rest more firmly on the accepted authority of contemporary *nisbas* compiled during that Augustan age of the Sudan, the period of the early FUNG kingdom.

Beyond these are the weakest links in the chain, some fourteen or fifteen names probably due in part to the inventiveness of the genealogists of the FUNG period and their anxiety to connect their own generation with that of the immediate descendants of the Companions of the Prophet.

III In the early centuries of Islam so much attention was paid, by generations that scrupulously observed the behest of Muḥammad concerning pedigrees, to the exact inter-relationship of his Companions and their ancestors that the native scribe of the present is naturally content to accept without question the statement of any ancient genealogist whose work may be accessible to him.

The popular idea of the value of a long pedigree is easily estimated from the opening paragraphs of the larger *nisbas* that have been translated.

Unfortunately the Arab genealogies have always been almost purely patrilinear, and little account is taken of the wives and daughters and the collateral lines. It is noticeable, however, that whereas in the more recent generations the mother is not mentioned at all unless for some very special reason, her name is not infrequently given in the groups of ancestors who lived about the early FUNG period, but then only incidentally and with a view to showing which of the sons of some particular man were full brothers and which half-brothers. So, too, in the group of ancestors connecting the generations last mentioned with the better-known generations of those who lived in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. one sometimes finds such names as "*so and so el Khazragi*," meaning that his mother was a Khazragi¹.

IV Now the traditions current among the Arabs of the Sudan on the subject of their racial origins and the circumstances and date of the migration of their forebears to the Sudan are almost entirely based upon statements they have found in the *nisbas* handed down to them, though in a few cases their stock of information has been supplemented by the result of inadequate uncritical and unenlightened foragings among the works of one or two mediaeval Arabic historians.

The Arabic historians if studied with greater care might well have saved the genealogists of the Sudan from a vast number of inaccuracies, but, as it is, they have been so neglected that, unless the context

¹ See BA, cxxxiii note.

forbids, one is often inclined to accept a similarity between two statements as corroborative evidence.

The *nisba*-writer relies as a rule upon the accuracy of the inherited or copied *nisba*, and it is only in dealing with the more recent generations that tradition, other than that derived from the *nisbas*, plays any important part.

V From among the mass of useless and untrustworthy material contained in the manuscripts it is not difficult to pick out certain definite and persistent traditions which are distinctly interesting. In addition to them there are made in passing numerous remarks and asides from which one may make some not unimportant deductions. It cannot be too often insisted that the proper method is to regard the tribal *nisbas* rather as parables than as statements of fact. Considered in that light they have a very definite value.

By piecing together such scraps of historical information as are available from the native manuscripts into an abbreviated and coherent whole one discovers to what extent the result coincides with or differs from or supplements the information similarly derivable from the works of non-Sudanese authors, whether they be mediaeval Arabs or modern European travellers; and from certain of the manuscripts one learns something of the sociology of the people and of their customs and beliefs.

*VI But one must make some attempt to reply to the inevitable questions—"What is the general character of these native manuscripts?" "Who wrote them?" "What is their date?"

VII "The word *nisba*, by which the majority is known, means literally a pedigree. Hence the true *nisba* is avowedly genealogical in purpose and items of narrative are only incidental to the main theme.

As a rule the author or copyist, after the usual confession of faith, if he desires to do more than give a bald list of his ancestors, recapitulates his reasons for writing the *nisba*: it is an act of piety enjoined by the Prophet, and the author had found that there was some danger of links in the genealogical chain being lost or confused¹. Then follows a genealogical exposition, usually of the GÜHAYNA or the 'Abbásid stock in the Sudan, or of both, including the author's or the copyist's own pedigree from father to son. In addition the *nisba* often contains towards the end a series of short stereotyped notes on the origin of the chief Arab tribes of the Sudan.

¹ Much of what is said about this bears a very strong resemblance to the contents of the first chapter of Ibn Khaldūn's second book, i.e. Vol. II in the Arabic edition. This second book, unlike the first and third, has not, I believe, been yet translated into either English or French.

This type of *nisba* is both the oldest and the commonest. Hundreds of examples must exist in the Sudan, but the great majority of them are not merely incomplete but hardly pretend to be more than extracts copied from a larger manuscript. Misreadings and omissions abound. Interpolations also occur fairly frequently, but happily the Sudanese Arab excels at the type of work that demands no mental effort whatever, and as a copyist he may count this as a merit. Where interpolations have been added the fact is almost always obvious and consequently not without use.

VIII The father of this type of *nisba* is undoubtedly that renowned but very elusive person, "el Samarkandi." As a writer of parables in the form of genealogies he deserves a considerable meed of praise.

The second type of manuscript, sometimes included under the term *nisba*, takes the form of a semi-historical, semi-genealogical hotch-potch founded partly on *nisbas* proper and partly on some ill-digested Arabic history or encyclopaedia.

Thirdly, we have copies of a history¹ of the FUNG kingdom and the Turkish period which followed it by an unknown author, who probably wrote between 1870 and 1880 but had access to older records.

Fourthly, we meet occasionally with a treasured copy of the well-known *Ṭabaḳāt wad Ḍayfulla*², a series of biographies of the Arab holy men of the Sudan, containing many anecdotes and historical data.

Into a fifth category may be classed a number of present-day works dealing with the history of some particular region or with certain specified tribes. These are founded partly on tradition and partly on the manuscripts described³.

IX A word must be said here as to the "Samarkandi" referred to as the originator of the most typical *nisbas*. It must be confessed that nothing really definite is known about him at all. All we have to go upon may be summed up as follows: hardly had the FUNG and their Arab allies overthrown the kingdom of Sôba in 1504 when they were threatened with invasion by Sultan Selim who had conquered Egypt in 1517. 'Omâra Dünkas therefore thought it well to write to Selim and explain that the inhabitants of his kingdom were Arabs of exalted lineage. "With this letter he sent a book of the pedigrees of the Arab tribes in his kingdom compiled for him by el Imâm el Samarkandi, one of the learned men of Sennâr; and when

¹ D 7.

² D 3.

³ Part IV consists of examples of all these types of MSS., and remarks as to authorship and reliability are given in each case in an introductory note.

this book reached the Sultan Selīm its contents delighted him and he renounced the attack on Sennár¹."

Of el Samarḳandi nothing more is known. He was probably one of the itinerant *fekis* who were attracted from Egypt by the fame of the new kingdom founded in the Gezīra and by the probability that in the vanity and credulity of its rulers some profit might be found for himself. His original work has entirely disappeared and the numerous "exact copies" of it that are periodically reported are never more than garbled extracts.

There are nine references to el Samarḳandi in the manuscripts that follow: four of them are in A 2, two in A 11, two in C 5, and one in D 6. From A 2 one gathers that el Samarḳandi's method was to give the pedigree and branches of the Ga'ali stock and so connect them with the BENI 'ABBÁS; then to tell how one Sulaymān of the BENI OMMAYYA migrated through Abyssinia to the Sudan about 750 A.D., when the 'Abbāsids were supplanting the Ommayyads, and became ancestor of the FUNG; and finally, perhaps, to enumerate the Arab tribes of the Sudan and state very shortly from what Arabian ancestor each was descended and whence and when it migrated to the Sudan.

From A 11 one gets the same impression but is told that there were two persons named el Samarḳandi, Maḥmūd el Samarḳandi and 'Abdulla ibn Sa'īd el Samarḳandi. One of them was apparently called "el Samarḳandi the Great." C 5 adds nothing to our information. D 6 speaks of "Abu Maḥmūd el Samarḳandi." No direct information is vouchsafed in any of the manuscripts as to the date or life of el Samarḳandi; and D 7, which makes a point of mentioning such savants as came to the FUNG court, refers to no such person. To non-Sudanese literature so far as I am aware he is entirely unknown.

It would be unjustifiable, I think, to write him down a myth. His fame must rest on some basis or other of actuality. If one accept the gist of Na'ūm Bey's account of him it is certainly allowable to remark that at the time when el Samarḳandi composed his work there must have been a fairly large fund of information still available about the circumstances of the entry of the Arabs into the Sudan and their tribal affinities. El Samarḳandi would naturally make use of this, and the Arab chieftains of the day would be only too eager to supply him with genealogical details and tradition concerning

¹ Translated from Na'ūm Bey Shukayr, II, pp. 73, 74. Cp. Crowfoot in *A.-E. Sudan*, I, 319. Na'ūm Bey, I believe, got his facts by hearsay at Khartoum about the time of the reoccupation of the Sudan.

themselves and their immediate forebears. Where links in the chain were missing no doubt others were supplied by the imagination, and the critical faculty was presumably brought into play as little as possible; but it appears to me that it is easy to over-estimate the part played by sheer inventiveness and to under-estimate the general amount of truth underlying statements which as regards the exact form in which they have survived are inaccurate in many details.

X Let us now summarise the information to be gleaned from the manuscripts as to historical and sociological matters.

No mention is made in any manuscript of an Arab immigration to the Sudan prior to the foundation of Islam. The reason is obviously the lack of interest felt for any ancestor who left Arabia in the pagan "Days of Ignorance." The desire of all was to display their fathers as pillars of the true faith.

One also notes that the tide of immigration is always represented as having been by way of the Red Sea ports or of the Nile valley¹, and generally the former². Nothing is said of any tribe wandering southwards from Tripoli, Algiers or Morocco into the western kingdoms and thence eastwards into the Sudan.

The Ismá'īlītic tribes most commonly mentioned in the manuscripts as having sent branches to the Sudan are ḲURAYSH (including BENI 'ABBÁS and BENI OMMAYYA) and ḲAYS 'AYLÁN, who include GHATAFÁN, BENI DHUBIÁN (FEZÁRA, etc.), BENI 'ABS, THAḲÍF and others.

Among the Ḳaḥṭánite group we most often meet with ḤIMYAR, who include ḲUPÁ'A and GUHAYNA (a branch of ḲUPÁ'A), and with BENI GHASSÁN.

Extra stress is laid on ḲURAYSH for obvious reasons, and the BENI GHASSÁN are similarly favoured because the tribes of "Anṣár," AUS and KHAZRAG, the "Helpers of the Prophet," were of their number.

From the frequency with which Ḥimyarite names³ occur in Ga'ali *nishas* it would appear that some of the Arabs who claimed an 'Abbásid (Ismá'īlītic) origin were really of Ḳaḥṭánite stock.

XI As regards the various epochs at which Islamic immigration occurred the following data are available from the manuscripts.

Speaking of the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn el 'Āṣi the author of D 4 says the armies of the Muhammadans penetrated "to the furthest limits of the land of the Nūba, to Dábat el Dólīb and the hills of the Nūba⁴," that is, roughly speaking, to Debba and el Ḥaráza.

¹ See D 2, iv.

² In particular see D 6.

³ E.g. Dhu el Kilá'a and Masrūk. See BA, cxxxiii note.

⁴ D 4, vi.

In the next paragraph he alludes to a further immigration in the following century.

Secondly, we are told of the *FEZÁRA* that they "have dwelt in the Sudan since the conquest of el Bahnasá," that is, since 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad's expedition of 641-642¹.

Thirdly, the *MAḤASS*, who are Nūbian rather than Arab by race, claim to be

descended from the Anṣār who conquered the Sudan in 43 A.H. [663 A.D.] during the period of the rule of 'Abdulla ibn Abu Sarah [*i.e.* ibn Sa'ad], the Companion. After the conquest the *KHAZRAG* settled in this country... At the time of their coming to conquer the Sudan they numbered about 81,000².

Fourthly, the *ḤADÁRMA* are said to have migrated from Ḥaḍramaut "in the time of Haggág ibn Yūsef" and settled at Sūákin³, that is, between 662 and 713 A.D.

Fifthly, the ancestor of the *MESALLAMÍA* is recorded to have come to the Sudan from Syria "in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azíz⁴," or between 679 and 718 A.D.

Sixthly, we have the entry of Sulaymán ibn 'Abd el Malik, the alleged Ommawi ancestor of the *FUNG*, into Abyssinia between 750 and 754 A.D., and his passage thence to the Sudan⁵.

Seventhly, it is generally implied by genealogists of the Ga'ali group⁶ that Kerdam or his son Serrár was the first of their ancestors to immigrate from Arabia.

Aḥmad ibn Ismá'il el Wali, the author of AB, was born about 1830-1840 and his pedigree makes him the twenty-second in descent from Kerdam. The latter or Serrár would therefore, if one reckon the generation at about thirty years, seem to have immigrated in the latter part of the thirteenth century⁷.

Another *nisba* says the first Ga'ali ancestor to immigrate was Ghánim (the fourth in descent from Serrár), and that he came in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. after the fall of Baghdád before the Tartars⁸.

A third document makes Ghánim's grandfather Šubuḥ the original settler⁹. A fourth represents the forefathers of the *GA'ALÍŪN*

¹ A 11, LIV, and D 6, XIII. Cp. account in Part II, Chap. 2.

² ABC, IX, and see note thereto.

³ BA, CLXXVI.

⁴ BA, CLXXVIII.

⁵ *E.g.* BA, CXXIII and note.

⁶ *E.g.* BA, CXXXIII and AB, CLXVI.

⁷ See Part III, Chap. 1 (a). One arrives at the same conclusion if one start with the reasonably legitimate assumption that 'Armán, who lived seven generations after Kerdam, was a contemporary of el Samarkandi.

⁸ ABC, XXII.

⁹ D 5 (c).

as coming to Egypt about 969 A.D. and migrating to the Sudan about 1171¹.

Other passages suggest that the date of their coming was about 750 A.D. and the cause of it the overthrow of the Ommayyads by the 'Abbásids, but one naturally regards these with even more suspicion than the other stories².

Eighthly, we read that "according to Ibn Khaldūn the tribes of Arabs descended from GUHAYNA came after the Muhammadan conquest of the Northern Nūba in 1318 A.D....³," and this statement we have seen to be correct.

Ninthly, the RIKÁBA are descended from Rikáb the son of Ghulámulla. Ghulámulla, it is said⁴, lived as a young man in Yemen and then moved with his father by way of the Red Sea to Dongola, where he found the people still "sunk in perplexity and error." He was the thirteenth in descent from Mūsa el Kázim, who, we know, died about 800 A.D.⁵; and the Awlád Gábir (the fifth generation from Ghulámulla) were junior by a generation to Maḥmūd el 'Araki who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century⁶. We may therefore hazard the second half of the fourteenth century as being very approximately the date of the immigration of Ghulámulla, the ancestor of the tribe which is known by the name of his son Rikáb.

Tenthly, the manuscript D 7, speaking of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom in 1504 A.D., says that it was followed by a largely increased immigration of Arabs into the Sudan⁷.

Lastly, Ya'aqūb el Mugelli is said⁸ to have entered the Sudan and visited Sennár in 1592 A.D., and his father, the ancestor of the ZENÁRKHA, to have previously immigrated from the Yemen, that is perhaps about 1560 A.D.

XII Some of these traditions relate apparently to individuals only, but one gets a general impression of four tides of Arab immigration into the Sudan.

The first flowed through Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and was a natural sequel to the conquest of that country. It was probably of mixed composition and may have contained, among others, tribesmen of FEZÁRA and BENI OMMAYYA⁹ and some Anšár.

The second immigration took place in the eighth century across the Red Sea by way of Abyssinia as a result of the overthrow of the

¹ D 6, xxxix.

² See A 11, VII and D 6, x and notes thereto.

³ ABC, L.

⁴ BA, CLXXIX, CCVII, CCVIII.

⁵ Wüstenfeld, I, 324.

⁶ D 3, 157. The elder brother among the Awlád Gábir, Ibráhím el Bulád, came to the Sudan between 1554 and 1562 (see D 3, VI, and D 7, xv).

⁷ D 7, XI.

⁸ ABC, LIV.

⁹ I.e. the ancestors of the M. B. A. A. A. A.

Ommayyads by the 'Abbásids, and eventually resulted in the foundation of the Arab-Fung hegemony in the Gezira.

The ancestors of the ḤADÁRMA or ḤADÁREB had similarly reached Sūákin by way of the Red Sea half a century earlier and settled on the coast—so at least say the *nisbas*; but colonies from Ḥaḍramaut had undoubtedly established themselves on the African shore at a much earlier date, and in any case the interior of the country was very little affected.

For several centuries after the rise of the 'Abbásids no immigration of tribes is mentioned by the *nisbas*. Then in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the conquests of the Mamlūk Sultans broke down the barrier which had been for so long presented by the Christian kingdom of Dongola and opened the way for a fresh inflow of Arabs into the Sudan. To this period belongs the great GUHAYNA movement, and, in so far as the DANÁGLA-GA'ALÍŊ group are Arabs, it is probably to the same period that their genesis must be traced, though, as we have seen, the GA'ALÍŊ proper—the people living between the Shablūka and the embouchure of the Atbara—may not have come into existence as a tribe until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The fourth great immigration followed the foundation of the FUNG kingdom and the conquest of Egypt by Selīm I: it does not seem to have been confined to any particular tribe.

XIII There is no reason to doubt the approximate correctness of this presentation if one have regard only to the dates at which the chief immigrations occurred, but the *nisbas* generally err in assuming that each tribe of the present day is descended from a single ancestor and deliberately ignoring the fact that each consists of a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements some of which may have reached the country at one time and some at another. Even apart from this it is dubious whether the particular tribal substrata to which certain periods of migration are reserved can be accepted as correct.

No mention is made of any extensive tribal movement into the Sudan occurring later than the first half of the sixteenth century; and, if one except the thin though constant infiltration of Arabs across the Red Sea from the Ḥegáz and the Yemen, it is probably correct to say there has not been any.

XIV Let us now briefly examine the sparse references that occur to the indigenous races with whom the Arab immigrants must have coalesced, though the *nisbas* naturally lay no great stress on the fact.

Muḥammad walad Dólib the younger simply quotes Ibn Khaldūn when he states that "the original autochthonous people of the Sudan were the NŪBA and the ABYSSINIANS and the ZING¹," but he goes on to classify the HAMAG as ZING and the FUNG as NŪBA. "The original [home] of the ZING," he says, "is a mountain inhabited by blacks on the equator and south [of it]. Beyond them are no other peoples; and their country stretches 'from West Africa [*el Moghrab*] to the neighbourhood of Abyssinia²." Sennár, he adds, in old days contained "tribes of ZING and NŪBA³."

Dáūd Kubára of Ḥalfa discussing the Nūbian race says that the capital of the kingdom of the NŪBA was Gebel el Ḥaráza in Northern Kordofán: he also speaks of Abyssinians and Nūbians as living together round the first cataract⁴. The limits of Nūbia to the south in the seventh century, in his view, would seem to have been Debba on the river and el Ḥaráza inland⁵. When civil war broke out between the BENI 'ABBÁS and the BENI OMMAYYA in the next century, he says, many Arabs migrated and, following the steps of previous emigrants, settled in the Sudan "and mingled with the Nūbians, and took their women to wife, and intermarried with them, and made the land of Nūba their home...⁶." The same author speaks of Southern Kordofán, Dár Nūba that is, as inhabited by "ZING-NŪBA⁷."

Referring to the origin of the FUNG race the manuscripts commonly speak of Sulaymán 'Abd el Malik as passing through Abyssinia into the "mountains of the FUNG" or "the country of the Hamag," meaning the northern BURŪN country south of Roṣayreṣ, and there marrying the daughter of a local king,—whence the FUNG aristocracy.

The FUNG chronicle says that about 1504 A.D. the FUNG and their Arab allies overthrew the Christian "NŪBA," otherwise "the 'ANAG, the kings of Sóba and el Kerri," and most of "the NŪBA...scattered and fled to Fázoghli and Kordofán⁸." Similarly the Ṭabaḳát⁹: "Know that the FUNG possessed and conquered the land of the NŪBA early in the tenth century" (*sc.* of Islam).

Muḥammad walad Dólib the elder classes as "'ANAG" the FUNKUR, the aborigines of Borḳu, the people of Baḳirmi, the DĀGŪ, and

¹ D I, CLXXVIII.

⁴ D 4, IV.

⁶ D 4, VII.

⁸ D 7, *q.v.* paras. 1-x. The 'Anag, I have been assured, came originally from Sabá in southern Arabia, and their headquarters were at Sóba on the east bank. They had wonderful means of communication between Sabá and Sóba, it is said; but the story that when King Subr of Sóba fell ill his father came "by telegraph" from Sabá in one day has so taxed even the credulity of the Sudan that the retort to a cock-and-bull story is "Khubru Subru!" ("a Subr yarn!").

⁹ D 3, *q.v.* para. IV.

² D I, CLXXXII.

⁵ D 4, VI and XX.

⁷ D 4, XXI.

³ D I, CLXXXIII.

the inhabitants of eastern and northern Kordofán, including the hills of el Haráza, etc. Western and southern Kordofán, and Dárfūr, he speaks of as inhabited by NŪBA. He calls the autochthonous DANÁGLA 'ANAG, "and some remnants of them at the present day are called the NŪBA." The DINKA are "'ANAG from among the ZING¹."

These quotations will suffice to shew that, as might have been expected, there is no really clear distinction traceable in the mind of the native historian between any of the pre-Arab races of the Sudan. All are vaguely and indiscriminately heaped together under the names "NŪBA" and "'ANAG." The term ZING is reserved for more southerly negroid tribes, but it too is used with such obvious vagueness that there would be little point in discussing the exact connotation of the term as used, with rather more exactitude, by mediaeval Arab authors². The non-Arab element in the BEGA tribes of the east and some of the negroid tribes in the west is ignored by the simple expedient of providing them with shadowy Arabian ancestors or else by omitting mention of them altogether.

XV Now we have seen that in the first nine hundred odd years that followed the conquest of Egypt the Arabs who entered the Sudan gradually acquired a temporal hegemony in certain districts, but the manuscripts do not leave one with the impression that they concerned themselves very assiduously with the proselytizing of the earlier inhabitants. The reason may easily be seen: those who left Egypt for the west and south were either led to do so by the spirit of wandering and the hope of booty or driven forth by the exactions of an unsympathetic government.

Their ancient superstitions, it is true, had been re-clothed in the new garment of Islam, but the sword and not the book was still their first concern, and so long as a proper subservience was shewn to the name of Muhammadanism no exact compliance with its rules in daily life were universally exacted.

In proportion, however, as the sword gradually brought the country into subjection a more peaceful and pious type began to follow and explain the doctrine which the earlier immigrants had perforce neglected because of their own ignorance of its significance.

XVI It seems from the *nisbas* that until the latter part of the fourteenth century such Muhammadanism as existed among the people of Dongola was purely nominal—until, that is, the learned and pious Ghulámulla ibn 'Áid settled there and began the work of

¹ D I, CXXIX–CLXX.

² See, however, the note to D I, XXII.

instruction in earnest. Dongola and the country north of it, being so near to Egypt, were probably converted by the end of that century, but apparently nearly two hundred years elapsed before any religious regeneration was effected south of the junction of the Niles.

Then Maḥmūd el 'Araki undertook the work. He was followed by a large group of other missionaries, of whom the most famous were perhaps Tāg el Dīn el Bahāri, Bān el Naḡa, Dafa'alla el 'Araki and Ḥāmid el 'Aṣa¹, and schools and mosques were built for the enlightenment of the people from the northern frontier of the Sudan to Sennār.

This work of instruction and conversion was enormously facilitated by the foundation of the FUNG kingdom, with its subject Arab dynasty of the 'ABDULLĀB, a branch of the RUFĀ'A, at Ḳerri near the Shablūka cataract.

The power of the FUNG king became a guarantee of peace and order throughout the northern Sudan, and his court the meeting-place of all who had any pretensions to learning. Numbers of these latter settled permanently in the Sudan, and their tombs and those of their sons and grandsons are still to be seen overshadowing the villages that have arisen round them.

From the early pioneers who were contemporaries of Dafa'alla el 'Araki and the Awlād Gābir and from their sons and pupils are descended most of the best-known religious families of the Sudan, 'ARAKIŦN, YA'AḲŪBĀB, 'OMARĀB, GHUBUSH and others; and the memory of many is still preserved in the names of villages called after them, Wad Medani, Wad el Turābi, Wad Ḥasūna, Wad Bān el Naḡa, Abu Delayḡ, etc., and in the nomenclature of the children born to the inhabitants in successive generations².

XVII The manuscript numbered D 3 is a series of biographical notices of these holy men, or patron-saints as they might almost be called, from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and from it one gleans many interesting details of

¹ For all these see D 3. The renowned Awlād Gābir were their contemporaries but lived farther north and were successors of Ghulāmulla rather than of Maḥmūd.

² There is a marked persistence of the same proper names in certain localities or among certain communities, *e.g.* "Abd el Gellī" among the GELLĀB, "Abu 'Aḡla" and "Ḥammad el Nil" among the 'ARAKIŦN, "Sughayerūn" among the RIKĀBĀ, etc. This is due to the habit of naming children after some holy man "for luck" and the fact that it is a common custom among the Sudanese Arabs to name the firstborn boy after his father's deceased father and a firstborn girl after her mother's deceased mother, with intent "to keep the name alive." (This does not apply exclusively to the case of a firstborn, but occasionally to that of a subsequent child.) Normally, if the grandparent were still alive, the child would not be called after him or her, but (*e.g.*) in the case of a boy, after a late brother of his father for choice. This is the normal custom but there is no hard and fast rule.

the life of the people and their common beliefs. Among the first points that strike one are the universal use of the technical Ṣūfī terminology, the disproportionate number of incidents and anecdotes that relate to divorce and remarriage¹, the wealth possessed by many of the holy men, and the obvious survivals that are in evidence of a matrilinear system².

¹ Lack of space and other considerations necessitated the omission of many of these stories from the translation.

² See, *e.g.*, D 3, Nos. 46, 85, 107, 124, 154 and 196.

MANUSCRIPT BA

Introduction

THREE copies of this work have been read and carefully compared by me: they are alluded to as MSS. 1, 2 and 3 respectively. In addition, portions of it have been incorporated by the author of AB in his work. Innumerable other copies, more or less complete or faulty, also exist in the Sudan. MS. 1 is in the possession of el Nūr Bey 'Ankara, an ex-Dervish *amīr*, at Omdurman, and it was from it, excepting where the contrary is specifically stated, that the following translation was actually taken¹.

Subsequently Sheikh el 'Abbās Muḥammad Bedr of Um Dubbān, an ex-Ḳāḍī of the Khalīfa and a Mesallami by race, sent me a copy (MS. 2) taken from a MS. in his possession; and a year later Mr S. Hillelson of the Gordon College lent me a third copy (MS. 3) which had been given him by an old pupil.

All three MSS. are in close agreement, and in several cases the same errors occur in all three.

From internal evidence it is likely that MS. 1 (excepting para. CCXXV–CCXXVIII) was copied from the original of MS. 2: the owner of the latter was very positive that the converse could not have taken place.

MSS. 1 and 2 are written in a clear fine script, but MS. 3 is written roughly and hastily.

In MS. 3 we have some of the errors of MSS. 1 and 2 repeated, but in quite a number of cases MS. 3 is right and MSS. 1 and 2 wrong.

On the other hand, MS. 3 is very carelessly written and contains many fresh slips and inaccuracies not occurring in the other two.

As regards the authorship of the original work, it appears from paragraph CCXXIII that this *nisba* was written or, more probably, copied by el Sherif el Ṭāhir ibn 'Abdulla of the RIKÁBIA in Dongola early in the sixteenth century (see note to para. CCXXIII and D 5 (*d*)).

I In the name of God . . .

II This is a pedigree giving the origins of the Arabs; for the

¹ A marginal reference of "reading (*x*) for (*y*)" means that *x* is either an obvious emendation or else the version given by MS. 2 or MS. 3 or AB as opposed to MS. 1 (*y*).

preservation and guarding of such is obligatory because of the [record of] blood-relationships that they contain.

III The object of preserving them is not to cause boastful comparisons of pedigrees; for, as was said by the Commander of the Faithful the Imám 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb... "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

IV Some of the learned say that 'Omar may have heard this from the Prophet... but that which has no other claim to be obligatory than his [sole] authority is yet obligatory.

V But the knowledge of the pedigrees of persons who are unrelated to yourself is of no use, because the authoritative dictum does not apply to such; and the following saying of the Prophet... about one who was learned in pedigrees bears this out: "A knowledge [of them] is useless and ignorance harmless."

VI But if a man devote himself to the study of what does not concern him, his labour is impious:

VII that is in times of mutual love and affection; but in these present days of mutual hatred and jealousy the study of pedigrees is obligatory, for at the end of the age the use of abusive epithets will be prevalent, and the difficulty will not be resolved save by means of pedigrees.

VIII So [the keeping of] pedigrees has been ordained, and it is not dutiful to neglect them: in fact he who does so is a rebel, owing to the danger of disturbance being caused among the people, and trouble in the hearts of the various nations.

IX Thus the study of pedigrees is obligatory because the observance of blood-relationships is obligatory by the authority of the Book and the Law ["el Sunna"] and the Unanimities ["el Igmá'a"].

X As regards the Book, God Almighty said "Fear God by whom ye beseech one another and [honour] the womb that bore you."

XI As regards the Law, we have the saying of the Prophet... "He that puts his trust in God and the Last Day will honour his guest and observe the duties of relationship and speak good words or none at all."

XII As regards the "Unanimities," all alike have agreed that the observance of blood-relationships is specifically ordained; and he who neglects it is disobedient.

XIII In the "Traditions" it is said "The womb is suspended upon the throne [of God] and says 'Lord, honour him that honours me and cut off him that cuts me off.'"

XIV Some too have said that the observance of blood-relationships lengthens life.

XV People are reliable as to their pedigrees; and whosoever has received from his father or ancestor any charge of a pedigree is indeed whatever the pedigree in his charge shows him to be.

XVI Boastful comparisons of pedigrees are blameworthy, and it is not the part of an intelligent man to vaunt his fathers and ancestors and claim honour and respect because of the nobility of his pedigree: such a thing could only be done by a slave by virtue of his being pious;

XVII for the Prophet... said "I am the ancestor of every pious man and woman, even though it be an Abyssinian slave, etc."

XVIII Boastful comparisons of pedigree and competition to amass wealth and disdain of the poor are forbidden by the law.

XIX For God Almighty said "Verily the faithful are [all] brethren; therefore reconcile your brethren,"—that is both in affairs temporal and spiritual, for faith is the bond between the faithful both in the matter of their pedigrees and of their religion; and "reconcile your brethren" means [you should do so] if two of them quarrel and fight.—"And fear God, and rebel not against Him nor disobey His behest, that ye may be the recipients of His mercy."

XX "O ye that believe, let not men mock at other men, who are perchance better than themselves, nor let women laugh other women to scorn, who are perchance better than themselves. Neither defame one another nor abuse one another with injurious appellations. An ill name [it is to be charged with] wickedness, after [having embraced] the faith: and whoso repent not, they will be the unjust doers."

XXI On the authority of 'Omar... it is related that the Prophet... said "The Muslim is brother to the Muslim: he wrongs him not, nor abuses him; and whoso helps his brother Muslim, him will God help; and whoso relieves a Muslim from affliction, God will thereby relieve him of one of the afflictions of the day of resurrection."

XXII God Almighty said "O people, I have created you of male and female,"—that is Adam and Eve ["*Hōwā*"]; and the meaning is "You are all of the same descent, so do not make boastful comparisons between one another, for all of you are the children of the same man and woman." Others say the meaning to be "I have created each one of you in the same manner as the other, so you have no cause for invidious self-glorification and boastful comparison of pedigrees."

XXIII [God also said] "And I have made you races ['*shu'ūb*'] [and tribes]."

XXIV [The term] "*shu'ūb*" is the plural of "*sha'b*"... and denotes the sources of the tribes, such as RABĪ'A and MUḌR and EL AUS and EL KHAZRAG; and they were called "races" because from

them were the tribes sprung, or, as it is also said, because in them were the tribes united.

XXV "*Ḳabāil*" ("tribes") is the plural of "*ḳabīla*," which is [a degree less than]¹ "*shu'ūb*," and examples of "*ḳabāil*" are BUKR [derived] from RABĪ'A and TAMĪM from MUḌR.

XXVI Next below the "*ḳabāil*" are the "*'amāir*," of which the singular [is "*'amāra*"]² . . . , such as SHAYBĀN [derived] from BUKR, and DĀRIM from TAMĪM.

Next below the "*'amāir*" are the "*buṭūn*," of which the singular is "*baṭn*," such as BENI GHĀLIB and LŪAI [derived] from ḲURAYSH.

XXVII Next below the "*buṭūn*" are the "*afkhādh*," of which the singular is "*fakhdh*," such as BENI HĀSHIM and BENI OMMAYYA [derived] from LŪAI.

XXVIII Next below the "*afkhādh*" are the "*faṣāil*," of which the singular is "*faṣīla*" . . . , such as BENI EL 'ABBĀS [derived] from BENI HĀSHIM.

XXIX After the "*faṣāil*" come the "*'ashāir*," of which the singular is "*'ashīra*," and after them there is nothing to mention at all.

XXX Now [the term] "*shu'ūb*" applies to the non-Arabs [*'agam*] and "*ḳabāil*" to the Arabs; and it is said that the "*shu'ūb*" are those that do not trace their origin [as a race to a common ancestor] but to [common] cities and villages, whereas the "*ḳabāil*" are the Arabs who trace their pedigrees to their ancestors.

XXXI Thus the [successive] grades into which the Arabs fall are six, viz. the "*sha'b*," the "*ḳabīla*," the "*'amāra*," the "*baṭn*," the "*fakhdh*," and the "*faṣīla*"; and the "*sha'b*" contains [*lit.* "collects"] the "*ḳabāil*," the "*ḳabīla*," the "*'amāir*," the "*'amāra*," the "*buṭūn*," the "*baṭn*," the "*afkhādh*," and the "*afkhādh*" the "*faṣāil*."

KHUZAYMA is a "*sha'b*," KENĀNA a "*ḳabīla*," ḲURAYSH an "*'amāra*," ḲUṢAI a "*baṭn*," HĀSHIM a "*fakhdh*," and EL 'ABBĀS a "*faṣīla*," and so on.

XXXII "That ye may know one another." That is, that ye may know how closely ye are related to one another, and not make boastful comparisons of your pedigrees.

XXXIII Then he shewed by virtue of what type of character³ one man acquires merit over another and gains honour in the sight of God Almighty, quoting "The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

¹ inserting دون.

² inserting عمارة.

³ reading الغصلة for الفصل.

XXXIV [So too] in the Tradition [it is said] "He who desires to be the noblest of men in God's sight, let him fear God."

XXXV Ibn 'Abbás... said "In this world honour is given to wealth, in the next to piety."

XXXVI On the authority of Samra ibn Gundub, the Prophet... said "It is wealth that is reckoned, but piety is [the true] nobleness."

XXXVII This saying is quoted by el Termidhi, who also quotes a beautiful tradition, corroborated by Abu Hurayra...: the latter says that the Prophet... was asked¹ "Which of the people is the noblest?" He replied "The noblest of them in God's sight is the most pious of them." They said "It is not of this that we ask you." He replied "The noblest of the people is Yūsef the Prophet of God, son of the prophet of God, son of the Friend of God." They said "It is not of this that we ask you." He replied "Is it of the original sources² of the Arabs that you ask me?" They said "Yes." He replied "The best of them in the days of ignorance is the best of them in the days of Islam, provided they are versed in knowledge ('*fakukhā*' or, it is said '*fakikhā*'), that is provided they have mastered the rules of the law."

XXXVIII It is related on the authority of 'Omar... that the Prophet... on the day of the conquest [of Mekka] made the circuit [of the temple] on his she-camel [*naḥka*], and saluted the corners [of the sacred stone] with his staff [*maḥgan*]; and on leaving he found no place for his camel to kneel; so he dismounted [from it as it stood, helped] by the hands of the men, and then addressed them, and praised and glorified Almighty God, saying "Praise be to God who hath redeemed you from the brutishness³ of the days of ignorance and pride. O people, I have created you in two types, the man of piety and justice [who is] noble in God's sight, and the miserable infidel [who is] of no account in God's sight." Then he repeated the word of God "O people, I have created you of male and female."

XXXIX Then he said "I tell you this and I ask the protection of God for myself and for you, etc."

XL Now the *maḥgan* was a stick with a bent handle, like a crook.

XLI By "the brutishness⁴ of the days of ignorance" is meant their pride and boasting, the intention being to warn people of being boastful as [the people of] the days of ignorance were from pride and conceit of their fathers and ancestors.

XLII Ye are the sons of Ádam, and Ádam was formed from mud,

¹ reading قال قال for قال قيل يا.

³ read غيبة for عيبه.

² read معارف for معادن.

⁴ read غيبة for عمة.

that is from the earth that is trodden underfoot, so how shall one be proud and boastful: one branch is no greater than another save by the will of God on account of piety.

XLIII Four things characterized the days of ignorance: boasting of their merits, speaking ill of [each other's] lineage, [excessive] lamentation, and prognostication of rain by the stars.

XLIV It has been said [by the poet] "By thy life! What is [a man's] pedigree if he be not a child of religion: so forsake not piety, trusting to your lineage. Verily by Islam was Selmán the Persian [slave] exalted, and [by his unbelief] did Abu Lahab forego his rich portion."

XLV God Almighty said "Justify not yourselves": that is "do not [pretend to be] free from sin nor boast of your deeds." And it is said that the meaning of the verse is "He knows you best, O ye faithful," *i.e.* knows your condition from the day of your creation till your last day; therefore "Justify not yourselves" with false humility and arrogance, nor say to one that you know not truly "I am better than thou" and "I am purer than thou." "Knowledge is of God," and this saying is an index [for men] to their duties, that they may take warning of what will befall: and verily God knows what will befall him that is pious, and God best knows who is the most pious, that is the greatest and most obedient and most efficient in his works. He who is tardy in works will not be speeded [to salvation] by his pedigree, and he that is speedy in works will not be retarded by his pedigree: works outweigh pedigrees; and if you are wanting in your works you have no profit in this world or the next.

XLVI They gained not the dominion and riches save by obedience to God Almighty, and by humility and self-abasement and gentleness.

XLVII And it is related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás (God bless him) that he upon whom be the blessings of God said "There is no alternative to be accepted of the Arabs excepting Islam or the sword."

XLVIII According to Ibn Wahháb there are seven tribes whose enslavement is not permissible, namely:

{ KURAYSH
EL ANŞÁR
MUZAYNA
GUHAYNA
ASHGA'A
ASLAM
GHAFÁR

and it is related also that the Prophet said that no Arab should be enslaved. If you wish for the reference, see El Mishkát li 'l Kāri ["The Reader's Illuminators"] with the commentary of 'Abd el Báki.

XLIX The tribes of the Arabs are seven, and whosoever is not included in them may lawfully be enslaved: these are

{ KENÁNA
MUZAYNA
GUHAYNA
ASHGA'A
HIMYAR
GHAFÁR
KURAYSH

and the noblest of these is KENÁNA, because he upon whom be the blessing of God said "God chose KENÁNA from among the sons of Ismá'il, and KURAYSH from KENÁNA, and BENI HÁSHIM from KURAYSH, and from BENI HÁSHIM he chose me, who am thus the noblest of the noblest"; and this is no [vain] boast: this account is the true one.

L Now HIMYAR and TAI and THA'ALEB and NIGM and HAMDÁN and MA'ÁFIR and BİŞAR and HUḤNA and KELÁB EL AZD¹ and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA all trace their descent to one ancestor: viz. el Maḥassi ibn Ḳaḥṭán el Maḥassi son of Ibráhím: God knows the truth.

LI Most of GUHAYNA are in the Nile-land and the west, and MUZAYNA are mixed² with [the inhabitants of] those parts, and HIMYAR are in the land of el Baṣra, and ASHGA'A in the land of Tūnis and Tripoli ["*Ṭerábulus*"], and GHAFÁR in the land of Andalusia ["*el Andalus*"] and Persia ["*Fáris*"] and Mesopotamia ["*el 'Irāk*"], and KENÁNA are in the land of Mekka the noble and el Medína the glorious and Egypt and el Rūm.

LII Now when Noah, upon whom be the blessings of God, landed from the ark to inhabit the earth, one day it happened that his privy parts were exposed, and his son Hám looked at them and laughed and did not cover him up: then his son Sám saw him and turned his face aside and did not cover [his father]: then his son Yáfith saw him and turned his face aside and covered his father's privy parts. And when [Noah] awoke he learnt of this and he called his son Hám [saying] "may God change the seed of your loins and blacken your face: you shall beget none but blacks."

LIII And Hám begot EL HIND and EL SIND and the NŪBA and KURÁN and all the blacks; and Yáfith begot the TURKS and the CHINESE ["*el Śín*"] and BERBER and the SLAVONIANS ["*el Şakálība*"] and GOG and MAGOG ["*Yágūg wa Mágūg*"] and FÁRISH and DÁRISH and KHÁLAKĀ and GÁBIRSÁ; and Sám begot the Arabs and the Romans ["*el Rūm*"] and Persians ["*Fáris*"].

¹ reading كلام الازرد for كلاب الازرد.

² reading ممزوجة (as AB) for ممزوجة.

LIV And when death was come to Noah, upon whom be the blessings of God, he called to his son Sám, his firstborn, and divided the earth between him and his brothers, and to Sám he allotted the centre of the earth, the holy land, and its environs as far as Ḥaḍramaut and 'Omán¹ as far as el Baḥrayn and 'Álig; and to his brothers he allotted the outlying portions of the land; and Sám's allotment was the best of the earth and the most fertile. Ends.

LV We will now take up the thread of the narrative.

LVI The pedigree of Guhayna is as follows:

Dhubián son of 'Abdulla son of Dahmán son of Ḳays son of Muḥḍ son of Guhayna son of Rayth son of Ghaṭafán² son of Sa'ad son of Ḳays son of 'Aylán son of Muḍr son of Mu'áwia son of el Ḥakam son of 'Affán son of Ams son of Ommayya son of 'Abd Shams son of 'Abd Menáf son of Kuṣai son of Keláb son of Murra son of Lūai son of Ghálib son of Fihir son of Málík son of Nuḍr son of Kenána son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḍr son of Nizár³ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán.

LVII Others say that Guhayna was son of 'Aṭia son of el Ḥasan son of el Zubayr son of el 'Awwám son of Khowaylid son of Asad son of 'Abd el 'Uzzá son of Kuṣai... etc.

LVIII Others say that Guhayna was son of 'Abdulla son of Unays el Guhani; and God knows the truth.

*LIX Dhubián had ten sons, viz. Watíd and Fahíd and Shaṭir and Bashír and 'Ámir and 'Omran and 'Abd el 'Azíz Maḥassi and Gudhám and Sufián Afzar and Šárid⁴.

LX Watíd and Fahíd and Gudhám and 'Ámir and 'Omran were, all five, sons of one mother; and Shaṭir and Bashír were sons of one mother; and 'Abd el 'Azíz Maḥassi and Šárid⁵ were sons of one mother; and Sufián Afzar⁶ was the only son of his mother.

LXI The descendants of Watíd are the KHAWÁLDA; the descendants of Fahíd the FAHÍDÁR in the West.

LXII Shaṭir begot Sultán only.

LXIII Sultán had seven sons, Musallam and Ga'afir and Ráshid and Ruwáh and Ḥamayd (or "Ḥamayl")⁷ and Ma'ashir and Rikáb.

LXIV Muslim's sons were Fádin and Mashaykh and Moghrab and Dwayḥ and Dáūd.

LXV Fádin's descendants are the FÁDNIA; Mashaykh's⁸ the MA-

¹ reading عمان for امان.

³ reading نزار for نذار.

⁵ reading صارذ for صادر.

⁷ reading حميل for حميد.

² reading غطفان for عطا.

⁴ reading صارذ for صادر.

⁶ reading افزر for فزر.

⁸ reading مشيخ for مسيخ.

SHÁFKHA; Moghrab's the MOGHÁRBA; Dwayh's the DWAYHÍA; and Dáūd's the DÁŪDÍA.

LXVI Ga'afir's descendants are the GA'AFIRA; Ráshid's the ROWÁSHDA; Ruwáh's the RUWÁHÍA; and Ḥamayl's the ḤAMAYLÍA, that is the ḤAMAYLÁT, and¹ a tribe called AWLÁD ḤAMAYL between el Hind and el Sind; and Ma'ashir's descendants are the MA'ÁSHIRA; and Rikáb's the RIKÁBÍA and the GENÁNA and the MEZANIYYŪN and the LAḤÁWIYYŪN and the ZUMAYLÁT: all these are the descendants of Sulṭán son of Shaṭír.

LXVII The descendants of his brother Bashír are the SHUKRÍA, and the BUÁDIRA and the UMBÁDIRÍA.

LXVIII 'Ámir begot Muḥammad only: this Muḥammad had eight sons and one daughter; the eldest of [his children].

LXIX The sons³ were Ráfa'i and Nagaz and Duriáb and Ḥammad el 'Uláṭi and Hilál and Kelb and Muḥammad 'Áḳil and Dwayh⁴, all sons of one mother, excepting Dwayh, who was the only son of his mother.

LXX The daughter was given in marriage by her father Muḥammad ibn 'Ámir to a man named Marhís of the FŪL, whose children by her were Kál and Báz and el Ma'ádia and Fálík and their various descendants.

LXXI The sons of Ráfa'i ibn Muḥammad were Zanfál and Shabárik⁵ and Ḳásim.

LXXII The descendants of Zanfál are the ZENÁFLA, of Shabárik the SHABÁRKA, and of Ḳásim the ḲAWÁSMA and the MAḤÁMÍD.

LXXIII The descendants of 'Abd el 'Azíz Maḥassi are the MAḤASS, of Gudhám the GUDHÁMIYYŪN, and of Šaríd⁶ the ŠOWÁRDA.

LXXIV The sons of Ḥammad el 'Uláṭi son of Muḥammad 'Ámir were Maḥmūd and Ḥasan Ma'arak⁷ and Fūák and 'Ōn.

LXXV Maḥmūd had five sons, Raḥál and Dárish and Kūákír and 'Áíl and Fakhdh.

LXXVI The descendants of Raḥál are the ROWÁHLA, of Dárish the DOWÁRISHA, of Kūákír the KŪÁKÍR, and of Fakhdh the FOWÁKHIDHÍA.

LXXVII The sons of Ḥasan Ma'arak son of Ḥammad el 'Uláṭi were Durrak and 'Asham and Dasham⁸.

LXXVIII The sons of Durrak were Ḥamar and Ḥamrán.

LXXIX The sons of 'Asham were Nágih and Náíl and Tha'alib and 'Othmán and 'Amūd and Ḥalū and 'Affan.

¹ inserting و. ² reading والام بادية for والام بادية.

³ reading فلاولاد for فلاولاد. ⁴ reading رويح for دويح.

⁵ reading بشارق for بشارق. ⁶ reading صادر for صادر.

⁷ reading معارك for معارك. ⁸ reading دشمر for دشمر.

LXXX The descendants of Nágih are the NAWÁGIḤA, of Nái the NAWÁILA, of Tha'alib the THA'ALIBA, of 'Othmán the 'OTHMÁNIA.

LXXXI The sons of 'Amūd were Keraẓn and Bashkar and Zamlūt and 'Isayl and Ḥasan and Ḥasán and Shiblá, and Ferag by a concubine.

LXXXII The descendants of Keraẓn are the KERAYNÁT, of Bashkar the BASHÁKIRA, of Zamlūt the ZAMÁLṬA, of 'Isayl the 'ISAYLÁT, of Ḥasan the ḤASANÍA, of Ḥasán the ḤASÁNIA, of Shiblá the SHIBAYLÁT, and of Ferag the MUFÁRIGA and the FARAGÁB and the MUWÁRIGA.

LXXXIII The descendants of Ḥalū are the ḤALÁWIYYŪN, of 'Affan the 'AFFANÁB¹.

LXXXIV The sons of Dasham were Bedr and Zayd and Ḥegázi and Fáḍil and Thaḳíf and Zuhayr.

LXXXV The descendants of Bedr are the BEDRIYYŪN, of Zayd the ZŪÁIDA, of Ḥegázi the ḤEGÁZÁB, of Fáḍil the FADLIYYŪN, of Thaḳíf the THAḲÍFIYYŪN, and of Zuhayr the ZUHAYRIYYŪN.

LXXXVI The descendants of Fūák son of Ḥammad el 'Uláṭi are the SHUKRÁB.

LXXXVII The sons of his brother 'Ōn were Thábit and Šábir and Sárīb and Gurfán and Missír and Ma'atūḳ, and among his descendants are the THAWÁBITA² and the SHAḲLÁB and the SHUKRÁB and the 'ABDULLÁB and the TUNGURÁB and KUNGÁRA and, it is said, BORNŪ and BORKŪ and AFNŪ and MADAḲA and FELLÁTA and the MESSÍRÍA and 'OḲAYL,—all of them descendants of 'Ōn³ son of Ḥammad el 'Uláṭi.

LXXXVIII Kelb son of Muḥammad 'Ámir had five sons, Ṭurfa and Aḥmar and Serḥán and Ḳalkál and Dáḡir.

LXXXIX Ṭurfa had seven sons, Ḳalíma and Gáma'i and Sulaym and Belū and Maní'a and Minba'a and Sandál.

XC The descendants of Ḳalíma are the THAḲRA, some of whom are pagans and some Muḥammadans: the descendants of Gáma'i are the BENI GÁMA'I, of Sulaym the BENI SULAYM, of Maní'a the MANÁ'A and the BURNÍR and the ḲUMDAR and KHAWÁBIRA⁴ and the DABAYTÍA: and I do not know any descendants of Minba'a. The descendants of Belū are the BELŪ.

XCI The descendants of Aḥmar are the ḤAMRÁN and the ḤAMAYRÍA and the KERÍMÍA and the BERÁGHITH in the West.

XCII The sons of Serḥán son of Kelb son of Muḥammad 'Ámir were Zamal and Mazan and Laḥū.

¹ reading العقاب for العناب.

² reading ثوابة for ثوابة.

³ reading عدر for عور.

⁴ reading حوابة for خوابرة.

XCIII The descendants of Zamal are the ZAMALÁT, of Mazan the MAZAYNÍA, and of Lahū the LAḤAWIYYŪN.

XCIV The descendants of ẖalkál are the ẖALÁḤLA in the land of Tūnis; and of Dágir the DAWÁGIRA in the East, and they are the people of el Nūḵ el Bakht.

XCV The descendants of Sandál son of Ṭurfa son of Kelb son of Muḥammad 'Ámir are the SANÁDALÍB, and those of Hilál son of Muḥammad 'Ámir are the BENI YEZÍD.

XCVI The son of 'Omrán son of Dhubián was 'Ámir, whose sons were the 'AMÁRNA and Sabíḵ and Ḍabí'a and Akírít and Adayḵim and 'Áṭif.

XCVII The descendants of Sabíḵ are the SABÍḲIYYŪN, of Ḍabí'a the ḌABÍ'ÁT, of Akírít [the] KURTÁN¹, of Adayḵim the DAḲÍMIYYŪN, and of 'Áṭif the 'AWÁṬIFA, and also the GERÁBÍ'A. These are all the descendants of 'Omrán.

XCVIII The sons of Suḫián Afzar were Zayád and 'Abs and Hilál.

XCIX The*descendants of Zayád are the ḤUṢŪR and the ZAYÁDÍA.

C The son of 'Abs was Ḥammad el Afzar, whose sons were Kabsh and Sha'ūf.

CI The sons of Kabsh were Ribayḵ and Berára and ẖerri and 'Aṭawi.

CII Of these the son of Sha'ūf was Šábir only. Šábir's son was Šárim, and Šárim's sons were Sálím el Hamám and Abza'a aḫd Gerár.

CIII The sons [of Gerár] were Barakát and Ḥayla and Abu Ḥagūl.

CIV The sons of Abza'a were Nūr and Nūrán².

CV The sons of Nūr were Dál and Mázin.

CVI Mázin's sons were 'Awál and Ma'ál and 'Abd el 'Ál and Baghdád.

CVII Baghdád's descendants are the BAGHÁDA.

CVIII The descendants of 'Abd el 'Ál are the SHENÁBLA, and of Ma'ál the MA'ÁLÍA.

CIX The sons of 'Awál were 'Áḳil and Gikhays and 'Abd el Báḳi and Sahal and Ḥámíd and Ḥammad.

CX The descendants of 'Áḳil are the MA'ÁḲLA, of Gikhays the GIKHAYSÁT, of 'Abd el Báḳi the BAWÁḲI, of Sahal the NA'ÍMÁT, and of Ḥámíd the HABÁBÍN and the FERÁḤNA and the MERÁMRA and the NAWÁḤIA, and the GILAYDÁT³, whose mother was Bakhíta el Ṣughayra, [Ḥámíd's] freedwoman.

¹ reading كرات for كرتان. ² reading نولان for نوران.

³ reading جلبات for حليدات.

CXI The descendants of Hammad are the AWLÁD AḤOI¹ and the MEGÁNÍN: or, according to [another] account [the latter] are descendants of Hámid and their father was called Magnūn.

CXII The son of Hilál son of Sufián Afzar was Ḥasan el Hiláli, whose mother was a concubine; and his sons were Ferag and Nūḥ and Dóka and their mother was Lūla.

CXIII Dóka's sons were Shilluk and Dínka and Ibráhím and Dekín.

CXIV The son of Ibráhím was Aṣḥíḥ, and Aṣḥíḥ's sons were Ganḵ and Funḵur and Káf and Ūlū el Gháya.

CXV Dekín had five sons, Kíra and Kirán and Káranḵū and Dóka and Aywa.

CXVI And it is said that the ḲÁÍDÁB and the MAHÍDÁB and the 'AḤṢA and the BÁḤÁB and the MESÁ'ÍD and the ḲARÁFÍD and the KHAGÍLÁT and the KÁSIRÁB and the SHUKRÁB and the MA'ÁÍDA and their subdivisions are all of the stock of Muḥammad ibn 'Ámir.

CXVII The BEGÁ and the KHÁS and the BÁRÍA and the ḲURA'ÁN and the MÍDÓB and ZAGHÁWA² are said [by some] to be originally from Makáda, and by others to be among the descendants of the Gin that deceived the prophet of God Sulaymán son of Dáūd, upon both of them be the blessings of God, when he was away from his wife, namely Hafháf son of Shamákh.

CXVIII There is a difference of opinion as to the KAWÁHLA, the sons of Káhíl: some say they are among the above, and some that they are descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám: God knows the truth best.

CXIX Similarly there is a difference of opinion about the FELLÁTA: some say they are the sons of Fellát son of Uḵbá son of Yásir, [who], when he converted the people of the West, married the daughter of the Sultan of the infidels. Their language is that of their mother's people.

CXX And [men] have disputed about these tribes as to their being descended from the Gin, and said "How could the Gin have offspring by a human woman, because the Gin is not of human descent?" God knows the truth best.

CXXI Compare the story of Balkís³ and how it is said that her mother was a female Gin: [but] knowledge belongs to Almighty God.

CXXII If you wish for the explanation refer to [the remarks in] the Ḥáshia of el Gemal [on the passages] wherein God says "*And I made [Noah's] offspring [to be] those who survived*" and "*And I have made*

¹ reading اقوي for اقوي.

² reading زغاوة for زقاوي.

³ reading بلقيس for بلقيس.

you races and tribes that ye may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you," and there you will find it.

CXXIII Now the tribe of GUHAYNA became [*lit.* "reached"] fifty-two tribes in the land of Sôba on the Blue Nile under the rule of the FUNG, but most [of them] are in the West, [namely in] Tūnis and Bornūh.

CXXIV Zubayr had two sons, 'Abdulla and Ḥasan. The descendants of 'Abdulla are the KAWÁHLA, and the son of Ḥasan was 'Aṭīa; and some say that the descendants of 'Aṭīa are GUHAYNA: God knows the truth best.

CXXV The BENI YŪNIS and BENI SÍRA and BENI HAMZA are all branches of the descendants of Hilál son of Muḥammad 'Ámir.

CXXVI The descendants of Muḥammad 'Áqil are the BENI 'ÁQIL and the BENI HUZAYL and the BENI MAṬAYR and the BENI 'UTAYBA and the BENI YAQŪM and the BENI MUKHALLAD and BENI YŪNIS and BENI MERÍN: these [tribes] are his own proper descendants.

CXXVII The SHÁMFA and the MA'ÁFDA are the descendants of 'Áid son of Khamsín.

CXXVIII The 'AWÁMRA and BENI 'OMRÁN and BENI KELB and BENI RÁFA'I and BENI 'ULÁṬI¹ and BENI 'ÁQIL and BENI DWAYḤ and BENI DURIÁB are all GUHAYNA and very closely related. Here ends what I have learnt of the pedigree of GUHAYNA; and knowledge belongs to God Almighty.

CXXIX Now as regards GA'AL, what is to be found here is as follows:

CXXX KURAYSH were in the time of the Prophet (God bless him) eighty tribes, and [similarly] GUHAYNA were eighty tribes:

CXXXI and accounts differ as to the BENI MA'AMŪR and HILÁL, some saying they belong to KURAYSH and some to GUHAYNA.

CXXXII Now GA'AL are [descended from] BENI EL 'ABBÁS (God bless him), and they should not be called a tribe [*kabila*] but rather one of the branches of BENI HÁSHIM. They are only called "GA'AL" because their forefather, whose name was Ibráhīm, was known as "Ga'al" from the fact that he was a generous man, to whom in time of famine the feeble branches allied themselves, and he used to say to them "*ga'alnakum minná*" ["we have made you a part of ourselves"]; so he was surnamed "Ga'al."

CXXXIII Now the man who collected all the tribes of GA'AL together was Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Qudá'a son of Ḥarḳān son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad el Yemáni son of Ibráhīm Ga'al son of Idrís son of Qays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adí son of

¹ reading علاطى for علاط.

Ḳuṣāṣ son of Kerab son of Hāṭil son of Yāṭil son of Dhu el Kilá'a el Ḥimiyari son of Ḥimyar son of Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, God bless him.

CXXXIV This is the account given by some, but the following is given by the generality of genealogists: Serrár son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Ḳuḍá'a son of Ḥarkán son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad el Ḥegázi son of Muḥammad el Yemeni son of Ibráhīm Ga'al son of Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, the uncle of the best of men, upon him be the blessing of God, son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášhim son of 'Abd Menáf son of Ḳuṣai son of Keláb son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Lūai son of Ghálib son of Fihri son of Málík son of el Nuḍr son of Kenána son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḍr son of Nizár¹ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán.

CXXXV Beyond that we will not go since he upon whom be the blessings of God warned us against so doing.

CXXXVI And whosoever is not enrolled among his descendants, that is [among the descendants] of the Sultan Kerdam, is not a Ga'ali.

CXXXVII Now his father Abu el Dís had two sons: one of them was called Tergam, but I do not know of his having any descendants, and the other was el Sultán Ḥasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dís.

CXXXVIII He, it is said, had ten sons: seven of them returned to el Kūfa; and those that are known and whose descendants are preserved and recorded in the genealogies are three, viz. Dūla and Tamím and Serrár.

CXXXIX The descendants of Dūla are the SAḲÁRANG², the kings of Gebel Teḳali; the descendants of Tamím are the TOMÁM; and the sons of Serrár were Samra and Samayra and Mismár.

CXL Samra had four sons, Bedayr and 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Shayḥ and Ṭerayfi and Aḥmad Abu Rísh.

CXLI The descendants of Bedayr are the BEDAYRÍA, of 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Shayḥ the SHUWAYḤÁT, of Ṭerayfi the ṬERAYFÍA, and of Aḥmad Abu Rísh the RÍÁSH³.

CXLII The descendants of Samayra are the GHODIÁT⁴ and the KUNAN and the ḲUṢÁṢ and the BAṬAḤÍN.

CXLIII Mismár had four sons, Sa'ad el Feríd and three sons by [another] mother, Šubuḥ Abu Merkha and Rubát and Nebíh.

CXLIV Sa'ad el Feríd had three sons, Ḳaḥṭán and Selma and Ḥammad.

¹ reading نزار for نذار.

² reading سقارنج for سقارنج.

³ reading دباش for دباش.

⁴ reading قديات for قديات.

CXLV *Ḳaḥṭān* had six sons, or, it is said, seven; and the latter is the more correct: they were *Ṣubuḥ* and *Faḍl* and *Manṣūr* and *Maḳīt* and *Mías* and *Muḥammad el Ḍub* and *Maḳbūḍ*.

CXLVI The descendants of *Ṣubuḥ* are the *ṢUBHÁ*, of *Faḍl* the *FADLIYYŪN*, of *Manṣūr* the *MANÁṢRA*, of *Maḳīt* the *MAḲÁṬTA*, of *Mías* the *MIÁÍSA*, of *Muḥammad el Ḍub* the *ḌUBÁB*, and of *Maḳbūḍ* the *MEḲÁBḌA*.

CXLVII The sons of *Selma* were *Hákim* and *Gábir*.

CXLVIII The descendants of *Hákim* are the *HÁKIMÁB*, the kings of *Arḳó*, and the descendants of *Gábir* are the *GÁBIRÁB* or *GAWÁBRA* or *GÁBIRÍA*.

CXLIX *Hammad* begot *Fahíd*. The sons of *Fahíd* were *Guma'a* and *Gáma'i* and *Hammad*, [also] called *Hámid*: they were three in number.

CL The descendants of *Guma'a* are the *GIMA'A*, of *Gáma'i* the *GAWÁMA'A*, of *Hammad* (or *Hámid*) the *AḤÁMDA*¹ and the *HAMMADA*; and it is said that among his descendants are also the *NAWÁBA*² and the *SALÁMÁT* and *BORḲU*.

CLI *Rubát* had five sons, *'Awaḍ* and *Ḳuraysh* and *Khanfar* and *Muḳbal* and *'Abayṭá*.

CLII The descendants of *'Awaḍ* are the *'AWAḌÍA*, of *Ḳuraysh* the *ḲURAYSHÁB*, of *Khanfar* the *KHANFARÍA*, of *Muḳbal* the *MUḲÁBLA*, and of *'Abayṭá* the *'ABṬA*.

CLIII The descendants of *Nebíh* son of *Mismár* are the *NEBAH*.

CLIV *Ṣubuḥ* *Abu Merkha* had three sons, *Hammad el Akrat* and *Ḥamayd el Nawám* and *Ḥamaydán*.

CLV The descendants of *Hammad*³ *el Akrat* are the *MÁGIDÍA* and the *KURTÁN*, and of *Ḥamayd el Nawám* the *NAWÁMÍA* and the *MANṢŪRÁB* and the *ṢANDÍDÁB*.

CLVI The sons of *Ḥamaydán* were *Ghánim* and *Sháíḳ*, whose mother was *Ḥamáma* the daughter of [*Ḥamaydán's*] uncle *Rubát ibn Mismár*, and *Ḥasabulla* and *Muṭraf* (ancestor of the *ḤASABÍA*), whose mother was the daughter of *Háshi el Ḳumri el Fungáwía*, and four sons of another mother, *Ghaním* and *Ghanam*, or *Ghanūm*, and *Gamí'a* and *Malik el Zayn*.

CLVII The descendants of *Sháíḳ* are the *SHÁÍḲÍA*.

CLVIII *Ghánim* had three sons, *Ḍiáb* and *Dūáb* and *Gamū'a*. The descendants of *Gamū'a* are the *GAMŪ'ÍA*: the sons of *Ḍiáb* were *Bishára* and *Náṣir*.

¹ reading الحمدة for الإحامدة. ² reading نوابية (as AB) for نوابية.

³ reading حميد for محمد.

CLIX The descendants of Bishára are the MÍRAFÁB and the 'ABD EL RAḤMANÁB ZAYDÁB of Berber and the FÁḌLÁB and the SERAYḤÁB and the ḤASANÁB, who live from Berber to the land of Zóra.

CLX The descendants of Náṣir are the NÁṢIRÁB who inhabit Gebel Berayma on the White Nile.

CLXI The sons of Dūáb were 'Armán and Abu Khamsín.

CLXII The sons of Abu Khamsín were Muḥammad and Ḥammad el Bahkarüb.

CLXIII Muḥammad's descendants are the MUḤAMMADÁB of Gerayf Ḥamdulla, the ḲARÍBÁB, the BELÍÁB and the KIRÍÁB.

CLXIV The descendants of Ḥammad el Bahkarüb are the AWGÁB.

CLXV The sons of 'Armán were Zayd and Mukábir and Shá'a el Dín and Tumayr and Sa'id and Naṣrulla and 'Abd el 'Ál and Musallam and Gebel and Gabr and 'Adlán.

CLXVI The descendants of Zayd are the ZAYDÁB, of Mukábir¹ the MUKÁBIRÁB, and of Shá'a el Dín the SHA'ADÍNÁB.

CLXVII 'Abd el 'Ál had twenty-four sons, [including] Muḥammad el Á'war and Kabūsh and 'Abd el Kabír and Ḥasabulla and Ráfa'a and Gádulla and Khiḍr and Káltūt and Kasr and Beshr and Mūsa and 'Omar and Shaddū and Ḳadabū and Tisa'a Kulli and Muḥammad el Nigayḍ.

CLXVIII The descendants of Muḥammad el Á'war are the 'OMARAB, of Kabūsh the KABŪSHÁB and the ḲANDÍLÁB, of 'Abd el Kabír the 'ASHÁNÍḲ, of Ḥasabulla the ḤASABULLÁB, of Ráfa'a the RÁFA'ÁB, of Gádulla the GÓDALÁB, of Khiḍr the KHIḌRÁB, of Káltūt the KALTÍÁB, but of Kasr and Beshr his brother I know of no descendants.

CLXIX The descendants of Mūsa are the MŪSÍÁB; the descendants of 'Omar are at the village of the TUMAYRÁB at el Sára and are called the 'OMARÁB of Sára; and the descendants of Tisa'a Kulli and the tenth of them [*sic*] Muḥammad el Nigayḍ are the KÁLÍÁB.

CLXX The descendants of Musallam are the MUSALLAMÁB, of Gebel the GEBELÁB, and of Gabr the GÁBRÁB or "GABARÁB."

CLXXI 'Adlán² had thirty sons, namely the four KARÁKISA, whose mother was the daughter of 'Ali Karḳūs; and Shuḳl el Kamál; and the four SITNÁB, whose mother was [Sitna daughter of. . . and the four 'ABŪDATÁB whose mother was] the daughter of 'Abūda; and Náfa'a and Naff'a³ and 'Abd el Dáím and 'Abd el Ma'abūd, the mother of all of whom was the daughter of Ádam Ḥalayb; and Muḥammad 'Ali and Abu Selíma and Barakát, who were sons of

¹ reading اماكابر for اما مكابر. ² reading عدلان for عدنان.

³ reading نفع for نفع.

another mother; and Muḥammad Ferīd; and 'Abūda and Yóiy and Tūayr and Abu Bukr and 'Awaḍ and 'Abd el Raḥman Bádiḳis and Wahhayb and Kunna and Ba'ashóm.

CLXXII The four KARÁKISA are well known: the descendants of Shuḳl el Kamál are the SHUḲÁL: the descendants of four of the Sitnáb are the SITNÁB, and of four of the 'ABŪDATÁB¹ the 'ABŪDATÁB¹, and of Náfa'a the NÁFA'ÁB, and of Naff'a the NIFF'ÁB, and of 'Abd el Dáim the 'ÁLIÁB and their subdivisions, and of 'Abd el Ma'abūd I know no descendants. The descendants of Muḥammad 'Ali are the SA'ADÁB, and I do not know of any descendants of Abu Selma and Barakát. The descendants of the Mek Muḥammad are the MUḤAMMADÁB, of 'Abūda the 'ABŪDÁB, of Yóiy the YÓIYÁB at Kóz Bara, and I do not know of any descendants of Tūayr² and Abu Bukr and 'Awaḍ and 'Abd el Raḥman Bádiḳis.

The descendants of Wahhayb are the WAHÁHÍB near Berber, of Kunna the KUNNÁWIYYŪN, of Ba'ashóm the BA'ASHÍM and the people of el 'Arashkól and the SABA'ÁNIA and the people of Kabūshía.

CLXXIII The 'ABÁBSA are the descendants of 'Abdulla Abu Ga'afir el Saḡfáh, the first of the BENI EL 'ABBÁS to hold the power, and they live at el Rái and el Shūra and are a mighty tribe.

CLXXIV The FÁDNIA are the descendants of the noble Sayyid, el Sayyid Muḥammad ibn el Ḥanafiá, son of the most noble Imám 'Ali son of Abu Ṭálib, God bless him and honour him; and there is much told of them, and God knows best.

CLXXV The GA'AFIRA are the family of Ga'afir son of Ḳaḡtán of the tribe of ṬAI, said to be a descendant of Ḥátim el Ṭái, and they are renowned for generosity.

CLXXVI The ḤADÁRMA were originally nomads in Ḥaḍramaut and migrated to the mainland in the time of el Ḥaggág ibn Yūsef of the tribe of Thaḳíf and dwelt on the well-known island of Sūákin on the shore of the Red Sea on the mainland of the Sudan.

CLXXVII The GABARTA are originally Arabs.

CLXXVIII The MESALLAMÍA (spelt with SA and double L) are the family of Musallam son of Ḥegáz son of 'Áṭif of the tribe of BENI OMMAYYA. He migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azíz, God bless him, and settled on the mainland of the Sudan.

CLXXIX The RIKÁBIA are the descendants of Rikáb son of Sheikh Ghulámulla³ son of el Sayyid 'Áid son of el Maḳbūl son of Sheikh Aḥmad, son of Sheikh 'Omar el Zila'í, who dwelt at el Ḥalía, a village

¹ reading *عبدوتاب* for *عبدوتاب*. ² reading *نزير* for *توير*.

³ reading *قلام الله* for *غلام الله*.

in Yemen, and was son of Maḥmūd son of Hāshim son of Mukhtār son of 'Alī son of Serāg son of Muḥammad son of Abu el Kāsīm son of el Imām Zāmil son of el Sayyid Mūsa 'el Kāzim son of el Sayyid Ga'afir el Šādiḳ son of el Sayyid Muḥammad el Bākir son of el Sayyid Zayn el 'Abdīn son of the most noble el Sayyid el Ḥusayn son of the Commander of the Faithful the Imām 'Alī son of Abu Ṭalīb, God bless him and honour him.

CLXXX [Now not only] the branches and subdivisions of the RIKÁBIA [but also] the persons who have become fused with them by intermarriage belong to them, for upon whom be the blessings of God said "the son of a daughter of the tribe belongs to the tribe itself."

CLXXXI Now Sheikh Ghulāmulla¹ had two sons, Rikáb and Rubát. Rikáb had five sons and one daughter, 'Abdulla and 'Abd el Nebi and Ḥabīb and 'Agīb, all four sons by the same mother, and Zayd by another mother.

CLXXXII The sons of 'Abdulla were Ḥagág and Ḥág. The descendants of Ḥág are the DÓÁLÍB.

CLXXXIII The son of Ḥagág was Sheikh 'Alī Abu Ḳurūn, whose sons were Ak·ḥal and Farḳa, and their descendants are among the KAWÁHLA EL DUNÍAB, and some of them are in the Teḳali hills.

CLXXXIV The sons of 'Abd el Nebi were Máshir and Shakár.

CLXXXV The descendants of Máshir are the ŠÁDIḲÁB, the stock of Sheikh 'Abd el Šādiḳ, and the SAMAYRÁB, the sons of Muḥammad son of Máshir, and some branches [who are] with the SHUKRÍA.

CLXXXVI The ḤADÁḤÍD and the KELBA and the GENÁNA² are said to be GUHAYNA by origin, but they became fused in race with Máshir by intermarriage.

CLXXXVII The son of Shakár was Ḥasan, and his descendants are in Dongola.

CLXXXVIII The descendants of Ḥabīb are at the village of el Šabábi on the Blue Nile.

CLXXXIX The descendants of 'Agīb are the ḤALÍMÁB, the sons of Sheikh Ḥammad Abu Ḥalíma.

CXC The sons of Zayd were 'Abd el Raḥím and 'Abd el Raḥmán. The descendants of 'Abd el Raḥím are the TUMAYRÁB, and the 'Akázáb³, the sons of his son el Ḥág Mágid.

CXCI The descendants of 'Abd el Raḥmán are the SHABWÁB⁴ and the BAḠGÁB.

¹ reading قلام الله for غلام الله.

³ reading عكاراب for عكاراب.

² reading جغانة for جغانة.

⁴ reading شواب for شواب.

CXCII The son of Rubát was Selím, who had six sons, Ruzaym and Dahmash and 'Abd el Rázik and Muşbáh, [these four] being the sons of one mother, el Ganíba the daughter of his uncle Rikáb, and Muḥammad 'Ōn, whose mother was 'Ōnía, and Hadhlūl¹, whose mother was the daughter of Malik el Kanísa [*i.e.* "King of the Church"]].

CXCIII Ruzaym had a son, Ḥammad, whose son² was Sheikh Muḥammad, nicknamed Ḥabíb Nesi.

CXCIV The sons of Dahmash were the *feki* 'Ali and Manófalí.

CXCV The sons of the *feki* 'Ali were Manófalí and Aḥmad and Muḥammad and 'Abd el Kerím and 'Abd el Ḥafíz and 'Abd el Raḥman: I do not know their descendants.

CXCVI The only son of Manófalí son of Dahmash was 'Ísa, whose only son was the *feki* Ḥammad, whose sons were 'Abd el Fattáh and 'Abd el Malik and Ibráhím.

CXCVII 'Abd el Fattáh had a son, 'Abd el Bári, who had a son 'Abd el Básiṭ, whose sons were Muşṭafá and 'Abd el Şummad: I do not know their descendants.

CXCVIII The descendants of 'Abd el Malik son of Ḥammad son of 'Ísa [son of Manófalí] son of Dahmash son of Selím son of Rubát are a family of *fakírs* at Kenár and Ṭaha (?).

CXCIX The sons of his brother Ibráhím were four, Ḥusayn and Idrís and Faḍlulla and Muḥammad.

CC The sons of Ḥusayn were Ibráhím and el Ṭayyib and Muḥammad and Manír: God knows who were the descendants of these four.

CCI The sons of Idrís son of Ibráhím son of Ḥammad son of 'Ísa son of Manófalí son of Dahmash son of Selím son of Rubát were Muḥammad and 'Ali and Ibráhím. God knows who were their descendants.

CCII The sons of Faḍlulla son of Ibráhím son of the said Ḥammad were Ḥasabulla and Muḥammad el Fezári. I am not sure of Ḥasabulla's descendants: the sons of Muḥammad el Fezári were Aḥmad and Idrís and Ibráhím: I do not know the descendants of any of the three.

CCIII The son of 'Abd el Rázik son of Selím son of Rubát was [called] Sheikh Selím after his grandfather, and his son was el Ḥág Belíla, whose son was Sheikh Ḥasan, whose sons were Málík and Belíla and Ḳuraysh and 'Abaydi, the descendants of all of whom are at Kenár³ and Gebel Abu Tubr, and also Dáūd.

¹ reading هزلول for هزلول.

² reading ولد for ولد.

³ reading كنا for كنا.

CCIV The descendants of Muṣbāḥ are the AWLĀD ḤAMAYDA at el 'Adāḍ, and some of them are with the KABĀBĪSH.

CCV The son of Muḥammad 'Ūn son of Selīm was Gábir, whose sons¹ were the four famous men, the learned Sheikh Ibrāhīm el Būlād and the pious recluse el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman and the learned Sheikh Ismā'īl el Wali and Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥīm. These are the four sons of Gábir, and their stock is called the GÁBIRĀB and is well known.

CCVI The descendants of Hadhlūl¹ son of Selīm son of Rubāṭ son of Sheikh Ghulāmulla² son of el Sayyid 'Áid, etc., are the AWLĀD MŪSĀ walad Merín at Gebel el Ḥarāza.

CCVII But the name Rikáb applies to three persons, namely, Rikáb son of Ka'ab, and Rikáb son of Sulṭán son of Shaṭir, of the seed of 'Abdulla el Guhani, and Rikáb son of Sheikh Ghulāmulla³ (son of el Sayyid 'Áid son of el Maḵbūl son of Sheikh Aḥmad son of Sheikh 'Omar el Zīla'í), who [Ghulāmulla] was brought up at el Ḥalía, a village in Yemen, on an island called Nowáwa.

CCVIII His father had proceeded from el Ḥalía and settled on one of the islands of the Red Sea called Sákia; and thence he migrated with his sons to Dongola and settled there because that place was sunk in perplexity and error owing to the absence of men who could read and were learned. So when he settled there he built up the mosques and read the Ḳurán and taught knowledge direct to his children and disciples, the sons of the Muslims.

CCIX Here ends this blessed genealogical tree that contains the pedigrees of all the Arabs.

CCX As he, upon whom be the blessing of God, said, "Him that wishes injury to Ḳuraysh may God injure"; and again "They advanced Ḳuraysh and did not surpass it"; and again "The Imáms are from Ḳuraysh"; and again "Ḳuraysh was a light between the hands of God Almighty 2000 years before he created the children of Adam, God bless him; and that light glorifies God, and the Angels take up the chorus and glorify Him also."

CCXI The Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, said "A succession of rulers drawn from Ḳuraysh gives security to the land: Ḳuraysh has thrice been shewn glorious: and if any tribe of the Arabs [seeks to] supplant Ḳuraysh they are partizans of Satan." This [tradition] is quoted by Abu Nu'aym in the "Ḥilya."

CCXII The following is a list of the tribes that are offshoots of Ḳuraysh: BENI SHAYBA, BENI ḤELB, BENI UNAIS, BENI YEZĪD, BENI THAḲĪF, BENI ḤALÁF, BENI MU'ÁWÍA, BENI MÁLIK, BENI KHAḤÍF,

¹ reading هزلول for هزلول.

² reading غلام الله for غلام الله.

³ reading غلام الله for غلام الله.

BENI NÁDIR, BENI HARÁN, BENI MUḤAMMAD, BENI HUZAYL¹, BENI ZARÍB, BENI KÁFÍD, BENI KHUZÁM, BENI MAKHZŪM², and BENI 'ADÍL, all of them Ḳuraysh; and the above is on the authority of el Sheikh Muḥammad el Hindi and el Sheikh Aḥmad el Shámi who wrote on the authority of el Sheikh el Ag-hūri who again wrote on the authority of el Imám Aḥmad ibn Idrís, author of *Kitáb el Ma'áref fí Aṣūl el 'Arab* ["the Book of what is known concerning the origins of the Arabs"].

CCXIII The 'AMRIYYŪN (spelt with 'amr...) are the family of Sulaymán son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwán the Ommawi. He migrated from Syria in the time of Abu Ga'afir 'Abdulla el Saffáh, the first of the Beni el 'Abbás to hold the Khalífate, and settled in Abyssinia; and when Sulaymán heard that the said Abu Ga'afir had set himself to seek out the BENI OMMAYYA after their dispersal into different countries and had finally overtaken Muḥammad ibn el Walíd ibn Hášhim in the land of Andalusia and killed him, he fled from Abyssinia to the Sudan [*berr el Sūdán*] and dwelt there and married the daughter of one of the kings of the Sudan and begot by her two sons, one named Dáūd and the other Ans. Then Sulaymán died and the names of his sons became corrupted in the local dialect, and Dáūd was called "Oudūn," and Ans "Ounsa."

CCXIV The descendants of Ounsa are the OUNSÁB, and of Oudūn the OUDŪNÁB, and the power passed in succession from king to king until finally they became the kings of the Sudan renowned in history.

CCXV The BENI 'ÁMIR are the family of 'Ámir and settled in Abyssinia and were its chieftains; and they are renowned for bravery and courage, and are a mighty tribe.

CCXVI Now the date of the commencement of the dynasty of the FŪNG in the kingdom of Sennár was the beginning of the year 910. The first of them was the Sultan 'Omára Dūnḳas, whom they used to call "King of the Sun and the Darkness" ["Malik el Shams wa el Ḵull"], and he reigned forty-two years. The following were his successors in turn:

'Abd el Ḳádir	reigned twelve years
Náíl	" eleven "
'Omára abu Sakínín	" eight "
Dekín Síd el 'Áda	" nineteen "
Dūda	" nine "
Tanbul	" four "
'Abd el Ḳádir	" five "
Ounsa	" twelve "

¹ reading هذيل for هزيل.

² reading مخزوم for مخزوم.

'Adlān, his son¹, reigned twelve years. And it was he that fought at Karkóg. And after he had vanquished and slain the Sheikh 'Agíb the FÜNG deposed him.

Bádi Síd el Kūm reigned nineteen years

Rubát, his son, reigned twenty-seven years

Bádi, son of Abu Duḡn, reigned thirty-nine years. He was a ruler after God's own heart and was a follower of Sidi 'Abd el Ḳādir el Gayli.

Ounsa, son of Nāṣir the brother of Abu Duḡn, reigned four years

Bádi el Aḥmar reigned twenty-nine years

Ounsa and }
King Nūl } „ seven years

Bádi, son of Nūl „ thirty-nine years

Nāṣir, son of Bádi, }
and Ismá'il } „ twelve years

CCXVII Here ends the FÜNG dynasty. The power was now transferred to the HAMAG. The first of these was Nāṣir walad Muḥammad; and the grace of God was with him and he so extended his kingdom that it had no bounds save the [seven] climates. He reigned twelve years.

CCXVIII His successor was the Sheikh Idrís, his brother, who reigned five years and a half.

CCXIX The next kings were Muḥammad walad Ragab and Muḥammad walad Nāṣir: they reigned four years and a half.

CCXX After them Muḥammad walad Ibráhím reigned for two years.

CCXXI After him succeeded Muḥammad walad 'Adlān and ruled twelve years.

CCXXII Here end the Kings of Sennár, lords of power and strength. After them the power was transferred to the Turks in the year 1230 after the Hegira of the Prophet, to whom be the highest honour and salutations.

CCXXIII Now this manuscript was copied from a manuscript that was found in the writing of el feki Muḥammad ibn el feki el Nūr el Gábirábi of the stock of the four sons of Gábir, [and] I found his son, Ibráhím ibn el feki Muḥammad, saying of it that he copied it from the manuscript of his father Gábir son of Muḥammad 'Ōn son of Selím son of Rubát, and that it was mentioned therein that it was in the writing of el Sherif el Ṭáhir son of el Sherif 'Abdulla son of el Sherif el Ṭáhir son of el Sayyid 'Áid: and I confide the matter to God and his Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and refer [all] knowledge of the matter to God Almighty to whom glory be.

¹ reading ولد عدلان, for ولد عدلان.

CCXXIV Here ends the blessed genealogical tree that unites the pedigrees of the Arabs all together; and God is our help.

CCXXV This manuscript was completed by the hand of its writer, the *fakhr* of God Almighty, el 'Ebayd Muḥammad 'Abd el Raḥman; and its owner is el Nūr Bey, known as 'Anḳara, son of Muḥammad.

CCXXVI May God protect the writer and the owner and all faithful Muḥammadans, both men and women, the living and the dead.

CCXXVII The writing of it was finally completed on the forenoon of Tuesday the 24th of Rabī'a in the year 1325¹, at Omdurmán. End. Praise God.

CCXXVIII In the name of God the compassionate and merciful, he upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are related." El Nūr el Malik [is] son of el Malik Muḥammad son of el Malik Mattī son of el Malik Ibráhīm son of el Malik Ḥasan son of el Malik Muḥammad Khayr son of el Malik 'Omar son of el Malik Faḍl son of el Malik Khiḍr son of el Malik Abu Sowár son of el Malik 'Abd el Manán son of el Malik Muḥammad Fūráwī son of el Malik el Yás son of el Malik Ibráhīm son of el Malik Khiḍr son of el Malik el Nuṣr son of el Malik Mattī son of el Malik Muḥammad son of el Malik Mūsa son of el Malik Sáb el Yal son of el Malik Mūsa, king of the Dufár, son of Dahmash son of Muḥammad el Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrár son of the Sultan Ḥasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Qudá'a son of Ḥarḳán son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad el Yemáni son of Ibráhīm Ga'al son of Idrís son of Qays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adí son of Qusás son of Kerab son of Hátīl son of Yátīl son of Dhu el Kilá'a el Ḥimyarī², who was descended on his mother's side from the tribe of Ḥimyar³, son of Ḥimyar son of Sa'ad el Anṣári, who was descended on his mother's side from the Anṣár, son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášhim son of 'Abd Menáf son of Qusai son of Keláb son of Murra son of Lūai son of Ghálib son of Fihr son of Málík son of el Nuḍr⁴ son of Kenána son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḍr son of Nizár⁵ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán. End.

CCXXIX The poet says on this subject

"how many a father owes the nobility which he possesses to his son, even as 'Adnán owes his to the Prophet of God."

CCXXX Here ends [this work] with praise to God [for] the grace of his assistance.

¹ 1906 A.D. ² reading الحميمير for الحميري. ³ reading حمير for حميرة.

⁴ reading النصر for النضر.

⁵ reading نزار for نزار.

BA (NOTES)

I MSS. 1, 2 and 3 all begin and continue alike. Where differences occur, other than merely clerical errors and unimportant grammatical variations, a note will be found of the fact.

II Cp. C 5 (a), VII.

The phrase which I have translated "Because of the [record of] blood-relationships that they contain" is *لما فيه من صلة الرحم*. The literal meaning of *الرحم* is "the womb," and so "parentage," etc., and *صلة* is from the root *وصل* meaning to join one thing to another: hence *صلة* is also used for "a gift" or "a favour," and *وصل رحمه* comes to mean "He acted well by his relatives." In these *nisbas* the phrase and its variations are very common and apparently suggest less the good treatment of one's relatives than the preservation of one's relationships.

III Cp. BA, XXXII; AB, XLIX; A 3, II; A 4, I; A 9, II; A 11, II; B 1, III; C 3, II; C 5 (a), VI.

The quotation is *تعلموا من انسابكم ما تصلون به ارحامكم* and is very common. Ibn Khaldūn gives it in his second book (ed. ar. vol. II, p. 4).

IV Cp. AB, LI, where this saying is attributed to el Shādhali.

V Cp. AB, LII and LV for the first sentence, and AB, LV; B 1, IV, etc., for the tradition. The Arabic (in BA) is *علم لا ينفع وجهل لا يضر*, or (in AB) *وجهالة لا تضر*...

The tradition is quoted (in the second form) by Ibn Khaldūn in his second book (ed. ar. vol. II, p. 3).

VI Cp. AB, LVIII.

After "concern him" AB adds as a gloss *من دينه*, i.e. "from the point of view of religion." The words are attributed by AB to Yūsef ibn 'Omar.

VII Cp. AB, LXIV and B 1, IV.

The Arabic in MS. No. 2 is as follows:

وفي آخر الزمان يحصل فيه ملك الا نزاب ولا يتخلصون الا بالانساب

The meaning is that people will take to calling each other slaves and base-born, and the truth or falsity of the assertion will only be susceptible of proof by the means of pedigrees. For *الانزاب* No. 1 gives *الانزاب*. AB and B 1 give *العرب*: the word *انزاب* was no doubt unfamiliar.

IX Cp. AB, LXVII and C 5 (a), VII.

The Arabic is *فواجب تعليم الانساب لان صلة الرحم واجبة*. Cp. para. II.

By the "Igm'a" here is meant "the unanimous consent" of the Companions to the genuineness or validity of a particular tradition or rule (see Sell, *Essays on Islam*, p. 259; and Huart, pp. 236-7).

For the "Sunna," aptly called "the Blackstone of Islam," see Hamilton's *Hedayat*, pp. xv *et seq.* Cp. D 3, LXVI (end).

x Cp. AB, LXVIII.

The quotation is from the 4th chapter of the *Qurán* (see Sale, p. 53).

xi Cp. AB, LXIX.

xii Cp. AB, LXX.

xiii Cp. AB, LXXIII, and C 5 (a), v.

The Arabic is *صل من وصلني واقطع من قطعني*.

The tradition is given by el Bokhári in the chapter *Kitáb Tafsir el Qurán* as a commentary on the Kuranic phrase *وتقطعوا أرحامكم* as follows:

"It is related on the authority of Abu Hurayra...concerning the Prophet...that God created the world, and when he had completed it the womb arose and seized him by the loins and said 'Stop! This is the time for me to beseech Thee that I be not cut off.' And God said 'Art thou indeed willing that I honour him that honours thee, and cut off him that cuts thee off?' The womb said 'Yea, O Lord.' Then God said 'Let it be so.'" (See el Zebaydi, vol. II, p. 117.)

"El 'arsh" is the word for the imperial throne of God (see Sale's *Koran*, p. 28 of the text). A tradition quoted by Sell (p. 30) probably gives the key to the meaning, viz. *قلوب المؤمنين عرش الله تعالى*, i.e. "The hearts of the faithful are the throne of God Almighty."

xiv Cp. AB, LXXIV.

xv Cp. AB, XXVI and D 5 (c), XVIII. MS. No. 2 gives the final words of the paragraph as *فانه عليهما حاز*, MS. No. 1 as *فانه على ما حاز*.

xvi Cp. AB, cv, cv.

xviii Cp. AB, cx.

xix For both quotations, down to the end of para. xx, see *Qurán*, ch. 49 (Sale, p. 382). After the words "that is" sc. "the faithful are brethren."

xxii Cp. AB, CXI; A 9, 1; C 3, 1; C 5 (a), III.

The quotation is a continuation of that in paras. XIX and XX.

xxiii Cp. AB, CXX; A 3, III; A 8, 1; C 3, 1; C 5 (a), III.

A continuation of the last quotation. The words "and tribes" are omitted by mistake.

xxiv *et seq.* Cp. AB, CXXI *et seq.*

These paragraphs, up to and including XXXI, are by way of parenthesis. The explanation concerning the correct designation of the various divisions and subdivisions of mankind into nations, tribes, etc., is prefaced in AB by the words "According to el Kházin" (for whom see note on AB, CIX). The subject is treated by Wüstenfeld in the introduction to his *Register* (q.v. pp. ix-xi). He shews that the traditional nomenclature is to be traced to Muḥammad Abu el Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Abu Ga'afir, a *sherif* known as "Obaydulla," the author of the *Tahdhib el Insáb wa Nihdyat el A'káb*. "Obaydulla" gives ten relative divisions, of each of which he gives the exact distinctive connotation, and adds definitions, quotations, and illustrative examples. His divisions are as follows:

- | | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------|---|
| { | 1. | <i>gidhm</i> , e.g. | 'Adnán, the forefather of the Ismá'ilitic stocks, or Kaḥṭán, the forefather of the Yemenite stocks. All the Arabs traced descent to one or the other. |
| | 2. | <i>gumhūr</i> , e.g. | MA'AD. |
| | 3. | <i>sha'b</i> | „ NIZÁR. |
| | 4. | <i>ḡabīla</i> | „ MUḌR. |
| | 5. | ' <i>amdra</i> | „ descendants of EL YÁs. |
| | 6. | <i>baṭn</i> | „ KENÁNA. |
| | 7. | <i>fakhdh</i> | „ KURAYSH. |
| | 8. | ' <i>ashtra</i> | „ KUṢAI. |
| | 9. | <i>faṣīla</i> | „ 'ABD MENÁF. |
| | 10. | <i>rahit</i> | (a group of less than 10), e.g. BENI HÁSHIM. |

Or, "another example":

{	FIHR	= a <i>sha'b</i> .
	KUṢAI	= a <i>ḡabīla</i> .
	HÁSHIM	= a ' <i>amdra</i> .
	'ALI	= a <i>baṭn</i> .
	EL HÁSAN	= a <i>fakhdh</i>
		etc.

The names of the forefathers given do not form an unbroken line of pedigree in either case.

Wüstenfeld's quotation from "'Obaydulla," though short, contains two of the stock quotations found in BA and AB, viz. the one to the effect that any pedigree traced beyond 'Adnán is spurious, and the other "I have created you male and female and made you . . . , etc." (see paras. xxii and xxiii).

xxiv The Arabic for what I have translated "The sources of the tribes" is رؤس القبائل (*lit.* "the heads of the tribes"). "'Obaydulla" likewise employs a simile on these lines.

With him

{	<i>sha'b</i>	corresponds to	the head
	<i>ḡabīla</i>	„	„ breast
	' <i>amdra</i>	„	„ hañd
	<i>baṭn</i>	„	„ stomach
	<i>fakhdh</i>	„	„ liver
	' <i>ashtra</i>	„	„ two legs
	<i>faṣīla</i>	„	„ foot
	<i>rahit</i>	„	„ toes

Of the above terms *ḡabīla* is the only one commonly used in the Sudan. The usual terms for subdivisions of the *ḡabīla* are *hashim-bayt* (*pl.* *hashimbuyūt*), a house-group, *fera'a* (*pl.* *ferū'a*), a branch, *badana* (*pl.* *badandāt*), properly a trunk, and occasionally *rākūba* (*pl.* *ruwākīb*), an offshoot. In Kordofán *badana* is used (by the western tribes) to denote the main subdivisions of the tribe. The other terms are all used loosely: *hashimbayt* is of general use; *fera'a* is less technical, and *rākūba* is rare and literary. On this subject see Jaussen, pp. 112-114.

After رؤس القبائل BA rightly gives مثل ("such as"): AB by mistake gives من ("from").

xxv MS. No. 3 also omits the دون. AB inserts it.

xxvi "SHAYBÁN" is certainly correct. AB (the original) gives كيسان ("such as Yasán"—a non-existent tribe), instead of كشييان. Here we have evidence that the corresponding passages in BA and AB were taken from different sources.

xxx This paragraph is in AB prefaced by "It is said that. . ."

xxxi The first half of this paragraph is omitted in AB.

xxxii Cp. BA, III; AB, cxx; A 3, III; A 8, II; A 7, I; C 5 (a), III.

The quotation continues the previous one (para. xxiii), from ch. 49 of the *Qurán*. A 3 omits the explanatory part of this paragraph.

xxxiii Cp. AB, cxv; A 3, III; C 3, I.

"He," as appears from AB, is el Kházin.

This quotation, a very common one, is again from ch. 49 of the *Qurán*.

MS. 3 here correctly gives الخصلة, MSS. 1 and 2 wrongly give الفصل.

xxxvii Cp. AB, cxvi. This tradition is given by el Bokhári in the chapters entitled *Kitáb badi el Khalq* and *Mandáhibu Qurayshin* (see el Zebaydi, vol. II, pp. 38 and 46).

"Yūsef" is Joseph, and "The Friend of God" ("el Khalíl") is Abraham. One generation is omitted.

The word translated "original sources" is معادن. AB gives this correctly, but apparently none of the copyists of BA knew the word.

xxxviii Cp. AB, cxvii.

For "she-camel" BA gives "náha" and BA "rahála." The camel was called "el Kaṣwá" and was the famous one on which the Prophet fled from Mekka. The second half of this paragraph occurs in AB, cvi and cxvii in a different setting.

AB and MS. 3 of BA give عيبة for غيبة (MSS. 1 and 2).

xli Cp. AB, cviii.

xlvi Cp. AB, cix and A 8, I.

xliv Abu Lahab was the uncle of the Prophet. Ch. III of the *Qurán* is devoted to cursing him for his opposition to Islam.

xlvi The quotation is from ch. 53 of the *Qurán*.

xlvi Cp. AB, cxxx.

xlvi Cp. AB, cxxxi, cxxxii; A 3, IV; and D 1, Lxxxiv.

The tradition occurs in el Bokhári (chapter *Mandáhibu Qurayshin*, see el Zebaydi, vol. II, p. 46) in the following words:

عن ابي هريرة رضى الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
قريش والانصار وجهينة ومزينة واسلم واشجع وغفار موالى ليس لهم مولى
دون الله ورسوله

"'Abd el Báki" is 'Abd el Báki ibn Yūsef el Zurkāni (for whom see Hāgi Khalfā's *Lexicon*, vol. V, p. 447). He was born 1020 A.H. and died in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.).

The word مشكات means literally a niche in a wall wherein to place a lamp.

The seven great Arabian tribes mentioned will all be found in Wüstenfeld. By "el Anṣār" are meant Aus and KHAZRAG.

XLIX Cp. AB, CXXXIV, CXXXV; and A 3, v.

AB prefaces the paragraph by "In some reliable records I have found that. . . ." Of the seven tribes given six are identical (though the order is varied) with those given in AB, but in place of *ḲURAYSH* AB gives *KHUZAYMA* (as also does D 1, LXXXV). AB again gives "Who am thus the noblest of the noblest of the noblest. . ." and omits from "And this is. . ." to "true one." MS. 3 spells *GĤAFĀR* جافار.

L Cp. AB, CXXXVIII, CXXXIX; B 1, II; B 3, I.

For "*NĠM*" AB and B 1 give "*LAGM*"; B 3 gives "*NĠM*." AB, B 1, and B 3 all add *GUDĤĀM* to the list.

The tribes mentioned seem to be mostly, if not all, *Ḳaḥṭānite* tribes descended from 'Abd Shams. "*NĠM*" (or "*Lagm*") may be a corruption of *LAKHM*. "*Bīṣar*" is mentioned by Mas'ūdi (chap. xxxi) as a son of Ham who migrated westwards to Egypt, and was the father of Miṣr, but he seems out of place here. B 1 reads "*Bīṣ*." "*ḤUḲNA*" (حقة) may be a corruption of *GAFNA* (جفنة) (for whom see D 1, 194). "*KELĀB EL AZD*" should possibly be "*KELĀB* (or *KELB*) and *EL AZD*," both well-known tribes. MSS. 1 and 2 give "*KELĀM EL AZRAD*," and MS. 1 "*KELĀB EL AZRAD*."

"*El Maḥassi*" is apocryphal. After "*Ḳaḥṭān*" AB continues "And another version is that *el Maḥassi* was the son of the prophet *Ibrāhīm*. . . but I have not found this true." The author of BA seems to have combined the two versions. MS. 1 gives "*el Maḥassi son of Ḳaḥṭān son of el Maḥassi. . . etc.*," which more nearly agrees with B 1; but I have followed MS. 2 here.

LI Cp. AB, CXXXVI, and D 1, LXXXIV, LXXXV.

All three MSS. of BA give *ممتزجة* for *ممتزجة* (AB).

The version of AB differs from BA as follows:

- (a) *re* *GUHAYNA*, the words "and the west" are omitted.
- (b) „ *ḤIMYAR*, after "el Baṣra" AB adds "and Persia" ["*Fāris*"].
- (c) „ *ASHGA'A*, after "Tūnis" AB adds "and Andalusia."
- (d) „ *GĤAFĀR*, AB substitutes "el Baṣra" for "Andalusia and Persia."
- (e) „ *KENĀNA*, after "Egypt" AB adds "and Syria."

There is a large colony of *MUZAYNA* at the S.E. end of the Sinai Peninsula. They claim to be *Ḥarb* by origin and their chief branch is the 'Alowna, a name which occurs more than once in the Sudan as that of a tribal division. See Na'ūm Bey, *Hist. Sinai*..., p. 112, for the *Muzayna*.

LII This and the following three paragraphs do not occur in AB.

For the story of Noah and Ham cp. *el Ṭabari*, p. 107.

LIII By *Ḳurān* are meant the *ḲURA'ĀN*, a wide term generally applied in the Sudan to the negroid element among the *TĠBBU*. They almost certainly represent the ancient *GARAMANTES* and are the "*GORAN*" of *Leo Africanus* (see MacMichael, *Tribes*..., pp. 235 *et seq.*).

For "*EL HIND*" and "*EL SIND*" and *GOG* and *MAGOG* see notes to D 1, LVI and LXX.

As regards "*FĀRISH*" and "*DĀRISH*" and "*KĤĀLABḲĀ*" and "*GĀBIRSĀ*" (MS. 3 "*GABŪSĀ*") I fancy the Kurdish tribes are meant. Mas'ūdi (ch.

XLVI, p. 254) speaks of various Kurdish tribes who allege descent from 'Adnán and among them occur "the BĀRISĀN and the KĀHĀLĀ and the GĀBĀRĪĀ.

LIV "'Ālig" is Raml 'Ālig, a series of great sandhills famous as the scene in pre-Islamic times of the destruction of the tribe of Wabār (see Mas'ūdi, ch. XLVII, p. 288).

LVI Here is confusion: from Rayth to Muḍr is correct (see Wüstenfeld, H), but this Muḍr, father of 'Aylān, is the Muḍr mentioned five lines later as son of Nizār, and the series of names intervening between the two mentions of Muḍr, viz. Mu'āwīa to el Yās, have got into the text by some error: this series is in itself too slightly inaccurate: Ka'ab is omitted between Murra and Lṭai, and the relationships of Mu'āwīa and el Ḥakam to 'Affān are wrongly shewn, and the father of 'Affān and son of Ommayya was Abu el 'Asī (see Wüstenfeld, U and V).

MS. 3 gives *وهيمان* for *ريش* and *ريش* for *ريث*.

MSS. 1, 2, 3, all give *عظفا* by error for *غطفان*.

The Dhubiān intended in this passage is certainly Dhubiān the son of Baghiḍ (for which Mufiḍ is probably an error), and grandson of Rayth ibn Ghaṭafān: he was brother of 'Abs and father of Fezāra, both of which names occur very frequently in *nishas* in conjunction with that of Dhubiān. Cp. ABC, xxviii.

There was a Dahmān who was descended from Rayth in the fifth degree (see Wüstenfeld, H).

Fihir is the same as Ḳuraysh.

LVII Cp. BA, cxxiv and ABC, xxvi.

From el Zubayr to Ḳuṣai is correct (see Wüstenfeld, T). The rest is apparently pure invention, though identical with B 1, xxiv. MS. 1 gives *خولد* by error for *خويلد*.

LVIII See ABC, xxvi.

'Abdulla ibn Unays is the "'Abdulla el Guhani" from whom so many Sudan Arab tribes claim descent. He sometimes appears (*e.g.* in D 1, LXXVI) as "son of Anas" or "son of Anas ibn Mālik," "Anas" being in such cases a corruption of Unays and the insertion of Mālik due to the fact that the famous divine Mālik was son of Anas.

'Abdulla "el Guhani" belonged to the family of Ḳuḍā'a and was not, strictly speaking, a Guhayni at all, but was so nicknamed. He was a descendant of Ḳuḍā'a through 'Imram and Taghlib, whereas Guhayna was descended from Ḳuḍā'a through Aslam (see Wüstenfeld, 2). Wüstenfeld (p. 21) gives the following details concerning him:

He lived among the family of Salīma ibn Sa'ad, a Khazragi, in Medīna and was named "el Guhani" although not descended from Guhayna. After he had embraced Islam he joined Mu'ādh ibn Gebel in destroying the idols of Salīma, was one of the "Seventy" at el 'Aḳaba, and fought at Ohod. He was also entrusted by the Prophet with the duty of getting rid of Khālid ibn Sufiān, the chief of the Laḥiān Arabs. Having accomplished this (in 625 A.D., see Muir's *Life...*, p. 267) he returned to Muḥammad, who presented him with his staff saying "This shall be a token

between me and thee on the Day of Resurrection. Verily, few on that day shall have wherewithal to lean upon." 'Abdulla was known in consequence as "Dhu Mikḥṣara" ("He of the Staff"). He lived at A'raf near Medīna and was once summoned by Muḥammad to Medīna and stayed there all night in the mosque; this night was known thenceforth as "The night of el Guhani." He died in 54 A.H. and left four sons, 'Aṭīa, 'Amr, Ḍamra, and 'Abdulla.

Muir also mentions (pp. 337-8) that in 627 A.D. he assassinated the Jewish chief Abu el Hukayk, and in 628 A.D. his successor also.

For the connection between him and Dhubián, the ancestor of the GUHAYNA of the Sudan, see note to D I, LXXXVI.

LIX Cp. B I, VI; B 3, II; D I, LXXXIX, etc.

All the GUHAYNA group of *nīsba*s say Dhubián had ten sons, and the names vary but little. "Shaṭīr" is sometimes (*e.g.* AB) written Shaṭīr: for "Gudhám" MS. 2 gives "Guzám": "Sufián Afzar" is a fake, two men being combined into one. "Afzar" is a reminiscence of Fezára the son of the Dhubián of para. LVI. The variations in the details of this and following paragraphs will be seen by reference to the trees.

LXII-LXV AB (CXLI, CXLII) speaks of "Sulṭán who was ancestor of seven tribes," and continues, "I have omitted mention of them for fear of proximity, but whoever wishes to know them should refer to the manuscript copied from *The Noble Gift and Rare Excellence* by el Imám el Sháfa'i, from which he [*sc.* the copyist] copied them: you will find this complete." Now the author of AB (only in the original MS. of 1853) has actually written the seven descendants of Sulṭán and crossed them out: they are, however, still legible and are inserted in the tree of AB (*q.v.*).

As regards the title of the work of el Sháfa'i quoted, the two nouns as written in the original MS. of AB would not be clearly legible, though the adjectives are so, were it not for the aid of the B I *nīsba*, which (assuming its correctness) gives the whole title, viz. "*El Naḥḥat el Sherifa wa 'l Ṭurfa 'l Munifa* (*q.v.* B I, I). The copy of AB made for the author's son in 1910 gives only *التحفه الشريفة والطرق*. Cp. also B 3, I. Or "*Tuḥfat*" instead of "*Naḥḥat*" may perhaps be correct.

If by "el Sháfa'i" is meant the Imám Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad Idrīs el Sháfa'i it may be noted that the *Fihrist* (988 A.D.) quotes the names of 109 works by him, of which four or five only survive, and the title quoted is not among them.

MS. 1 gives "Fádin," MS. 2 "Fádni," and later "Fádin."

MS. 3 omits "(or Hamayl)"—so spelt in MS. 2.

In para. LXV MS. 3 has omitted a line thus making the DĀŪDĪA descendants of Mashaykh.

LXVI AB (para. CLIII) says "From Muḥammad are descended the MEZANIYYŪN, who are *protégés* to 'Ámir (وهو نصره الي عامر), and the LAḤAWIYYŪN (reading *اللاحويين* for *اللاحويين*), who are *protégés* to 'Ámira (وهو نصره الي عامرة), and the ZUMAYLĀT."

The exact meaning of *نصره* is obscure, but I think it is represented by "*protégés*" or "*clientes*," *i.e.* not descendants but adherents. 'Ámir

may be the individual and 'Āmira be the equivalent of Beni 'Āmir, *i.e.* the tribe; or the text may simply be corrupt. The author's son could not help me here.

In para. xciii a different descent is given for the LAḤAWIYYŪN. For "Ruwaḥ's the RUWAḤĪA..., etc.," MS. 3 gives "Dwayḥ's the DWAYḤA; and Gimayl's the GIMAYLĀB, a tribe called AWLĀD GIMAYL between el Hind..., etc." (as text).

LXVII AB (original) gives "And the MUBĀDIRĪA" (والمبادرية); the copy of it made for the author's son gives "And the BĀDIRĪA" (والبادية); BA (MS. 2) gives "And the UM BĀDIĀ" (والام بادية); BA (MS. 1) gives "And the LĀMBĀDIA" (واللام بادية); BA (MS. 3) gives an ingenious emendation, viz. "And the mother was one of the nomads" (ولام من البادية, *wa el um min el bādīa*). The correct version is no doubt "and the Umbādirīa": cp. D 1, xc, and Cailliaud, III, 127, where we get "...des Arabes Qenāneh, Choukryehs [Shukrīa], Oumbadryehs, Bouadrehs, Kaouāhlehs, habitent les contrées voisines de ces rivières" [the Rahad, Dinder and Atbara]. The name Umbādirīa occurs again among the sections of Gilaydāt (Dār Ḥāmid) of Kordofān (*q.v.*).

LXVIII MS. 1 gives بکرهم by mistake for بکرهن.

LXIX MS. 3 gives "KELLĪ" (كلى) for "KELB" (كلب) here and in para. LXXXVIII, but later "KELB."

LXX "FŪL" are the FELLĀTA (see Johnston, *Hist. Coloniz...*, p. 12).

MS. 3 gives "Marṣīṣ" for "Marḥīṣ."

LXXI The author of AB (para. CLII) says that he does not know who were Rāfa'i's descendants.

For "Zanfāl" AB and MS. 3 of BA give "Zanḡāl": the former is correct as the tribe is "ZENĀFLA."

All three MSS. of BA in this paragraph and the next give "Bashāriḡ" instead of "Shabāriḡ," but only MS. 3 gives "BASHĀRḠA" for "SHABĀRḠA" in para. LXXII, and the latter is certainly the correct name of the tribe.

LXXII To this group of sub-tribes which, in AB, is prefaced by "It is said that of the seed of Muḥammad were..., etc.," the "ḤAGĀḤĀB" are added by AB. This is an error for ḤAGĀGĀB.

After "the ḠAWĀSMA and" MS. 3 inserts "of Ḥāmid" though "Ḥāmid" had not been mentioned. Probably Ḥāmid ought to be added in para. LXXI to the sons of Rāfa'i.

LXXIII Cp. D 1, xcVIII.

LXXIV MS. 3 omits Fūāḡ and 'Ōn here but mentions them some ten paragraphs later.

LXXV, LXXVI For "Dārīsh" MS. 3 gives "Darāsh," for "KŪĀKĪR" "KŪKĪR," and for "FOWĀKHIDHĪA" "FOWĀKHIDHA."

LXXVII For "Durrak" MS. 3 gives (throughout) "Dōka."

LXXVIII "Ḥamar" and "Ḥamrán" are presumably meant to represent the ancestors of the tribes so named.

MS. 3 gives the descendants of Dasham (*q.v.* paras. LXXXIV, LXXXV) here instead of later, and spells several of the names differently.

LXXIX MS. 3 gives "Amūr"i "Amūd" here and in LXXXI.

LXXXI "Shiblá" is no doubt the "Sabíl" of AB, CLV.

MS. 3 gives "Shibl" here, and in LXXXII "Shibayli."

LXXXII The "MUWÁRIGA" are the "MUWÁḤIDA" of AB, CLV.

After "the 'ISAYLÁT" MS. 3 inserts "and of Ḥakím the ḤAKÍMÍA," and after "the ḤASÁNÍA" MS. 3 inserts *الثقالي والشبقي اشغل من ابناء حسن ابن عمور*.

LXXXIII As descendants of 'Affan MS. 1 gives *العقاب او العقاب* ("The 'AḤBÁB or 'AḤÁB"); MS. 2 gives *العقبان او العفنان*; MS. 3 gives merely "the 'AḤBÁB."

LXXXIV MS. 1 gives "Ḥegáz" for "Ḥegázi."

LXXXV MS. 1 gives "ZUHRIYYŪN."

LXXXVI The SHUKRÁB appears again in the next paragraph.

LXXXVII Instead of "and Missír and Ma'atūk" MS. 3 has "and Missír the freedman ('ma'atūk) of Gurfán." For "Sárib" MS. 3 has "Shárib," and for "SHUKRÁB" "SHUKRÁT." MS. 3 has the whole passage cast in a different form, and adds the "MEZÁLŭ" (*i.e.* the Mašálŭ of Dárfūr) after the FELLÁTA, and omits 'OḤAYL.

By "TUNGURÁB" are meant the TUNGUR of Dárfūr.

"AFNŪ" is the name given by the people of Bornŭ to the HAUSSA (see Cooley, pp. 120, 121).

"MADAḤA" may be a corruption of MAḤDISHÓ (see Cooley, p. 127) or of MAGHZÁ (Cooley, p. 131).

LXXXVIII MS. 3 gives here "Dágū" for "Dágir," but "Dágir" later.

XC For "THAḤRA" MS. 3 gives "NAḤRA," and for "ḤUMDAR" "KU-MŪRA," and for "DABAYTÍA" "RAYTA."

By the BELŪ possibly are meant the people of that name who formed an aristocracy among the Beni 'Ámir in the East until the Nabtáb section ousted them, and who are mentioned by Munzinger (*Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 287) as ruling certain territory north of Maššáwa (see Seligman, *Roy. Anth. Journ.* vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 601). Mansfield Parkyns (*Life in Abyssinia*, I, p. 103) also mentions them near Arkíko and gives some account of them.

XCi "BERÁGHŪTH" means "fleas" or, on the coast, "shrimps."

XCII Contrast para. LXVI for the LAḤÁWIYYŪN.

XCIV MS. 3 says "...and of Dágir the DAWÁGIRA, who are in the east, and the people of el Nūḵ el Bakht are the descendants of Kelb ibn Muḥammad."

XCVI Cp. B 3, VII.

MS. 2 gives "Sabāḵ" here and in XCVII for "Sabīḵ."

MS. 3 gives "Akfrit and Adkaym" here and in XCVII.

XCVII MSS. 1 and 3 gives "KIRÁT" for "KURTÁN," but cp. para. CLV. MS. 3 says the GERÁBÍ'A are the children of Ba'asham (and descendants of 'Omrán).

The word GERÁBÍ'A is a plural formed from Girbu'. There is a section of ZAYÁDÍA called AWLÁD GIRBU'; and the name GERÁBA'A also occurs as that of a sub-tribe in Sinai.

XCIX MS. 3 omits "and the ZAYÁDÍA."

c "Sha'uf" appears in B 1 as "Ashūf," and in ABC as "Shaḫūḫ." Cp. ABC, xxvii.

CI Kabsh is meant as ancestor of the KABÁBISH, Ribayḫ of the RIBAYḲÁT, Berára of the BERÁRA, Ḳerri of the ḲERRIÁT, and 'Aṭawi of the 'AṬÁWIA, all at present sections of the KABÁBISH except the ḲERRIÁT ("GERRIÁT"), who are independent.

CII MS. 3 in error writes "Gewár" for "Gerár."

CIII The BENI GERÁR and their sections.

CIV The BAZA'A and their sections. For "Nūrán" MS. 1 gives "Nūlán." MS. 3 says "The sons of Abza'a were Fūr and Nūr and Merwán, and Merwán begot Mál; and as regards el Ḥág Mázin his sons were . . . , etc."

CVI, CVII Cp. A 3, xxxvii-xxxix.

I have translated "Baghdád" and "BAGHÁDA," which are obviously intended, but the text of MS. 1 gives (1) بغداد and (2) بعدار, and بقارة (بغادة), and MSS. 2 and 3 give بغداد and بقارة.

CVIII Contrast D 1, cxxxii.

CX MS. 3 is here confused and inaccurate. These descendants of Ḥámíd are collectively known as "DÁR ḤÁMID." For "HABÁBIN" (which is correct in MS. 1) MS. 2 gives "HABÁNIN."

CXI Cp. D 1, cxlvi.

MS. 3 says "The descendants of Ḥammad are ḲOI (*i.e.* AWLÁD AḲOI) and the MEGÁNIN are descendants of Ḥámíd: their father was called 'Magnūn.'"

CXII-CXV MS. 3 puts this earlier and says "Hilál's descendants are HILÁLA and Hasan el Hiláli . . . , etc.," and substitutes "Ūlū el Ghába" for "Ūlū el Gháya."

This concubine, who would be a negress, is apparently invented in order to drag in all the negro tribes of the upper reaches of the White Nile.

CXVI For "ḲÁFÁB" and "MAḤÍDÁB" and "BAḲÁB" (MS. 1) MS. 2 gives "ḲÁFLÁB" and "MAḤÍDÁT" and "BALḲÁRA."

MS. 3 says "The descendants of Zayád are the ZAYÁDIA. The SHUKRÍA are of the stock of Muḥammad ibn 'Ámir Sha'ib; and Sha'ib's descendants are the NÁÍLÁB and the MAḤÍDÁT and the 'AḲṢA (?) and the BAḲÁB and the DÓÁLÍB and the MESÁ'ÍB and the FERÁḲÍB (?) and the ḤAGÍLÁB and the KÁSIRÁB and the SHUKRÁB and the GABÁGIRA and the MA'ÁIDA, and their subdivisions."

CXVII For this story see Sale's *Koran* (p. 342) and Hughes (p. 601). The Gin was, however, called Ṣaḫr.

MS. 3 gives "Khásia" for "Ḳhás," and adds "the FELLÁTA."

Mekáda here means Abyssinia. Cp. D 7 *passim*. The word is used, *e.g.* by the Takárir of Ḳallábát, etc., to denote the Abyssinians: it means "slaves" (see *Angl.-Eg. Sudan*, I, 108).

By the "Khás" are meant the Ḥasa or Khasa of whom Makrizi (*Descr. Egypt*, II, 571) speaks as a Muḥammadan tribe of Bega inhabiting Sūákin. The name now applies to the strongest division of the Beni 'Ámir and to the language of the whole tribe (see Seligman, *Journ. R. A. I.* vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 600).

cxviii The Arabic translated "some say they are among the above" is قِيلَ مِنْهُمْ and it seems that "the above" are the group in the preceding paragraph. The generality of *nishas* gives their ancestor as Zubayr ibn el 'Awwām.

cxix Cp. A 2, xxxvii; A 11, LXI and D 1, CLIV.

This 'Ukba ibn Yāsir also occurs as ancestor of the Awlād 'Ukba who are now a section of the KABĀBISH, and there is also a traditional connection between the AWLĀD 'Ukba and the FELLĀTA (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 178 *et seq.*). It is just possible that he may have been confounded with 'Abdulla ibn Yāsīn, the Berber holy-man and leader who flourished about 1050 A.D. (see Johnston, p. 63).

cxxi Balqis is the biblical queen of Sheba.

cxix "El Gcmal" is Sheikh Sulaymān el Gemal, a Qurānic commentator. A *hāshia* is properly a series of glosses on a commentary. The work of el Gemal was entitled *El Futūḥāt el Illāhiya*.

The first passage quoted is from Ch. 37 of the Qurān, and the second from Ch. 49.

cxxiii Cp. B 1, XXIII and ABC, xxvi. Sōba is the ancient 'Aloa: cp. D 7, v.

cxxiv See Wüstenfeld, T, and cp. paras. LVII and B 1, XXIV.

Zubayr had 14 sons, including an 'Abdulla but not a Ḥasan.

cxxvi MS. 3 gives "Mazayn" for "Merīn."

cxxvii There has been no previous mention of this "Khamṣīn."

cxxviii MS. 3 reads "The descendants of 'Amir are the 'AWĀMRA and the...", etc. (as in MSS. 1 and 2), and omits the last sentence.

cxxix-cxxxii Cp. AB, CLXII-CLXV; A 11, VIII; A 3, x, etc.

The word translated "allied themselves" is تنسب (*i.e. lit.* "traced their genealogy"). The words "and [similarly] GUHAYNA were 80 tribes" are omitted in A 1.

MS. 3 omits "and Hilāl."

cxxxiii Cp. AB, CLXVI and xxxix *et seq.*; BA, CCXXVIII; A 2, 1; A 3, xv.

MS. 3 gives "Buḍā'a" for "Kuḍā'a"; and "Ibrāhīm el Ga'ālī" for "Ibrāhīm Ga'al"; and "Yemen, the Khazragi on his mother's side, son of 'Adnān" instead of "Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adī"; and "The Ḥimyarī on his mother's side, son of Ḥamayd son of Sa'ad the Anṣārī on his mother's side" instead of "el Ḥimyarī son of..., etc."

The Arabic for "the ... on his mother's side," or "whose mother was descended from..." is ... من نسيه لأمه or من جهة أمه. This apparent practice of surnaming a man after his mother's tribe is worth noting. Cp. A 9, III (note).

"Son of Ḥimyar" is no doubt an error. A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 10 all give Dhu el Kilā'a el Ḥimyarī as son of Sa'ad. "Son of Ḥimyar" was probably at first a corruption of "el Ḥimyarī," and then a copyist added "el Ḥimyarī" without removing "son of Ḥimyar." The version quoted in para. xxxix of AB contains the same error. A 2 (alone) gives "son of Ḥudha'a" in place of "son of Ḥimyar."

As a matter of fact I distrust the statement that Dhu el Kilā'a was

called "el Ḥimyarī" because his mother was of Ḥimyar. Dhu el Kilā'a was a well-known Ḥimyaritic name (see Chaps. XLIII, LXXV and XCIV of Mas'ūdi, and Wüstenfeld, 3), as were also Ḳudā'a and 'Adi. There was also a Ḥimyarite king "Masrūk" son of Abrahā (see Mas'ūdi, Ch. XLIII); and "el Yemāni" and "Yemen" suggest Ḥimyaritic origins. In fact, until one reaches the immediate descendants of el 'Abbās the names given in this paragraph strongly suggest Ḥimyaritic rather than Ismā'īlitic affinities. So, too, the account given by el Mas'ūdi (Ch. xxxi) as that of an old Copt living in southern Egypt, who was interrogated about 260 A.H. by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, would strongly corroborate a theory of Ḥimyaritic affinities for the GA'ALĪN. The old Copt said that the NŪBA [*i.e.* the inhabitants of Dongola and thereabouts] used bows of which the pattern had been borrowed from them by the tribes of the Ḥegāz and Yemen, and that "*their kings boast that they are Ḥimyarites*" (وملوكهم زعم انهم من حمير): see Vol. I, pp. 8 and 168. Of course a late genealogist would not hesitate to graft an Ḥimyaritic branch on to an Ismā'īlitic stem for the sake of exalting the tribe's lineage, and it would appear that this has actually been done. The early (Ismā'īlitic) generations are given correctly in para. CXXXIV.

CXXXIV MS. 3 omits this and the following paragraph altogether.

The pedigree given in CXXXIII is more common than the syncopated one favoured here and by the author of AB, on account of its not containing so many non-Arab names. For Serrār see AB, paras. CLXX and CCXII. Bir Serrār, the old rock-hewn wells at the foot of the hill of the same name near Bāra in Kordofān, are said to be named after him.

CXXXV Cp. AB, XXIX; A 1, LII; A 2, III; A 6, III; A 8, IX; B 1, XXVIII.

For this injunction not to trace pedigrees beyond 'Adnān (or his son Ma'ad) see Mas'ūdi, Chaps. LXIX and LXX, where the following occur:

(1) ثم قول النبي صلعم كذب النسابون وامر ان ينسب الي معد ونهى ان يتجاوز بالنسب الي فوق ذلك لعلمه بها مضى من الاعصار الخالية والامر الغانية

(2) وقد نهى النبي صلعم على حسب ما ذكرنا من نهيه ان يتجاوز عن معد فقد ثبت ان يوفق في النسب على معد فقط وقد اختلف اهل النسب على ما ذكرنا فالواجب التوقف عند امره

(3) وانما ذكرنا هذا النسب من هـ الوجه ليعلم تنازع الناس في ذلك ولذلك نهى النبي صلعم عن تجاوز معد لعلمه من تباعد الانساب وكثرة الاراء في طول هـ الاعصار

Caussin de Perceval (Vol. I, p. 183) admits the unimpeachableness of the pedigrees between Muḥammad and 'Adnān and concludes that the birth of 'Adnān cannot be earlier than 130 B.C.

Muḥammad's objection to pedigrees extending beyond 'Adnān was simply that any such must necessarily be guesswork. As he laconically said *من ههنا كذب النسابون*, "Beyond this point the genealogists lie" (quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, Ar. ed. Vol. II, p. 3).

CXXXVI Cp. AB, CLXVI. MS. 3 omits the parenthesis, but adds that [Kerdam] lived "in the land of el Hegáz and el Ariáf."

CXXXVII Cp. AB, CLXVII. Tergam's descendants are presumably the TERÁGMA, a subsection of GA'ALÍN that occur, *e.g.*, at H. el Rekayb on the Blue Nile near el Kámlín. "Terágma" also occurs on the maps as the name of a village in Berber province.

MS. 3 omits "but I do not know of his having any descendants." The Tergam Arabs of Dárfür and Wadái (*q.v.* Part III, Ch. 3 (1)) may also conceivably have some connection with "Tergam" the brother of Kerdam.

CXXXVIII Cp. AB, CLXVIII; A 2, XIX and A 11, XLV.

In this and the next paragraph MSS. 2 and 3 give "Tomám" for "Tamám."

It appears from the mention of Kūfa that the generations previous to Kerdam lived west of the Syrian desert near Meshed 'Ali on the Euphrates, and that Kerdam or his sons migrated to the Sudan.

CXXXIX Cp. AB, CLXIX and A 11, XI *et seq.*

The singular of SAĶĀRANG is pronounced "Saķirnyáwi."

CXL This and the following paragraphs, to and including CLXI, are similar to paras. CLXXI to CCIX of AB: points of dissimilarity will be seen from the trees and from the following notes.

AB remarks (CLXXI) that some accounts give only Bedayr and Abu Shayḥ as sons of Samra. In A 1 "Abu Shaykh" is three times given in error for Abu Shayḥ. MS. 3 writes "Bedr" and "Bedría" for "Bedayr" and "BEDAYRĀ."

CXLI According to AB, Terayfi is sometimes called "Turuk, ancestor of the TERAYFĀ": he is so called in A 11, XII: refer also to AB, CCXV.

CXLII This is omitted by MS. 3, which by error attributes Mismár's descendants to Samayra.

CXLIII A 1 gives "Šubuh wa Abu Merkha" by error for "Šubuh Abu Merkha," a slip which also occurs in A 4, IV. Cp. note to para. CLIV.

CXLIV AB says that some MSS. substitute Fahíd for Ḥammad, but that Fahíd was really son of Ḥammad.

CXLV Of Maķít AB says that he was also called "'Abd el Ghith." A 1 gives "Maķbat" by error.

CXLVI AB for FAḌLIYYŪN gives FADĪLIYYŪN (and so also MS. 3), and adds that Faḍl is said also to have been ancestor of the BENI FADL.

A 1 by a slip leaves out the words "of Maķít."

There is a village of Mekábḍa a few miles north of Old Dongola.

CXLVII A 1 by error gives "Ḥammad" instead of "Selma."

CXLVIII Cp. A 2, XXXIV. MS. 3 gives "GABĀRĀB of Dongola," and after "of Arkó" adds "with the Khanāk and the Island of Náwi (?)."

CXLIX AB notes that Fahíd is sometimes incorrectly called Fuhayd: he is so called in A 11. MS. 3 omits him and makes Guma'a, etc., sons of Ḥammad.

CL A 1 by a slip omits the words "of Guma'a" and leaves a blank in place of "and the Hammada."

MS. 3 gives "the Ḥamar and the Aḥámḍa" as sons of Ḥámíd.

CLI Cp. A 2, XIV and A 11, XL. Of "Khanfar" AB says it is sometimes wrongly spelt "Ganfar." A 1 gives "'Aṭīa" for "'Abayṭa."

CLII Of Muḡbal and MUḡÁBLA AB says they sometimes occur wrongly as MUḡÁBIL and MUḡÁBILÁ respectively.

CLIII A 1 in place of "are the NEBAH" gives "are the NEBÍH or, as is said, the NEBAH."

CLIV A 1 gives "Šubuh *huwa* Abu Merkha" ("Šubuh, that is Abu Merkha"). In place of Ḥamayd el Nawám AB gives "Ḥamayd father of Nawám" and says the accounts which speak of "Ḥamayd el Nawámi" are wrong.

A 2, v also gives Ḥamayd el Nawám, ancestor of the NAWÁFMA. A 3 XXVIII (*q.v.* note) and A 4, IX speak of "Ḥamayd el Nawám, ancestor of the NAWÁMÍA." Cp. A 11, XVI.

CLV Cp. para. XCVII.

CLVI MS. 2 gives الغنجاوية for العنجاوية.

MS. 3 omits "or Ghanūm."

CLVIII Cp. A 11, XVIII-XX. A 1 by a slip gives "Ghaním" for "Ghánim." MS. 3 adds the GIMÍ'AB as descended from Gamū'a.

CLIX MS. 3 omits the words following "ḤASANÁB...."

CLX Cp. A 11, XXI. MS. 3 omits this paragraph.

CLXI Cp. A 2, x and A 11, XXII. AB does not pursue this pedigree beyond 'Armán and Abu Khamsín, except to mention 'Armán's son 'Adlán. A 1 gives "DŪÁFBA" as among the reputed descendants of Ḥamaydán, but AB (CCIX) calls them "DŪÁBÍA."

CLXII Cp. A 2, v and A 11, XXV.

CLXIII Cp. A 11, XXVI. MS. 3 gives "ḲERRÍÁB" and "ḲITBÁB" for "ḲARÍÁB" and "ḲITÍÁB," and omits the BELÍÁB.

CLXIV Cp. A 11, XXVII.

CLXV Cp. A 2, XI; A 11, XXIV and ABC, XII. MS. 3 omits Tumayr and adds 'Abd Rabbihi, Shabbū, and Būbái. It also alters in the subsequent paragraphs the order in which the descendants of the sons of 'Armán are given.

CLXVII, *et seq.* Cp. A 11, XXIX *et seq.* MS. 3 says "'Abd el 'Ál had 24 sons: they include Muḡammad, ancestor of the KABŪSHÍA and the ḲANDÍLÁB, and 'Abd el Kerím, ancestor of the 'ASHÁNÍḲ, and Ḥasabulla, ancestor of the ḤASABULLÁB, and Ráfa'i, ancestor of the RÁFA'ÁB, and Gádulla, ancestor of the GADÓLÁB, and Khadr, ancestor of the KHADRÁB, and Kaltūt, ancestor of the KALTÍÁB, and Kasr, and Beshr, and Mūsa, and 'Omar, and Tisa'a Kulli, and, the tenth of them, Muḡammad el Nigayḍ, ancestor of the NIGAYḌÁB."

CLXXI It is curious that both BA and A 11 (XXIX) give "Karkūs" with a ك, but "KARÁKISA" with a ك.

The words inserted in a square bracket have evidently been omitted both in MS. 1 and 2 by error: their insertion makes the total 30 sons correct and squares with paras. BA, CLXXII and A 11, XXIX.

For "'Abūda" MS. 1 gives "'Abūd" here, but "'Abūda" in para. CLXXII. A 11 (XXIX and LXV) gives 'Abūdáb.

MS. 3 from here onwards reads: "'Adlān son of 'Armān had 30 sons: they include the KARĀSIKA (four), whose mother was daughter of 'Ali walad Karkūs walad Shuḡl el Kamāl; and the SITNĀB (four); [and] the 'ABDŪTĀB (four), whose mother was daughter of 'Abūd; and Nāfa'a, and Naff'a, and el Malik 'Abd el Dāīm, and 'Abd el Ma'abūd, all of them sons of the same mother, namely the daughter of Ādam walad Ḥalayb; and Muḥammad 'Ali, and Abu Selīma and Barakāt, all sons of a single mother; and el Malik Muḥammad, ancestor of the MUḤAMMADĀB, son of a different mother [*fertid*]; and Tuayr, son of a different mother; and Abu Bukr, son of a different mother; and el 'Awad, son of a different mother; and 'Abd el Rahman Bādikis, son of a different mother."

MS. 3 then gives a list of descendants, tribal and personal, of Naff'a and Nāfa'a: this entirely differs from any other version, excepting ABC, and is certainly spurious: the writing is so bad and text so corrupt and so obviously a gloss that this passage is not worth an attempt to quote it in full.

The names of the following descendants of Naff'a (for which cp. ABC) are decipherable: "SIRAYHAB," "MIRIĀB," "SHATAYWĀB" (ABC, "SHAṬRĀB"), "Mudwās" (sc. "sons of"; ABC, "MUDĀWAS"), "MEKĀBBA," "Abu el Dūr" (sc. "sons of"), "'Abd el Laṭīf" (sc. "sons of"), "Abd el Kāfi, ancestor of the THAWĀBĪT," "'Abdulla, ancestor of the folk of Walad Abu Zumām," "Abukr, ancestor of the folk of Walad el Nafar," "Bakhīt Aswad, who was childless." Among the descendants of Nāfa'a appear the "THAWĀWĪĀB" (or "SHAWĀWĪĀB" (?); ABC, "THĀWĪĀB"), and the "'AMAKRĀB," and the "NUGUMĪA" (for whom cp. A 11). The "ḤASANĀB" and "ḤADRĀB" of ABC do not appear.

The MS. continues as follows: "El Malik 'Abd el Dāīm had 14 sons, 'Ali and Yōiy and Hammad, all sons of the same mother, viz. Bukra daughter of his uncle Mukābir; and Abu Ḍaraywa and Abu Baṣrūn and Ḥammād el Harankāl, sons of a single mother; and Kabūsh; and Muḥammad el Kaṅkāl (ABC, 'el Fīāl'), ancestor of the NAFĀFĀ at el Dāmer; and Shaddū and Kaddū, whose descendants are near Berber; and Dow and Kena, whose descendants are the KENĀWĪN NĀS WALAD BA'ASHŌM; and el 'Arashkōl and Abu Gidād, who had no children.

The descendants of 'Ali include the 'ĀLĪĀB.

The descendants of Hammad include the 'ALĀTĪT [who live] near the SABA'ĀNĪA, and the people of el Mādak (Mārak?) at el Metemma.

The descendants of Yōiy are the YŌIYĀB at KŌZ Ba'ara (?).

Abu Ḍawayra [for "Ḍaraywa"] was ancestor of the ḌARWĀB [for "ḌARAYWĀB"] near Bakardash (?). Abu Baṣrūn's descendants are commingled with the ZĀFĪĀB.

Hammad el Harankāl was ancestor of the NĀS WALAD EL ṬARĪḲ [ṬERAYFI (?)] at Metemma.

The descendants of Kabūsh live round Kabūshīa.

As for [the sons of] 'Abd el Ma'abūd, 'Abd el Salām el Aṣfar was ancestor of the ṢUFAR and Lakīt (?) and el Khadr *and* ["*and*" omitted by ABC] el Fīāl, ancestor of the FĀLĪĀB, and Ba'abūsh, ancestor of the Ba'ĀBISH, and Sa'ad Abu Dabūs.

The sons of Sa'ad Abu Dabūs were 'Abd el Salām and Kanbalāwī and Sanad, and Idrīs el Qatī'a ancestor of the 'ABDSALĀMĀB, the people of el Buayḍa.

The sons of Sa'ad ABU DABŪS ["Abu Dabūs" error for "ibn Dīāb": cp. ABC] were el Burnis¹ and Nāṣir and Muḥammad el Ḳuṣayer and 'Alī and Ṣāliḥ. Ends."

"The BĀBSA [for 'ABĀBSA'] are . . . , etc." (as para. CLXXIII of BA).

Paras. XVIII and XIX in ABC closely correspond to the above.

CLXXII For "Shukāl" MS. 1 gives "Shukālū."

For "the Mek Muḥammad" MS. 2 gives "el mekani Muḥammad" ("who was surnamed Muḥammad"). "Ḳóz Bara" (MS. 3, "Ḳóz Ba'ar"^{ML}) may possibly refer to Bára in Kordofán, a few miles N.W. of which are the sandhills is a *Khór* called Yóiy. *Ḳóz* means a sandhill or ridge.

CLXXIII The first of the 'Abbásids was called 'Abdulla Abu el 'Abbās "el Saffāḥ": it was his elder half-brother and successor, el Manṣūr, who was called "Abu Ga'afir."

For "el Ráf. . ." MS. 3 gives "el Rāma and el Mashhūr."

CLXXIV Cp. A 2, xxviii, and A 11, LXIV.

The Imām 'Alī had a son Muḥammad who was called "Ibn el Ḥanafīa" because his mother was of the tribe of Ḥanīfa (see Wüstenfeld, p. 311 and Y).

CLXXV Cp. A 2, XL, and A 11, LXIII; and see note to D 1, CIII.

A 2 gives Ḳuṭāf for Ḳaṭān: cp. ABC, xxxi. It is, of course, only the mention of Ḥātim el Ṭāi (*q.v.* Wüstenfeld, 6) that suggested (as in A 11, LXIII) the idea of generosity.

CLXXVI Cp. A 2, xxxviii and A 11, LXII.

Here we have a valuable hint as to the different treatments accorded to the original MS. of "el Samarkandī" by BA, A 2, and A 11, respectively: A 11 simply begins "I heard. . . , etc." (*i.e.* el Samarkandī heard), but out of spite inserts some remarks of his own.

A 2 is slightly paraphrasing for he begins "The Ḥadārba are a well-known tribe. El Samarkandī says 'I heard. . . , etc.'" BA simply paraphrases the whole without mentioning el Samarkandī.

For Ḥaggág the Thaḳifī see Wüstenfeld, G. He was born in 42 A.H. and died in 95 A.H. He was successively governor of the Ḥegáz and of el 'Irāk.

The "ḤADÁRMA" are elsewhere called "ḤADÁRBA" and "ḤADÁREB" (see D 7, LI in particular). Mansfield Parkyns says (*Life in Abyssinia*, Ch. iv) "The inhabitants of Souákin and its neighbourhood are called Hadarba and their language Hadandāwy." He regarded them as a branch of the same group as the BISHÁRÍN, and mentions that they were enterprising traders. For an account of them see Part III, Ch. 13.

CLXXVII Cp. A 2, xxxvi and A 11, LX.

No information beyond that vouchsafed here is given in any of the *nisbas* concerning the GABARTA; but Parkyns (*Life in Abyssinia*, Ch. xl) speaks of a village over the Abyssinian border, east of Ḳedāref, as "inhabited by Abyssinian Mohammedans, who are called by their Arab co-religionists, Jibberti." Burckhardt also mentions them as a "class of

¹ reading البرنس for البرنس.

Abyssinian merchants" (*Nubia*, pp. 309, 310). Burton (*Pilgrimage*..., I, 177) says "Abyssinian Moslems are called by the Arabs 'Jabarti.'"

Bruce (Vol. III, Bk. III, pp. 43-45) speaks of them as a "tawny" folk, not black, with long hair, and thinks their name signifies "the faithful." They are, he says, "the princes and merchants of this country [*Abyssinia*], converted to the Mahometan faith soon after the death of Mahomet."

CLXXVIII Cp. A 2, XXIX; A 11, LI and C 8, and contrast D 1, CLXV and D 2, XV.

'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz, of the BENI OMMAYYA, was born in 61 or 63 and died in 101 A.H. He was Governor of Medfna.

MS. 3 omits "son of 'Āṭif" and the last eight words of the paragraph.

CLXXIX Cp. BA, CCVII; A 2, XXVII; A 11, LII; D 1, XCII and CV, etc.

From "Rikáb" to "'Ali ibn Serág" BA agrees practically with D 1, but is less accurate for the earlier generations. Wüstenfeld (Y) gives the following (and cp. D 1):

The Imám 'Ali
|
El Husayn
|
Zayn el 'Ábdín
|
Muḥammad el Báḳir
|
Ga'afir el Šádīḳ
|
Mūsa el Kāzīm
|
'Ali el Riḍá
|
Muḥammad el Gawád

For "el Ḥalía" MS. 3 gives "el Laḥía" both here and in paras. CCVII and CCVIII.

For Ghulámulla's date see Introduction to Part IV.

CLXXX The Arabic of the quotation is

ابن اخت القوم منهم ومن انفسهم

CLXXXI For this *et seq.* cp. D 3, 222.

MS. 3 reads "'Abd el Ghani" for "'Abd el Nebi."

CLXXXII "Ḥag" or "Ḥaga" instead of Ḥág is probably correct.

CLXXXIII MS. 3 reads "whose sons were Ak-ḥal and a section (*farḥa*) of the KAWÁHLA..., etc."

CLXXXVI Cp. D 1, CIX.

CLXXXVIII MS. 3 omits "on the Blue Nile."

CXC MS. 3 gives "TUMRÁB" for "TUMAYRÁB."

CXCII For "and Hadhlūl..." (وهذلول) MS. 3 gives "and she was Lūla (وهي لولة) daughter of Malik..."

CXCV MS. 3 omits "Muḥammad."

CXCVIII "...a family of *fakīrs*..., etc.": the Arabic is as follows:

{ MS. 1. اولاده ذرية فقيري بكنا و طه.
{ MS. 2. اولاد ذرية فقيري بكنا و طه.
{ MS. 3. ذريته فقيري ١ و طه.

The copyist of MS. 3 evidently thought, rightly or wrongly, that ي and طه ("Y" and "T") were symbols of hidden meaning (cp. Hughes, p. 517). For a similar case see MS. C 9, III.

CCII MS. 3 omits "I am not sure of Ḥasabulla's descendants," and "I do not know. . . , etc."

CCIII MSS. 2 and 3 (and other MSS. I have seen) give "Kenár" for "Kená." MS. 3 omits Selīm the son of 'Abd el Ráziq.

There is a biography of Sheikh Ḥasan wad Belīla in D 3, No. 131.

CCV For Ibráhīm el Būlād see AB (LXXXIX, XCIV, etc.).

Various details as to these four famous GĀBIRĀB will be found in D 3, 17, etc. MS. 3 gives "GABĀRĀB" for "GĀBIRĀB."

CCVI MS. 3 gives "Gabrīl" for "Merīn" (MSS. 1 and 2).

CCVII Cp. para. CLXXIX, and D 1, XCII and CIV, where the relationship between these three Rikābs is given.

MS. 3 omits the generations after 'Áid and the words "called Nowáwa."

A further version of the Rikābia *nisba* will be found in D 5 (d), closely resembling BA.

CCIX It is not improbable that with this paragraph (which is omitted by MS. 3) the original copy of the *nisba* by el Sheríf Ṭáhir (q.v. in para. CCXXIII) ended. El Sheríf Ṭáhir obviously could not have written the account of the FUNGS which follows because they practically all reigned after his death.

CCX The first quotation is given by Hughes (p. 483, "Quraish"). The Arabic of the second is

قدموا قريشا ولا تقدموا عليها.

The last sentence is

يسبح الله ذلك النور ويسبح الملائكة لتسبحهم.

The *tasbīḥ* is the saying of *subḥānu 'llāhi* ("Glory be to God").

For "the children of Ādam" some copies give "our father Ādam."

CCXI "Abu Nu'aym" is Abu Nu'aym Aḥmad el Iṣfahānī (948-1038 A.D.), the author of *Ḥilyat el Anbiyá* ("Ornament of the Prophets"). See Huart, p. 230.

CCXII It is very hard to decide what are the tribes intended. Probably this list is quite valueless. For "BENI HUZAYL" MSS. 1 and 3 give "BENI HUDAYL."

MS. 3 gives "ḤAI" for "HEL," "KḤALĀF" for "ḤALĀF," "NĀṢIR" for "NĀPIR," "GHĀBIP" for "KĀFIP," and adds one other (indecipherable).

"El Ag-ḥūrī" is Sheikh el Islām Abu el Irshād 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Zayn el Dīn ibn Sheikh el Islām 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag-ḥūrī, of the Málīkī sect. He died in 1066 A.H. (1655-6 A.D.). He wrote three commentaries on "Khalīl" (see Ḥagī Khalfā's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, p. 447). He occurs again in D 3, 22, and his great-grandfather in D 3, 157.

CCXIII Cp. A 2, XXX; A 11, VII and LIII; D 2, 1 and D 6, XXVI; and cp. note to BA, CLXXIII. See also Vol. 1, p. 162, for this migration or its prototype.

Sulaymán ibn 'Abd el Málík ibn Marwán was the name of the seventh of the Ommayyad dynasty, who died in 717 A.D.; but he certainly never went to Abyssinia and the Sudan and he died nine years before "el Saffáh" was born. Either the Sulaymán referred to here is another man altogether or, more likely, a confusion has arisen between his name and that of 'Abdulla ibn Marwán, the last of the Ommayyads, who did take refuge in the Sudan.

The first 'Abbásid Khalífa reigned from 750 to 754 A.D.

MS. 3 omits mention of the change of "Ans" to "Ounsa."

CCXIV For "Ounsáb" MS. 2 gives "Unsáb."

CCXV Cp. A 2, xxxii; A 11, LV and D 2, XLI.

CCXVI "FUNG" (فنج) and "FÜNG" (فونج) occur with equal commonness. In D 3 both are used indiscriminately. For the origin of the name see Westermann, pp. lii *et seq.*

910 A.H. (1504 A.D.) is the accepted date for the foundation of the kingdom of Sennár, and there is greater agreement in the numerous extant chronologies of the kings than would be expected.

The points that are worthy of notice here are

(1) That in Bruce and Cailliaud's versions 'Abd el Kádir appears as successor instead of predecessor of Náíl, but in BA, D 2, and D 7 (which is the most reliable) 'Abd el Kádir is shown as succeeding 'Omára Dūnḡas.

(2) "'Omára Abu Sakínín" (MSS. 1 and 2) should probably be "'Omára Abu Sakákín" (or "Sakaykín" as in MS. 3, D 3, VI and D 7).

(3) Dūda (or Dūra, as in MS. 3) is also given by Bruce and Cailliaud, but in D 2 and D 7 (and as a general rule) he is omitted.

(4) "Ṭanbul" appears in Bruce as "Tiby"; in Cailliaud, D 2 and D 7 as "Ṭabl"; MS. 3 also gives "Ṭabl."

(5) 'Abd el Kádir and Ounsa appear in transposed order in Bruce, Cailliaud, D 2, and D 7.

(6) The 'Adlán who preceded Bádi Sid el Kūm is similarly said by Bruce to have been son of Ounsa and brother of 'Abd el Kádir: Cailliaud also calls him brother of 'Abd el Kádir. D 2 and D 7 and MSS. in general (e.g. D 3, 241) call him "son of Áya": this may be a nickname, or his mother may have been Áya, or there may be a confusion between Áya (written اية) and Unsa, i.e. Ounsa (انسة or انسة).

Cailliaud is in error when he speaks of 'Adlán as "Tué par le cheykh Agyb." All the MSS. and all traditions agree that 'Adlán killed 'Ag'tb, i.e. the famous sheikh of the 'ABDULLÁB, known as the *Mángilak*, for whom see D 3 (VI and *passim*) and D 5 (a).

As regards the site of the battle, Cailliaud gives it as Karkóg, as do BA, AB and D 3 (No. 241): elsewhere in D 3 (No. 126) it is written "Kargóg" or "Karjój" (كرجوج) by error for Karkóg (كركوج). D 7 gives "Kalkól," and the latter may be correct. The name Karkóg, as generally used, applies to a large and well-known village over 50 miles south of Sennár and it is most improbable that Sheikh 'Agib would ever have been fighting the FUNG there. His seat was north of Khartoum and

the numerous engagements between the FUNG and the 'ABDULLĀB used to take place in the vicinity of el Halfāya, or at least far north of Sennār. Kalkól is close to el Kámlín, some 60 miles south of Khartoum, and a likely spot for a battle to have occurred between FUNG and 'ABDULLĀB. Or again the reference may well be to a small village called Karkóg very close to the south of Khartoum, and a copyist, thinking the southernly Karkóg to be intended, and knowing it to be out of the question, may have substituted "Kalkól."

(7) Nineteen years is too long for Bádi Síd el Kūm. Bruce gives 6, Cailliaud 7, D 2 12, and D 7 only 3 years for his reign.

(8) "Bádi, son of Abu Duḡn" (in all three MSS.) should be "Bádi Abu Duḡn."

By "Sídi 'Abd el Ḳádir el Gayli" (in all three MSS.) the author means 'Abd el Ḳádir el Gílání, the founder of the Ḳádiría *ṭarīqa*, who died in 1166 A.D.

The words translated "was a follower of" are *حضر في ديوان*.

(9) MS. 3 (only) allots Ounsa son of Náṣir 14 instead of 4 years.

CCXVII-CCXXI Ismá'il died about 1766 and the total of the preceding reigns mentioned by BA is 310 years. As BA says 'Omára Dūnḡas began to reign in 910 A.H., this would bring us to 1220 A.H., *i.e.* 1805 A.D. It is clear, therefore, that the durations of the reigns have been exaggerated.

There were nominal FUNG kings who succeeded Ismá'il, and the names that follow here as those of the HAMAG dynasty are really those of the all-powerful HAMAG viziers.

Between Ismá'il and Náṣir walad Muḡammad there is a gap during which 'Adlán II was nominal king and Bádi walad Ragab and Ragab walad Muḡammad successively viziers. Náṣir succeeded Ragab while 'Adlán was still on the throne. For these kings and viziers see D 7.

In para. CCXIX MS. 3 gives "Muḡammad walad Ragab" for "Ragab walad Muḡammad," and 4 years for 4½.

CCXXII "1230" (1230) is no doubt a misprint for "1235" (1235). Ismá'il Pasha took Sennār in June, 1821.

CCXXIII MS. 3 is identical with MSS. 1 and 2 in this paragraph, but for the omission of the words "that was found" and "ibn" (between "Ibrá-hím" and "el feki") and the substitution of "Gabárábi" for "Gábirábi"; but MS. 3 of the *nisba* ends abruptly with the words "Gábir son of Muḡammad. End" (جابر ابن محمد انتهى). A copy in the possession of the feki Muḡammad 'Abd el Mágid of Omdurmán is identical in this passage with MSS. 1 and 2, but ends abruptly with "and I confide."

Which of the copyists is referred to in the phrase "I found his son. . ." is uncertain as there is no information available as to the date of el Nūr el Gábirábi.

The date of el Sheríf el Ṭáhir ibn 'Abdulla would be about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., *i.e.* about the time of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom: he was senior to Sheikh el Zayn ibn Ṣughayerūn, whom D 3 (No. 258) says died in 1086 A.H. (1675 A.D.), by five generations, both being descended from 'Áid; and it appears he wrote the *nisba*, and that

from him it passed to Gábir, who was his cousin and junior to him by two generations.

By "his father Gábir" must be meant "his ancestor Gábir."

"*He* copied. . ." presumably refers to Ibráhím ibn el feki Muḥammad. Cp. the note to D 3, 17.

ccxxv This paragraph and the following three and para. ccxxx are all additions by the latest copyist, the 'Ebayd Muḥammad mentioned. MS. 2 ends with para. ccxxiv and the verse quoted in ccxxix.

ccxxviii Cp. paras. cxxxi and cxxxiv and notes thereon.

El Nūr Bey 'Ankara was one of the Khalífa's best-known *amtrs*. He survived the period of the Dervishes and still resides at Omdurmán. It is very doubtful if he is entitled to claim the ancestry here given: he is said to have been half a black.

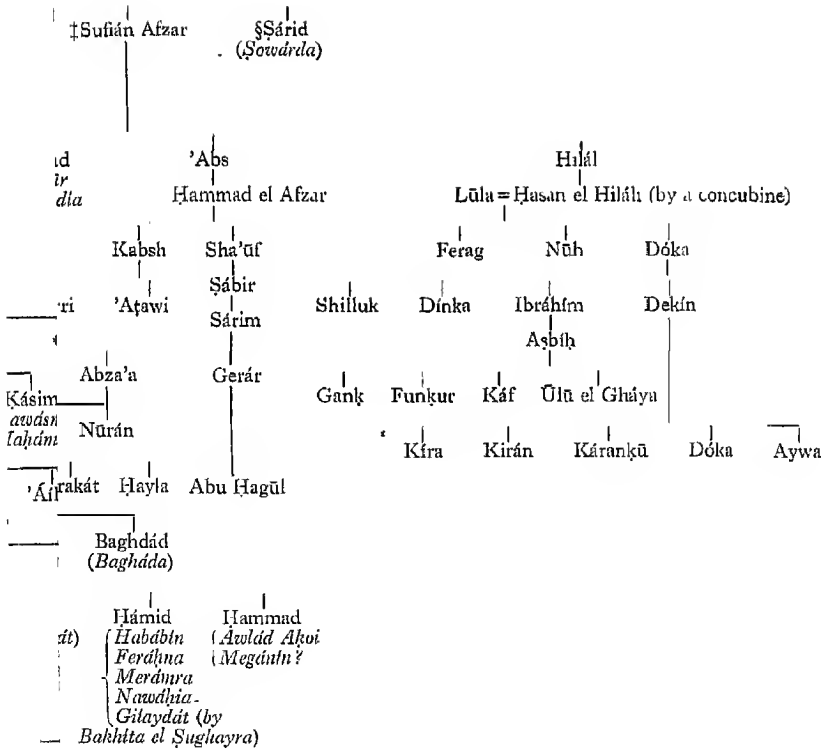
"Sáb el Yal" may be an error for "Sáb el Layl."

"Mattí" is the same name as the Biblical Amittai.

ccxxix Cp. AB, xxx and A 2, XLIII.

TREE TO ILLUSTRATE MS. "BA"

1. GUHAYNA BRANCH



MANUSCRIPT AB

Introduction

THE author of AB was Aḥmad ibn Ismá'íl "el Azhari." Both his father and mother belonged to the DAHMASHÍA section of BEDAYRÍA and were therefore ultimately GA'ALÍŦ, claiming descent from el 'Abbás the uncle of the Prophet.

Aḥmad "el Azhari" was born at el Obeid in Kordofán, and about 1830-1840 went to Egypt and entered the University of el Azhar. He remained there for twelve years as a student and teacher of the Málíki code, and then returned to el Obeid.

In 1881 he proposed returning to Cairo, but on reaching Khar-toum was requested by Ra'ūf Pasha, the Governor-General, to accompany an expedition against the newly arisen Mahdi and attempt conciliation. The party was, however, all but annihilated and "el Azhari" was among the slain.

The original manuscript, written in 1853, is in the keeping of the head of the Ismá'ília *ṭarīqa*, to which the family of the author all belong, and was lent to me temporarily in 1907 by "el Sayyid" Ismá'íl el Azhari, the son of the author and then Kāḍi of el Obeid.

He had borrowed it from the son of that Sayyid el Mekki who had been the head of the ṭarīqa and the Mahdi's foremost adherent in Kordofán. Since then I have seen various other copies and extracts, and probably they are very numerous. The headmaster of el Kámlín school made a copy of the original for the author's son in December 1910, and copies of this copy both for the Director of Education and for me. Having done no more in 1907 than translate the original and not copied out the Arabic I have made frequent use, when in doubt, of the copy made for me.

Of the manner in which the work was composed no more is known than what the author himself states. He seems to have collected a number of current pedigrees, and after eliminating much that he thought worthless to have embellished the remainder with a series of pious aphorisms and arguments, some inferior verses of his own composition, and a wealth of detail as to the present ramifications of his own family. Much of this extraneous matter has been omitted in translation.

and which of them is the best: it also explains our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, in that Hāshim ibn 'Abd Menáf is our common ancestor, and our lineage as far back as 'Adnán.

XII *The second chapter* explains the duty of studying the profitable part of genealogical records, and shows what part of them is unprofitable.

XIII There is also an appendix giving the rule concerning the observance of ties of blood-relationship.

XIV *The third chapter* gives the descendants of our ancestor the feki Bishára el Gharbáwi and shows how they are related to him.

XV There is also an appendix concerning our ancestor, the feki Bishára, himself.

XVI *The fourth chapter* contains a warning against overweening pride in one's forefathers.

XVII There is also an appendix explaining how the learned and pious man is better than he of noble descent unless the latter be also learned and pious.

XVIII *The fifth chapter* gives some account of the tribes of the Arabs and GA'AL EL DUFÁR.

XIX There is also an appendix giving the pedigree of my maternal grandfather el Hág Muḥammad walad Bishára to el Sayyid el 'Abbás, and his connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, through having Hāshim ibn 'Abd Menáf as a common ancestor, and the continuation of his pedigree as far as 'Adnán.

XX And now it is time to commence laying before you the result of the work I have done by the help of the Lord of all honour and eternity: so in the name of God, and placing my trust in God and his Prophet, I begin as follows.

(Here follows Chapter I, a disquisition concerning the honour that accrues to one that traces his descent to el 'Abbás: 2½ pages are omitted in the translation; and then occurs the following, i.e. para. XXI, etc.)

XXI Now as regards the seed of el Sayyid el 'Abbás, God bless him, the genealogists mention that he had two sons, el Faql and 'Abdulla, God bless them. The truth, however, is that el Sayyid el 'Abbás had ten sons and three daughters; namely el Faql and 'Abdulla and 'Obaydulla and Mushir¹ and 'Abd el Raḥman and Ma'abad and el Hārith and Kathír and 'Óf and Tamám and Ámna and Um Ḥabíb and Şafía.

XXII After exhaustive search I have not found that el Sayyid Faql had any children except Um Kulthūm: the bulk of the tribe [are

¹ reading مشير for قشير.

descended from] el Sayyid 'Abdulla ibn el 'Abbás, and I have found that he had more than three sons, and they include 'Ali and el Faql and 'Obaydulla.

XXIII From 'Ali son of 'Abdulla are descended the 'ABÁBSA, and from el Faql son of 'Abdulla the GA'ALIYYŪN, and from 'Obaydulla son of 'Abdulla the HILÁLIYYŪN. And their children's children have become scattered in the lands of the East and the West.

XXIV All the sub-tribes of the BENI EL 'ABBÁS who are now in the Sūdán are descended from el Faql son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, whether they be GA'AL EL DUFÁR or not; and this, please God, I will explain in the fifth chapter¹ when enumerating the tribes of the GA'ALIYYŪN, that is of GA'AL EL DUFÁR.

(The author continues his discourse concerning the immediate descendants of el 'Abbás for 3½ pages, and then continues as follows, i.e. para. xxv, etc.)

XXV *Appendix giving the steps whereby our pedigree is traced to el Sayyid el 'Abbás, God bless him, and our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, in that Hášhim ibn 'Abd Menáf is our common ancestor, and our lineage as far back as Adnán.*

XXVI Since it has been shown from what I have said how honour has accrued to us from our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and since it has been taught therein that people are to be believed as to their pedigrees, I say praise be to God that I have preserved my pedigree [as handed down] by my ancestors to me and by their ancestors to them.

XXVII And [the truth of] it has been confirmed by such persons as I have found who are advanced in years and are men of weight and reliability, and by questioning them I have verified it, and to what they have told me I have added all the true pedigrees which have come into my hands and been preserved by me, and I have made certain of the truth [of the whole] by enquiries from the learned genealogists.

XXVIII Here then is the course of our pedigree to our ancestor the feki Bishára el Gharbáwi, whereby those of his seed now existing trace their descent, and [an exposition of] the connection with him of any tribes of GA'AL EL DUFÁR now existing, and of his connection with Serrár ibn Kerdam, the ancestor of all the famous tribes of GA'AL, and with our lord el 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and with his ancestor Hášhim ibn 'Abd Menáf, and again with the latter's forefather 'Adnán.

XXIX Indeed I have preserved my pedigree beyond 'Adnán to

¹ reading الفصل for الفضل.

Adam the father of mankind, God bless him, but I am not permitted to recount it beyond 'Adnán because of the saying of the Prophet as related by the genealogists, "Trace not pedigrees beyond 'Adnán"; and in truth my only desire in giving this record is to show the honour that accrues to me from my connection with the Prophet, for to him [only] do 'Adnán and the rest owe the honour [in which they are held].

XXX Thus the poet has said: "How many a father owes the nobility (which he possesses) to his son even as 'Adnán owes his to the Prophet of God."

XXXI By way of explanation I tell you also that when the GA'ALIY-YŪN, that is GA'AL EL DUFÁR, were shown to be descended from el Sayyid el Faḍl son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of 'Abbás, and when each one of them began enumerating his ancestors one by one until he reached el Sayyid el 'Abbás, some of the genealogists [were found to] differ in the course of the enumeration owing to inaccuracies of the copyists in altering the spelling of some of the names and omitting others and transposing the position of others.

XXXII But, after making most minute investigations, I adopted [in each case] the version that most often occurred, [and then too] after hearing [the names] from the mouths of them that knew them. Thus my enumeration became authoritative, as you shall shortly see, please God, both in prose and verse.

XXXIII And if the list of ancestors of anyone who claims to be of GA'AL EL DUFÁR does not include Ṣalāḥ, his pedigree is incorrect, for Ṣalāḥ was ancestor of GA'AL EL DUFÁR, and he had seven sons, and his father was Mūsā el Kebír, who was known as Masū.

XXXIV Then the list proceeds from Ṣalāḥ [upwards] to Serrár ibn Kerdam, the ancestor of all the GA'AL, and if any list does not include him its owner is no Ga'ali.

XXXV Now there is a variant account wherein it is said that Ṣalāḥ was son of Muḥammad el Dahmashí son of Bedayr son of Samra, and this is utterly wrong.

XXXVI Another variant says that Ṣalāḥ was son of Muḥammad el Dahmashí son of Bedayr son of Turki son of Bedayr son of Samra, and this also is incorrect.

XXXVII Yet another variant gives Ṣalāḥ as son of Mūsā el Kebír, who was known as Masū, son of Muḥammad son of Ṣalāḥ son of Bedayr son of Samra, and this account is nearer the truth.

XXXVIII The real reliable version is that Ṣalāḥ was son of Mūsā, who was nicknamed Masū el Kebír son of Muḥammad son of Ṣalāḥ son of Muḥammad son of Dahmash son of Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrár.

XXXIX As regards Serrár, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYŪN], some say that he was son of Kerdam son of Buḍá'a son of Ḥarḳán son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad el Yemáni son of el Ga'al son of Idrís son of Ḳays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adi son of Ḳuṣāṣ son of Kerab son of Hátíl son of Yátíl son of Dhu el Kilá'a el Ḥimyarí son of Ḥimyar son of Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, but I have not found this true.

XL Others say that Serrár was son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Buḍá'a son of Ḥaṣín son of Aḥmad el Ḥegázi son of Ibráhím el Yemáni Ga'al el Aswad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, and this too is given for what it is worth.

XLI Others say that Serrár was son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Buḍá'a son of Masrūk.

XLII Also it is said that Ḥaṣín was son of Aḥmad son of Ḥarḳán, or again that his name was 'Abdulla son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášhim. But this account also is feeble.

XLIII The correct account which I have found in the highest authorities and most generally supported and which I have adopted in my version is as follows:

XLIV I say—and God is our help—that I am el Sayyid Aḥmad son of el Sheikh Ismá'il el Wali son of 'Abdulla son of Ismá'il son of 'Abd el Raḥím Bába son of el Hág Ḥammad son of the feki Bishára el Gharbáwi son of the feki 'Alí son of Bursi son of Muḥammad son of Kabsh son of Hunayn son of el Malik Náṣir son of Ṣaláḥ son of Mūsa, surnamed Masū el Kebír, son of Muḥammad son of Ṣaláḥ son of Muḥammad son of Dahmash son of Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrár, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYŪN], son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of Buḍá'a son of Ḥarḳán son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad el Ḥegázi son of Muḥammad el Yemeni son of Ibráhím el Ga'ali, who was ancestor of GA'AL the famous, son of Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet, upon whom be the highest blessings of God and salutation, son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášhim son of 'Abd Menáf son of Ḳuṣai son of Keláb son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Lūai son of Ghálib son of Fíhr son of Málík son of el Nuḍr son of Kenána son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḍr son of Nizár son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán.

XLV Here ends the true pedigree which I have preserved and thereby observed the law.

XLVI I have also put it into verse as an aid to memory to the student in order that he may thereby be enabled to gratify his object to the full.

(Here follow 41 lines of doggerel, eked out with laudatory adjectives and religious remarks and giving the writer's pedigree up to 'Adnán. Then, after 4 lines of prose, occurs the following, i.e. para. XLVII, etc.)

XLVII Chapter II, explaining the duty of studying the profitable part of genealogical records, and showing what part of them is unprofitable, with an appendix thereto.

XLVIII The study of pedigrees is in part profitable and in part unprofitable. The study of so much as is profitable is obligatory by law upon every Muslim.

XLIX Thus Sidi el Imám 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb, God bless him, said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

L And the Sheikh Tatái says "It is your duty to know from your pedigrees how ye are connected, because of the exhortation ye have received to [keep the record of] your blood-relationships."

LI El Shádhali also says "That which has no other claim to be obligatory than his (sc. 'Omar's) [sole] authority is yet obligatory."

LII The above is intended to apply to [the study of the pedigrees of] people between whom [and yourself] there is some relationship; and indeed el Imám Abu el Ḥasan acquiesced in the obligations of such study in the same manner, saying that this applied to blood-relationship, [i.e.] to the case of people between whom [and yourself] there is some relationship, and not to [the case of] a man who claims honour by marriage [only].

LIII El 'Adawí also said "Ye know that [the keeping of the record of] your blood-relationships is obligatory"; so he is equally to be credited.

LIV And, look you! Is it not obvious that a man should know from his pedigree the total number of his ancestors in Islam rather than restrict his knowledge to three forefathers [only]?

LV That which is unprofitable in the [study of] pedigrees is the knowledge of the pedigrees of others, that is of those to whom one is unrelated, because the authoritative dictum does not apply to such, and the following saying of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, about one who was learned in pedigrees bears this out "A knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless."

LVI El Tatái says "Such knowledge of pedigrees as 'so and so was son of so and so of the children of so and so, and the children of so and so are connected with the children of so and so by having so and so as a common ancestor' is a [type of] learning that is unprofitable both in this world and the next, and ignorance of it does no harm to him that is ignorant of it, nor does he commit any sin by neglecting it."

LVII On this point too it is to be noted that a noble pedigree confers no merit upon a man from the religious point of view, and pride in such is blameworthy.

LVIII Yūsef ibn 'Omar says "If a man devote himself to the study of what does not concern him¹ in his religion, his labour is impious."

LIX I say that this is the tradition, and if the warning against pride of ancestry is [admitted to have been] proved, then it becomes a matter of knowledge that the study of other people's pedigrees is of no use and unprofitable, since "knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless."

LX El Imām Abu el Ḥasan says "He who is ignorant of this should not be called ignorant."

LXI An unprofitable form of genealogical research is the tracing of pedigrees to one's infidel ancestors. Indeed a knowledge of the relationships of infidels is not demanded by the law.

(*The author enlarges on this topic for half a page and then continues—*para. LXII.)

LXII Thus I have shown you from the above what is profitable and what unprofitable in [the study of] pedigrees and the obligation of knowing so much as is profitable, as proved by the saying of el Imām 'Omar quoted above.

LXIII This is supported by the quotation I have found in some genealogical records from the Words of the Prophet... about one who was learned in pedigrees "A knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless":

LXIV-LXX That is... (*here follow, word for word, paras. BA, VII to XI, followed by a series of quotations from Abu el Ḥasan, etc.*).

LXXI-LXXII (*An explanation of terms used.*)

LXXIII (Identical with BA, XIII.)

LXXIV (Identical with BA, XIV.)

(*The author then continues in the same strain for half a page. Then begins the long third chapter concerning the numerous descendants of el feki Bishāra el Gharbāwi. The first 12 pages are omitted: then occurs the following, i.e. para. LXXV.*)

LXXV Now our ancestor, the feki Bishāra el Ghārbāwi, was by origin one of the most noble GA'AL, the dignitaries of high lineage, and he was descended from the children of 'Abbās the uncle of the Prophet..., and this I dealt with in the first chapter in enumerating my ancestors.

LXXVI Now his forefathers were among the dignitaries of the

¹ اذا كان ليريساله على , for اذا كان الانسان يحمل نفسه

kings of the DUFÁR, who were an independent people; and his ancestor in the fifth degree was el Malik Náşir, son of Şaláh son of Mūsa "Masū el Kebír," and ancestor of the MALIK-NÁŞIRÍA.

LXXVII This term, which is pronounced "Melkanáşiría," denotes the stock of our said ancestor and also the other descendants of el Malik Náşir, with the reservation that our ancestor [Bishára] withdrew apart from the rest, and became so famous for his religious attainments that he came to be regarded by his descendants as founder of a race of his own; and they traced their descent to him and were known among the tribes of GA'AL EL DUFÁR as the GHARBÁ-WÍNGI (spelt with a *w* and *í* and *n* and then a letter [pronounced] between a *g* and *sh*).

LXXVIII So then you have learnt the facts about him; and if you have regard to his ultimate origin he was an 'Abbási, and if to the tribes of GA'AL, he was a Ga'ali Dufári, and if to the kings of the DUFÁR, he was a Melkanáşiri.

LXXIX And he lived a life of the greatest godliness and sanctity and purity, and pre-eminent in piety and truth and faithfulness and nobility of character, and ennobled by the greatest virtues.

LXXX Thus finally he became greatly respected among the people and with his children was held in the highest honour by the greatest men of the land.

LXXXI The truth of all that has been said and proved and written of him is shown by the attention and regard paid to him by the kings and the honour and high esteem in which they held him; and they used to write letters patent for him to every one living in their realms directing that no one should interfere with him and his children or with anyone related to him by blood or by marriage among the noble GA'AL that men know so well.

LXXXII And I found a document signed by the learned pious and powerful conqueror the late Sultan Bádi son of the Sultan Nūl, and dated 1145 A.H.¹, and it runs as follows, after the preface. . . :

LXXXIII "These letters patent I have written for the feki Bishára son of the feki 'Ali son of Bursi that no man interfere with him and his brothers and his sons and his relatives by marriage and his family and any connection of his or any one under his protection: let no one of my subjects interfere with him! And I, the Sultan Bádi son of the Sultan Nūl have confirmed the honours conferred by the Sultan Bádi son of the Sultan Arbát on el feki Bishára son of feki 'Ali son of Bursi, on him and on him that is with him,—honours done to God and His Prophet, a sacred duty.

¹ 1732 A.D.

LXXXIV From whomsoever of his successors hold these letters let no man demand contribution nor first-fruits [*lit.* 'custom'] nor levy nor market due nor impost nor forage-due nor herd-due [*matūrat*] nor anything small or great within the royal realms, either at home or abroad, in the east or in the west.

LXXXV If anyone interferes with him or approaches him let him blame no one but himself [for the consequences]. Beware! I say, beware of disobedience! He who disobeys let him blame no one but himself."

LXXXVI This I have copied from the sealed letters-patent granted to him, word for word, and these letters are now in my possession.

LXXXVII And he had [granted to him] other letters-patent which have been lost in the course of time. It is enough that he relied upon God Almighty.

(Here follow four pages of laudations of Bishāra and his descendants mixed with anecdotes of their lives: then follows para. LXXXVIII.)

LXXXVIII The reason why our ancestor el feki Bishāra was called "el Gharbāwi" ["the Westerner"] was as follows:

LXXXIX When el Sheikh Ibrāhīm el Būlād ibn Gābir came from Egypt he settled on the island of Tarnag in the country of the SHĀŪĪĀ and taught law [*lit.* *Khalīl*] and apostleship [*risāla*].

XC Now our ancestor el feki Bishāra was [still] a child, and his father el feki 'Ali ibn Bursi was a man of religion who observed the Kūrān and had some knowledge of the sciences, and [the latter] left the circle of his family and devoted himself to religion, and of all his sons he used to urge Bishāra in particular to devote himself to religion.

XCI Thus when our ancestor el feki Bishāra heard the news of [the arrival of] el Sheikh Ibrāhīm el Būlād, he crossed the river from their home [at] Hósh Már in Dongola and joined el Sheikh Ibrāhīm at Tarnag Island and sought learning and religious instruction from him, and sat at his feet for a [long] while.

XCII Now the name Bishāra was very common among the pupils, so he surnamed our ancestor el feki Bishāra "el Gharbāwi," because the home of our ancestor, Hósh Már, was to the west of the Island where the Sheikh lived, and our ancestor used to cross the river from the west to the east to visit the Sheikh at Tarnag Island.

XCIII Thus, since the Sheikh Ibrāhīm named him "el Gharbāwi," he became famous by that name: and the date of his connection with the Sheikh Ibrāhīm was the eleventh century [of the Hegira].

XCIV So he served him and acquired learning and practical religious instruction from him, for el Sheikh Ibrāhīm el Būlād was one

of the greatest and most pious and learned of sages, [and was] the first to teach law [*Khalil*] in the land of the FUNG.

XCIV I have mentioned the chief points in his biography in what follows: Ibráhím el Búlád was son of Gábir, and his story emits a sweet odour.

XCVI His [full] name was el Sheikh el Imám el Hugga Ibráhím son of Gábir son of 'Ōn son of Selím son of Rubát, the father of the RIKÁBÍA Sayyids, and he was born at Tarnag, an island in the land of the SHÁĠĠÍA, and went to Egypt and studied under Sídí Muḥammad el Banūfari, and was taught by him the origins and the ends of divinity.

XCVII Then he moved to Tarnag and there taught law [*Khalil*] and apostleship.

XCVIII He was [also] the first to teach law [*Khalil*] in the land of the FUNG.

XCIX Many people used to visit him, and he taught the whole science of law [*Khalil*] from beginning to end seven times and thereby instructed 40 persons, among whom was the virtuous Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman his brother.

C So his story continues: and it is said that the reason why he was called "el Búlád" was that a certain man swore to divorce his wife if he did not succeed in collecting into his house everything that God had created. Then [el Búlád] decided the matter by placing a Kúrán on the bed, and explained his action by quoting the following words of God "There is nothing that I have omitted in the Book"; and his Sheikh said to him "You are Búlád el Berr" ["the Steel of the Earth"], and his cognomen of "Búlád" for that reason became famous.

CI His sons were el Hág Muḥammad and el Hág Ḥammad, both good and virtuous men, and such of his seed as exist now are descended from them.

CII By the help of the Great King, the Almighty, I have now completed all that I promised in this chapter.

CIII *Chapter IV. . . (The title is repeated as in para. XVI.)*

CIV and CV My brethren in God and the Prophet, overweening pride in our forefathers is blameworthy in the law, and it is not the part of an intelligent man to . . . (*continues as BA, XVI, which is slightly expanded*).

CVI So too, the Prophet . . ., according to the beautiful tradition related by Ibn Dáūd and el Termidhi, said "God hath redeemed you from the brutishness [*ghubiyya*] of the days of ignorance and pride of ancestry.

CVII The faithful are pious and the impious are base. Ye are the children of Ádam, [created] of earth."

CVIII The Imám Abu el Ḥasan in explanation of this tradition says that *ghubiyya* is so spelt and refers to pride and vain-glory, and that the saying was intended to warn people of being boastful as [the people of] the days of ignorance were from pride and suchlike and conceit of ancestry.

CIX For, considering that all men alike were formed from the earth that is trodden underfoot, how shall. . . (*Continues as BA, XLII.*)

(*Then follow comments and traditions from el Termidhi and el Kházin on the subject of man's creation (15 lines), and then a tradition concerning Abu Sufián, ending as follows, i.e. para. CX, etc.*)

CX-CXIII Then God revealed this verse and forbade boastful comparisons of pedigrees and competition to amass wealth and disdain of the poor, saying "O people. . . (*Continues as BA, XXII, the quotations and explanations as given being identical. The same strain continues for 1½ pages, and the closing words are as follows, i.e. para. CXIV.*)

CXIV And thus the honour that comes from piety is the greatest, so the pious man is better and nobler in God's sight than the man of noble birth [*el Sherif*], because God said "The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

CXV El Imám el Kházin expounded this verse and showed by virtue of. . . (*Continues exactly as BA, XXXIII.*)

CXVI-CXVIII And lastly he quoted Abu Hurayra as saying that the Prophet. . . was asked "Which. . . (*Continues as BA, XXXVII and XXXVIII down to "...of male and female": the only difference lies in a few grammatical variations. Then, after five lines of explanation of terms, Chapter V commences as follows, para. CXIX.*)

CXIX Chapter V, giving some account of the tribes of the Arabs and GA'AL EL DUFÁR, with an appendix.

CXX-CXXIX Know that God. . . says "And I have made. . . (*Here follow BA, XXIII and XXXII in juxtaposition, followed immediately by BA, XXIV to XXXI. The copies, but for grammatical variations, are identical with the exceptions noted in BA.*)

CXXX The learned Muḥammad Záid el Kafūri asked the question "Is the enslavement of all the Arabs permissible or not?" The celebrated answer was that it was [not?] so, and this is the view of Málík and Aḥmad, because slavery implies deterioration.

CXXXI-CXXXII (*As BA, XLVII and XLVIII, with the exceptions given in the notes.*)

CXXXIII I am not sure of the subdivisions of the seven tribes mentioned because of the variations in the different accounts.

CXXXIV-CXXXV (*These two paragraphs are together identical with BA, XLIX, with the exceptions noted in BA.*)

CXXXVI (*As BA, LI, with the exceptions there noted.*)

CXXXVII Now there are [also] seven tribes apart from these seven, viz. BAG, BĀGÍG, KHASHBA, KHABRA, HARATHA, GHIBRA and 'ĀTHIR. These are of non-Arab ['agam] ancestors, blacks and whites.

CXXXVIII-CXXXIX This account is the true one, but in some of the genealogies it is said that the original Arabs are HIMYAR and ṬAI. . . . (*Continues as BA, L, with only the exceptions there noted.*)

CXL Now as for the tribes of the Arabs descended from GUHAYNA, taken separately by themselves, according to some genealogies the sons of Dhubián were ten, viz. . . . (*Continues as BA, LIX, with some variations for which see the trees.*)

CLXI-CLIX (*These nineteen paragraphs give the various personal and tribal descendants of Dhubián, and correspond in outline to paras. LX et seq. of BA, though the latter adds very many details as will be seen by reference to the trees, where all points of difference and additions and omissions can be seen, except such as are specifically mentioned in the notes to BA. There is nothing in these paragraphs beyond what is shown in the tree and in the notes to BA.*)

CLX Now Dhubián, whom we mentioned above, was the son of Guhayna son of . . . (*etc., as in the tree, as far as 'Adnán*).

CLXI This is the end of [the account] which I have accepted, according to what I found in the records dealing with the tribes of the Arabs, but I cannot vouch for its correctness.

CLXII-CLXV Now as regards GA'AL in general the true account is that which I have found given in some of the records, viz. as follows: . . . (*Paras. CLXIII to CLXV are here omitted as being identical with paras. CXXX to CXXXII of BA, q.v.*)

CLXVI Now the man who collected all the tribes of GA'AL together was Kerdam son of Abu el Dís, and whosoever is not enrolled among his descendants is not a Ga'ali.

CLXVII His abode was in the land of el Ḥegáz and the fertile lands, and it is related that his father Abu el Dís had two sons, Kerdam and Tergam; but of Tergam's descendants I know nothing.

CLXVIII As regards Kerdam it is said that his name was the Sultan Ḥasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dís, and that he had ten sons; but those that are known and whose descendants are verified and recorded in the genealogies are three only, viz. Dula and Tomám and Serrár.

CLXIX Dula was ancestor of FÜR and the SAḲĀRANG, and Tomám of the TOMÁM.

CLXX Serrár was ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYŪN], and had three

sons, Samra and Samayra and Mismár. So I will complete what I have to say of the descendants of each of these three in turn, if it please God.

CLXXI-CCIX (*These paragraphs give the descendants of Samra and Samayra and Mismár: the names of all the individuals and the sub-tribes here said to be descended from them will be found in the tree. Any remarks made in passing by the author and not noted in the tree, will be found in the notes to BA, q.v. paras. CXL to CLXI.*)

CCX The above are the descendants of Serrár son of Kerdam, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYŪN].

CCXI Some accounts give Bedayr as one of his sons, but this is incorrect: his sons were three, Samra and Samayra and Mismár, and I have given their descendants, all of whom are included in [the term] GA'AL, both the DUFÁR and the others.

CCXII As regards the tribes of GA'AL EL DUFÁR taken separately, their lineage is as follows: their ancestor, from whom they are all variously descended, was Šaláh son of Mūsa el Kebír son of Muḥammad son of Šaláh son of Muḥammad son of Dahmash son of Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrár, the general ancestor; and anyone unconnected with him [Serrár] is not a Ga'ali Dufári.

CCXIII The sons of Šaláh son of Mūsa, known as Masū el Kebír, were seven: [among them] were Naşrulla, the ancestor of . . . (*see tree*) . . . and Náşir, ancestor of the . . . (*see tree*). . . .

CCXIV All of these are included in the term DUFÁR, being descended from the seven sons of Šaláh.

CCXV The descendants of Muḥammad were Abukr and the ṬERAYFÍA.

CCXVI-CCXVII (*Gives the sons and grandsons of el Malik Mūsa el Şughayr and the tribes descended from them, q.v. in the tree.*)

CCXVIII 'Áid was the brother of Mūsa el Şughayr, the two of them being the sons of Ḥammad¹.

CCXIX 'Áid was ancestor of the 'ÁídÁB, [who are included] among the GA'AL EL DUFÁR.

CCXX This is all I have discovered about the various lines of descent; but I could ascertain nothing definite about [all] the seven sons of Šaláh and their respective descendants. This suffices.

CCXXI Now you know, from what I have said before, that all whose descent is now traced to el Sayyid el 'Abbás are only the progeny of el Sayyid el Faḍl son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid el 'Abbás.

CCXXII-CCXXIII (*Concerning the sons of el 'Abbás, as in paras. XXI and XXII.*)

¹ reading حیدر for حیداد.

CCXXIV 'Abdulla had a son el Faḍl, who was father of Sa'ad the father of Ibráhím el Ga'ali. Ibráhím begot...*(and so on down to Serrár, as in para. XLIV).*

CCXXV-CCXXVI *(A mere repetition of para. XXIII.)*

CCXXVII I will now give the pedigree, as I have done in the other cases, and I will do so in the course of showing my own ancestry, beginning with my maternal grandfather el Hág Muḥammad ibn Bishára, and [showing] how he was descended from el Sayyid el 'Abbás and connected with the Prophet...by a common ancestry from Hášhim son of 'Abd Menáf, and I will even go further, back to 'Adnán. Since I have shown you my true and trustworthy lineage on my father's side, I will similarly give the pedigree of my mother's father: it is as follows:

CCXXVIII I am el Sayyid Aḥmad son of el Sheikh Ismá'il el Wali, and my mother was Zaynab, daughter of el Hág Muḥammad son of...*(as in the tree, as far back as 'Adnán).*

CCXXIX This is the record I have kept as ordained by the law, and in the work I have throughout showed the pedigrees, whether through male or female, with intent that the whole should be known, as required by the law.

CCXXX Certain points had been obscure to me, and this fact originally actuated me to write this work; and I have prayed God to give me assistance, for He is Almighty, and I offer to Him praise from first to last; and prayer and homage be to Muḥammad, the foremost of the prophets by his pre-eminence, and [blessings be] upon all his followers. May God forgive my past sins and my future sins, my known sins and my unknown sins, and give me blessing in this world and in the world of eternity, and keep me from all future ill. And may God grant His mercy to all the prophets and apostles; and praise be to God the Lord of the worlds.

CCXXXI This work was finally completed on the noon of Wednesday the 11th of Rabí'a el Tháni in the year 1270¹ after the Hegira or Flight of the last of the prophets, upon whom be the blessing of God...*(the Te Deum of para. CCXXX is again repeated).*

¹ 1853 A.D.

AB (NOTES)

II The term "Wali" is a title given to a holy man after death. The reverence paid to them and to their tombs is based on Chapter x (63) of the *Qur'án* (see Sell, p. 109, and Hughes, p. 663).

III The term GA'AL EL DUFAR apparently relates exclusively to those GA'ALIYYÜN who are descended from Šalāh: see paras. xxxiii and cxxiv.

For the versification of the pedigree see para. XLVI.

IV Only one of the alleged authorities mentioned in this and the two following paragraphs is known to me: this is Šalim ibn Muḥammad el Sanhūri, who was a commentator on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl ibn Ishāq el Gindi. He died in 1015 A.H. (1606 A.D.) and is mentioned in Ḥagi Khalfa's *Lexicon* (Vol. v, p. 447). Cp. D 3, No. 195.

It is a common practice of these Sudan genealogists to cull from the works of mediaeval authors certain pious remarks and details of information as to the pedigrees of contemporaries of the Prophet, and, after incorporating this in their own work among innumerable genealogical details derived from entirely different sources, and even from mere hearsay, to quote the mediaeval authors as authority for the whole. The author of AB hovers between this and the more candid policy (paras. VII, VIII, and xxvii).

xxi See Wüstenfeld (W). Two sons are omitted.

xxii Um Kulthūm was el Faḍl's only child.

'Abdulla had eight children, including those given: See Wüstenfeld (W).

xxiii 'Obaydulla and el Faḍl are not shown by Wüstenfeld as having any descendants at all. 'Ali had 17 children.

xxvi Cp. BA, xv and D 5 (c), xviii.

xxix Cp. BA, cxxv; A 2, III; A 8, ix.

xxx Also quoted in BA, ccxxix. The Arabic is:

كَمِ مِنْ ابٍ قَدْ عَلَا بِابْنِ حَوَى شَرْفًا كَمَا عَلَا بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَدْنَانُ.

xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii I have not met with any of these three condemned versions.

xxxix This, with certain variations, is the account most commonly accepted. Abu el Dīs is omitted by error between Kerdam and Buḍā'a. For Buḍā'a a common variant is Ḳudā'a. Cp. the trees of BA and MSS. A 1 to A 11, and the note on para. cxxxiii of BA, from which it appears that the version here referred to may be BA or an older copy of BA.

XL I have not met with this version. Ḥaṣīn occurs in A 9. Cp. however D 6, II for "Ga'al el Aswad" ("the black").

XLIII, XLIV There is little doubt that the author has chosen this pedigree because he did not like the look of such non-Arab names as Hāṭil and Yāṭil, and because, there being many variants of the names between Abu el Dīs and Sa'ad he thought the best way would be to omit them all. The result of course is that there are far too few generations between the author

and el 'Abbás. His statement that he found this pedigree as it stands "in the highest authorities" is no doubt pure invention.

XLVI The quality of the verse is vile and is on a par with the Elizabethan ballad of John Symon entitled "Pleasant Poesie, or sweete Nosegay of fragrant smellyng Flowers gathered in the Garden of heavenly Pleasure, the holy and blessed Bible, to the tune of the Black Almayne." The following lines from this work (quoted in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1913) are very similar to the result of our author's efforts, and the very title quoted at once recalls the florid nomenclature of Arabic works:

Isacke was no weede,
Nor Jacob in very deede:
Joseph was a flower of price,
God dyd hym save from cruell device;
Also Moses eke we find;
And Aaron likewyse up we bynde,
Josua is not out of mynd.

XLIX Cp. BA, III and see note thereon.

L Sheikh Tatái was Muḥammad ibn Ibráhím el Tatái, Grand Ḳāḍi of Egypt. He died in 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.). He is not mentioned by Ḥaḡi Khalfa.

LI Cp. BA, IV. El Shádhalí, the founder of the religious order of the Shádhalía, was Abu el Ḥasan 'Alí el Shádhalí ibn 'Abdulla, a descendant of Abu Ṭálib. He was born near Tunis and died in 1258 A.D. He was the author of *Ḥizb el Baḥr* ("the Litany of the Sea") and other works on the duties of worship. (See Huart, p. 278.)

LII Cp. BA, V.

The Imám Abu el Ḥasan is, I think, 'Alí ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf el Manúfí. He was born at Cairo in 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.).

LIII El 'Adawí is possibly 'Alí ibn Aḥmad el Sa'ídi, a Málíki doctor. The 'Adawía order was founded by Sheikh 'Adi ibn Musáfir in the second half of the twelfth century A.D.

LV Cp. BA, V.

LVIII Cp. BA, VI, and see note thereto. A Yüsef ibn 'Omar is mentioned in Ḥaḡi Khalfa's *Lexicon* (Vol. III, p. 413) as a commentator on the *Risála* of el Sháfa'i; and another, surnamed "el Kádūzi," as a commentator on a Ḥanafite *mukhtaṣar* by el Imám Abu el Ḥusayn Aḥmad (v. Vol. V, p. 455). The date of neither is given.

LXIV The only difference between this paragraph and para. VII of BA is "el 'Arab" (AB) for "el Anzáb" (BA). See note to BA, VII.

LXXV. This feki Bishára's importance is greatly exaggerated. He is not even mentioned in the *Ṭabaḳát Wad Ḍayfulla* (i.e. D 3), although much space is allotted to his contemporaries, the pupils of Ibráhím el Bulád.

LXXVII The word spelt "GHARBÁWINGI" is intended to be pronounced "GHARBÁWÍNCI."

LXXXI "Letters patent" is *أولاد*, plur. *أولاد*. Frequent mention is made in the *Ṭabaḳát Wad Ḍayfulla* of the grant of similar privileges to holy men.

LXXXII Bádi "Abu Shelūkh" reigned 1733-1766 (Bruce) or 1721-1761 (Cailliaud). (See note to D 7, XLVIII for this name.)

LXXXIII Bádi Abu Duḡn reigned 1651-1689 (Bruce) or 1638-1675 (Cailliaud).

LXXXIV "Contribution" is *حسب* (*ḥasab*), i.e. an offering, generally of *dammūr* (cloth) given to anyone who came as friend (*ḥasīb*) of the Sultan. "First-fruits" is *عادة* (*'áda*), lit. "custom." "Levy" is *عانة* (*'ána*), lit. "assistance." "Market-due" is *قوار* (*ḥuḡḡár*), i.e. a due taken on the sale of articles. "Impost" is *جباية* (*gabáya*). In Dárfūr *Abo gabáyin* under the Sultans was the official responsible for collecting the corn tithes. "Forage-due" is *علوق* (*'alók*), i.e. a gift of corn to feed the beasts of a great man and his retinue when he halted at a village. "Herd-due" is *متورت* (*matūrat*), i.e. the fattest of the flock, for slaughter in honour of a dignitary's visit: Ar. *تور*, to fatten up 'properly of a bull). This list is of interest as showing the local imposts in force under FUNG rule.

LXXXVIII The real reason of the nickname "Westerner" was very probably that Bishára, or his ancestors, came from Borḡu. See D I, CXLIX.

LXXXIX Ibráhīm el Būlād was one of the famous sons of Gábir. He is mentioned in BA, ccv, and in the *Ṭabaḡát*. Also cp. Jackson, p. 26. By race he was a Rikábi.

By "Khalíl" is meant the subjects treated of by Khalíl, viz. Khalíl ibn Isháḡ el Gundi, the author of a great compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) of Málíkite law. He died in 767 A.H. (1365-6 A.D.). El Sanhūri, 'Abd el Báḡi el Zurkáni, and el Ag-hūri, all of whom are mentioned by AB or BA (q.v. ccxii), were among those who wrote commentaries on Khalíl's work. (See Ḥagi Khalfá's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, pp. 446-7.) Cp. D 3, vi. *Risála* more commonly means "composition" and "the art of letter-writing," but from the context here and elsewhere (and most notably in the couplet quoted in D 3, No. 93), it is clear that by *risála* is meant the office or duty of a *rasūl* or apostle. (See Hughes, p. 545, ii.)

xcvi *Hugga* is properly a decisive argument but the term is used to denote a person of incontrovertible authority. For the RIKÁBIA see the trees to BA and D 1 and D 3, and Part III, Ch. 7. Muḥammad el Banūfari is also mentioned in D 3 (No. 17) as the instructor of Ibráhīm el Būlād. Nothing definite is known about him.

xcix The Arabic phrase *ومدة تدريسه في خليل سبعة ختمات* and "seven sealings" means that he lectured on the whole of his subject from beginning to end seven times and on reaching the end of the book (Khalíl's) he each time sealed or signed it in token thereof. Cp. D 3, No. 17. The 40 pupils of the AWLÁD GÁBIR are often referred to in D 3, e.g. No. 60.

For 'Abd el Raḥman see D 3, No. 17, and BA, ccv.

c This "divorce oath" is very frequent in the Sudan: a man says "I swear that I will do (or not do) so and so, and if I break my oath I will divorce my wife"—and if he does break his oath he is expected to divorce her, though in practice he often compounds his offence instead.

The passage in the *Qurán* alluded to is in *Sura*, VI (*q.v.* Sale, p. 92).

CVI Cp. BA, xxxviii.

El Termidhi is Abu 'Isa Muḥammad el Tirmidhi, author of the *Gáma'i*, an encyclopaedia of traditions throwing light on the law. He died in 892 A.D. (See Huart, p. 220.)

By Ibn Dáūd is meant Abu Dáūd, one of the six great collectors and recorders of the Sunnite traditions, a contemporary of el Termidhi.

CVII Cp. BA, XLII.

CVIII Cp. BA, XLI.

CIX El Kházin is Sheikh 'Alá el Dín 'Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibráhím el Baghdádi el Šūfī "el Kházin." He completed his great work *Lubáb el Ṭawíl fi ma'áni li tanzíl* (a *Quránic* commentary) in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.): see Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, p. 298.

CX Cp. BA, xviii.

CXVI See note to BA, xxxvii. For "...was asked" AB gives *قال سئل* instead of *قال قيل يا*.

CXIX See para. III (note).

CXXX The Arabic is as follows:

هل يجوز استرقاق جميع العرب ام لا الجواب المشهور جوازه وهو قول مالك واحمد لان الاسترقاق اتلاف حكمها

I cannot help thinking that a negative has dropped out, but the words quoted occur in the original, as in the later copies. The translation given of the last four words represents as nearly as possible the explanation of them offered by the author's son.

"Málik" is Abu 'Abdulla Málik ibn Anas; and "Aḥmad" is Abu 'Abdulla Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *i.e.* two of the four founders of the great orthodox sects of Sunnis.

CXXXI-CXXXII AB gives "Sálim" instead of "Aslam" (BA, XLVIII); and AB gives *المشكلات للقاري* instead of *المشكلات للمقاري* (BA, XLVIII).

CXXXVII Cp. A 3, XII, where almost all these names are spelt rather differently. "BAG" may refer to the BEGA; but otherwise I have no clue to the identity of these tribes. The original MS. gave KHABRA: later copies taken from it give GABRA. Cp. C 9, 24.

CLXII From here onwards to CCX cp. A 1.

CLXVI Cp. BA, CXXXIII and CXXXVI.

CLXVII Cp. BA, CXXXVII.

CLXVIII Cp. BA, CXXXVII and CXXXVIII.

CLXIX Cp. BA, CXXXIX.

CLXX The phrase "the general ancestor" (*جد الكل*) is very frequently applied to Serrár (for whom see note to BA, CXXXIV).

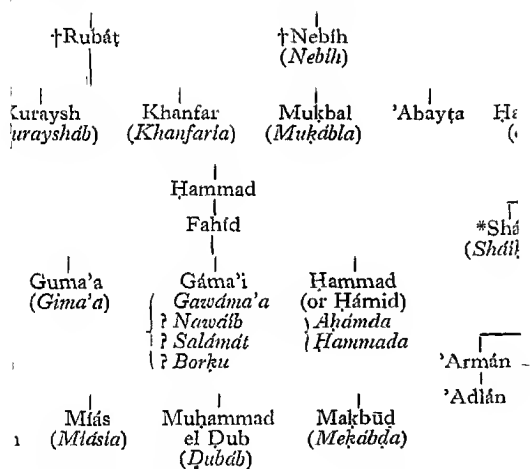
CCXIV "Muḥammad" is presumably the son of Šaláḥ ibn Muḥammad. In para. CLXXII the Ṭerayfía were given as descendants of Ṭerayf. Cp. BA, CXL.

CCXVIII Two or three illegible words follow at the end of this paragraph in the original MS.

CCXIX In para. CCXIII these appear as *عيدات*, but here as *عايدات*.

Jamayra
 Zhodidd
 Bajdhin
 Kuman
 Kuşas

* and † by different mothers.



By Ḥamâma bint Rubât.

† By bint Iḷâshi

? Denotes a doubt implied by the
 "it is said," or "I hear"

MANUSCRIPT ABC

Introduction

THE author of ABC is Şadîk el Hâdra, a Maḥassi of the village of Salâmat el Bâsha near Khartoum North. He is an old *feki* who has made the study of genealogies his life's work, and is, in fact, in process of completing the compilation of an enormous volume comprizing several hundreds of pedigrees which he has collected. I am afraid that neither his critical faculty nor his educational qualifications can honestly be said to fit him for the adequate presentation of the subject he has so courageously undertaken to elucidate, but he has certainly collected a formidable mass of raw material.

On my showing an interest in his studies he kindly composed for me the monograph here translated: it is in the nature of an abbreviated edition of his *magnum opus*.

The first part deals with that branch of the MAḤASS which is traditionally descended from 'Agam ibn Zâid ibn Muḥammad Maḥsin, i.e. with the author's own tribe. The second part is concerned with the Ga'ali group of tribes, the third with those of GUHAYNA, and the fourth with a medley of others. One or two brief biographies are also included.

Şadîk's method, he informs me, has been to compare various manuscripts (twenty-four in all, he says) and to supplement or check them by personal oral enquiries from other *fekis*. When satisfied as to the truth he has enshrined it in his work. His method, in fact, has been that of the author of AB. It is, however, obvious that he has been unduly credulous, and apt to accept at its face value much information that is worthless: in this respect he falls behind the author of AB. He also shows a distinct tendency to force variant accounts into an unnatural agreement by baldly stating as a fact what is no more than the product of his own imagination.

What then is the value of the work? It is small, but not altogether negligible. In the first place we have in it an example, the only one included in this collection, of a present-day *nisba*, and one that illustrates well the methods followed by native genealogists in dealing with their authorities.

Şadîk el Hâdra has studied the *Ṭabaḳât* (D 3) and various versions of BA and other such MSS., and we see the result: the pre-

sumption is thus created that the authors of some at least of the works to which he referred for his information proceeded on analogous lines.

Secondly, various items of definite fact, otherwise unknown, are to be gleaned as to matters with which Şadîk is personally conversant. These sometimes help to explain obscure points in the other *nisbas*.

Thirdly, even allowing for inaccuracies and a certain degree of imagination, we get sidelights on native tradition drawn from sources which have been available to Şadîk in the course of a long life of enquiry, but which do not happen to have come within our ken through any other channel.

It may be added that, though in many cases where ABC differs from other *nisbas*, e.g. in the spelling of a proper name, ABC is certainly the less accurate, it is yet quite likely that in some other cases ABC may happen to provide a correct copy of some more accurate MS. than any I have seen.

The appendix is by a different author, for whom see the first note thereto.

I 'Agam was son of Zâid son of . . . (*as in Tree 1*) . . . son of Ka'ab el Khazragi el Anşâri, who died at el Medína the Glorious in 19 A.H. in the Khalífate of 'Omar ibn el Khaţţâb, God bless him.

II Sheikh Idrís, whose *kubba* is at el 'Ayl Füng, was son of el Arbâb Muḥammad son of . . . (*as in tree, to 'Agam*). He was born near Shanbât at a place called Shūḥaţ lying between the railway [and the river], north of Shanbât, opposite the experimental pumping-station. He was born in 910 A.H., and on the death of his parents he moved to 'Aylat el Füng and lived there until his death. He died and was buried there, after a life of about 149 Arabic years, in 1059 A.H. His mother was Fâtima, the daughter of the Sheríf Hammad Abu Denána¹, who is buried at Abu Delayk and was descended from el Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abu Tâlib.

On his father's side Sheikh Idrís was a Khazragi Anşâri descended from Ubi ibn Ka'ab; and [KHAZRAG] are originally Arabs of Yemen descended from Kaţţân ibn 'Ábir, that is the prophet Hūd, upon whom be peace.

Sheikh Idrís's descendants are [mostly] at el 'Ayl Füng, and some are in other places.

III El Hâg Idrís was son of 'Abd el Dâim son of . . . (*as in tree, to 'Agam*) and was born at the Shūḥaţ mentioned above in 959 A.H. He lived 99 years and died in 1058 A.H. He had seven sons, namely . . . (*as in tree, which gives their names and descendants*).

¹ reading ذنانة for ذنانه.

IV El Sheikh Khógalí, whose *ḡubba* is at Khartoum North, was son of 'Abd el Raḡman son of... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*). He had nine sons and four daughters. These were... (*as in tree*). Aḡmad and Muḡammad and el Gáz and Um Hání were all children of the same mother, namely, Wanasūna bint 'Omar ibn Ḥammad ibn Muḡammad, so her pedigree meets that of Sheikh Khógalí in the person of el Malik Gáma'í. Her tribe was called the MAKANÁB, the children of el Malik Makan. The mother of the remaining seven brothers and two sisters was Bint el Minná bint Ṭá'ulla ibn Sulaymán ibn Abu Mūsa, a Ḳardaḡábía, so her pedigree meets that of Sheikh Khógalí in the person of their ancestor, the above-mentioned 'Agam. Their progeny forms several tribes [*ḡabáíl*], some of whom live at el Ḳubba, and some round the village called EL KHÓGALÁB after their ancestor Khógalí and situated on the east bank opposite Kerreri, and some in the south.

Sheikh Khógalí was born on Tūti Island in 1065 A.H. and lived 101 years and died in 1155 A.H.

V The descendants of Ḳardaḡa ibn Felláḡ ibn Sheraf el Dín ibn 'Agam are on Tūti Island: others of them are scattered in Kordofán and the neighbourhood of Gebel el Ḥaráza, in the west, between the two KABÁBÍSH districts of Gabra and el Šáfia. They form a considerable number of tribes, about thirty in fact. Others live in the Gezíra of Sennár.

VI Some of the descendants of Marzūḡ ibn Felláḡ ibn Sheraf el Dín ibn 'Agam live at Burri el Maḡass near Khartoum South, namely the children of Ibráḡím el Budání who are called the BUDÁNÁB. With them are other descendants of Marzūḡ surnamed the AWLÁD ḲASŪMA. Other descendants of Marzūḡ are round el Raḡayba on the east bank, opposite el Kámnín, and are called "the MAḡASS." Others of them are at Hillet Balūla, north of el Kámnín, on the east bank. They form various tribes.

VII The descendants of Záíd ibn 'Agam form various tribes. They include the children of Ḥammad ibn 'Abd el Salám ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Isa*), namely el feki el Sayyid and 'Abd el Salám and el Ḥáḡ Muḡammad Nūr and their sisters Fátima and Um Kalthūm: and the children of each of these form a tribe, and they dwell at Shanbát and thereabouts.

They include also the children of 'Agaymi and of his son Aḡmad, some of whom are at Shanbát and some on Tūti Island and some in the Gezíra of Sennár: these form various tribes.

Also the children of Idrís ibn Shakartu ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*).

Also the children of Shakartulla ibn el Hág ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Ali 'Ashba*). Some of these are at Shanbát and some round el Mcsalaníá, which is a government headquarters, and some round Sennár, and all are descended from Idrís ibn Shakartu.

Some of the children of Shakartulla are on Tūti Island, some at Shanbát, and some in the other directions mentioned.

VIII Some of the descendants of Raḥma ibn 'Ali ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*), who are surnamed the SA'ADULLĀB, are on Tūti Island; some are at Shanbát; and some are with the KABÁBÍSH AWLĀD 'UḲBA and are called the AWLĀD ABU SITTA¹.

IX The SA'ADĀB who live round el Hīnayk, on the west [bank], opposite Gebel Lūla, which is called by the Sudanese Gebel Auli, are the descendants of Sá'ad ibn el feki Ādam ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*), and form various tribes.

With them are the ḤAMMADULLĀB, the inhabitants of Um Ḳaḥf near el 'Ayl Fūng. Some of them too are at el 'Ayl Fūng. Some again are at el Tómat on the Atbara, and at Gíra on the river Sanhít, and at Dóka in the Buṭána.

These people are the children of Maḥmūd walad Záid. The Arabs who are under their rule, namely ḌUBĀNĪA, trace their descent to GUHAYNA, whereas the descendants of Záid are SHĀMĪA, descendants of Mazád Abu Shāma ibn 'Agam.

All of these are descended from the ANṢĀR who conquered the Sudan in 43 A.H. during the period of the rule of 'Abdulla ibn Abu Sarāḥ, the Companion. After the conquest the KHAZRAG settled in this country and their children multiplied there until the present day. At the time of their coming to conquer the Sudan they numbered about 81,000.

They are Arabs of Yemen and descended from Ḳaḥṭán ibn 'Ábir, that is the prophet Hūd.

Now Ḳaḥṭán is ancestor of all [the tribes of] el Yemen and to him they trace their descent. The children of Ḳaḥṭán were Gurhum and Ḥaḍramaut and Sabá.

X Sheikh Ḥasan ibn Ḥasūna, whose *ḵubba* is in the middle of the Buṭána, between the Blue Nile and the Atbara, was a Sheríf on his father's side. His mother was Fāṭima bint Ḥabashía, whose mother was a Šaridía Khamaysía tracing her descent to the ANṢĀR.

Sheikh Ḥasan ibn Ḥasūn visited Egypt and Syria and other lands and performed the pilgrimage. These journeys occupied about twelve years. Then he returned to his own country and became famous among the nomad Arabs for his piety, and his herds of cattle

¹ reading *سنة* for *سنة*.

and camels and sheep and his horses and slaves increased in number. And withal he used to give hospitality to travellers, and in one day he gave food to about 15,000, a magnificent performance in those days. He was born on the island called Kagóg, situated on the Blue Nile north-west of Gebel Gária, in 968 A.H., and lived 91 years. He died in 1059 A.H., and was buried in the tomb he built with his own hands. He left no children.

XI The feki Muḥammad el Nūr ibn Ḍayfulla, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt el Awliyá bi 'l Sūdán*, was son of Ḍayfulla ibn 'Alī ibn Ibráhīm ibn el Ḥág Naṣrulla, a Ga'ali 'Abbási. His descendants are called the ḌAYFULLÁB, the children of Ḍayfulla. He died at Ḥalfáyat el Mulūk of the yellow fever known in the Sudan as *el Kík* in 1224 A.H.¹

XII The GA'ALÍN (*sic*) who are in the Sudan are the descendants of Ibráhīm el Hášimi, nicknamed "Ga'al." The reason of his being so named was that he was possessed of great power and wealth, and in his days a severe famine occurred, and folk came to him from every direction and said "O Ibráhīm, make us (*aga'lad*) your folk," and he consented to their wish, and so his people surnamed him "Ga'al" because he "made" (*ga'al*) those who came to him and maintained them until God relieved their distress. He has many descendants in the Sudan: their number may be about 50,000. Among them are the sons of 'Armán, namely Gebel, the ancestor of the GEBELÁB, and Gabr, the ancestor of the GÁBRÁB, and 'Abd el 'Ál, the ancestor of the MAGÁDÍB and the KANDÍLÁB (and in all 'Abd el 'Ál had fourteen sons and from each one of them are descended various tribes), and Shá'a el Dín, the ancestor of the SHÁ'ADÍNÁB (who consist of various tribes), and el Malik 'Adlán ibn 'Armán (who had thirty male children, from each of whom are descended numerous tribes), and Zayd, the ancestor of the ZÁÍDÁB (who contain many tribes), and Musallam, ancestor of the MUSALLAMÁB (who are many tribes), and Mukábir, the ancestor of the MUKÁBIRÁB (who are tribes), and Sa'id, the ancestor of the SA'ADÁB and the NIMRÁB, and Náṣir, the ancestor of the NAṢIRÁB, and Shai, and Yóiy, the ancestor of the YÓRYÁB. These are the twelve sons of 'Armán, and their descendants were even more numerous. Among these descendants were the children of 'Abd el 'Ál ibn el Malik 'Armán, some of whom have already been mentioned, and who were fourteen men in all, and who include the ḤASABULLÁB [the children of Ḥasabulla]; and the RÁFA'ÁB, the children of Ráfa'i; and the KHADRÁB, the children of Khadr; and the GÓDALÁB², the children of Gádulla; and the KÁLÍÁB, the children of Kali; and the

¹ 1809 A.D.

² reading جودلاب for جوداب.

KITÍÁB, the children of Kiti; and the BASHÍRÁB, the children of Bashír; and the MŪSÍÁB, the children of Mŭsa; and the 'OMARÁB, the children of 'Omar; and Tisa'a Kulli; and the tenth of them, Muḥammad el Nigayḍ, the ancestor of the NIGÁPA.

XIII Among the 'OMARÁB was Sheikh Ḥámid Abu 'Aṣa son of Sheikh 'Omar son of Belál son of Muḥammad son of 'Omar son of Muḥammad el Á'war son of 'Abd el 'Ál son of el Malík 'Armán. His mother was a Sherifíá named Ḥalíma, the daughter of el Sheríf Ḥammad Abu Denána who lies buried at Abu Delayḵ. Sheikh Ḥámid Abu 'Aṣa had ten children, namely Muḥammad and Ḥammad and... (*as in tree*).

XIV Náfa'a and Nafi'a were sons of el Malík 'Adlán ibn el Malík 'Armán by a single mother. Among the descendants of Náfa'a are the THÁWÍÁB and... (*as in tree*) and many tribes.

XV Among the descendants of Nafi'a are the SERAYḤÁB and... (*as in tree*).

XVI The sons of el Malík 'Abd el Dáím ibn 'Adlán were fourteen in number, and they included 'Ali and Yóiy and Ḥammad, the mother of all of whom was Bukra the daughter of his paternal uncle Mukábir. The descendants of 'Ali ibn el Malík 'Abd el Dáím are the 'ÁLÍÁB: those of Yóiy ibn el Malík 'Abd el Dáím ibn 'Adlán are the YÓRYÁB round Kózbara: those of Ḥammad ibn el Malík 'Abd el Dáím are round el Metemma. The descendants of Abu Ḍaraywa are the ḌARAYWÁB, those of Kabūsh are the KABŪSHÁB, and those of Ḥammad reside at el Metemma. [Add] also Abu Baṣrūn; and Muḥammad el Fíál, ancestor of the NAFÁFÍ'A; and Shaddū and Qaddū, whose descendants are the WAHÁHÍB *el fuḵarā*; and Dow; and Kena, ancestor of the KITÁWÍT.

XVII The sons of 'Abd el Ma'abūd were 'Abd el Salám el Aṣfar, ancestor of the ŞUFAR EL MAGHÁWÍR [MAFÁWÍR(?)]; and Mŭsa, ancestor of the MŪSÍÁB; and Khadr el Fíál, ancestor of the FÍÁÍL.

XVIII The descendants of Ba'abūsh are the BA'ÁBÍSH.

The sons of Sa'ad Abu Dabūs included 'Abd el Dáím and Kanbaláwi and Sanad and Idrís el Kaṭí'a, the ancestor of the 'ABD-SALÁMÁB of el Buayḍa.

XIX The sons of Sa'ad ibn Díáb [were the] Burnis, namely (and?) Nāṣir and Muḥammad el Kuṣayer and 'Ali and Šáliḥ.

XX The sons of Rubát ibn Mismár ibn Serrár ibn Kerdam (*i.e.* the Sultan Ḥasan, Kerdam being a surname) were 'Awad and Ku-raysh and el Khanfari and Muḵbal and 'Abṭ... (*The descendants of each are given: see Tree 3. Remarks made in passing and not included in the tree are as follows*):

1. *Ḥumayyir and Daḥaysh, ancestors of the ḤUMAYYIRÁB and DAḤAYSHÁB were full brothers.*

2. *The MAWWATÁB: "Among them was Walad Dayfa."*

3. *The 'AWADÍA sub-tribes: "Each one of these tribes has many branches."*

4. *The MAḤBŪLÁB: "Some of them live near Shendi."*

XXI Mismár ibn Serrár ibn Kerdam had four sons, namely Sa'ad el Feríd, and the three sons of a single mother, Şubuh Abu Merkha, the above-mentioned Rubát, and Nebîh. . . . (*The descendants of each are given in Tree 3, but as remarks not mentioned in the tree are made in passing concerning some of them, these remarks are inserted here, as follows*):

1. *The DUBÁB: "Among them was Sheikh el Ḥusayn el Zahrá."*

2. *The GIMA'A: "Among them was 'Asákir Abu Kaldm."*

3. *The ḤAKAMÁB, or AWLÁD ḤÁKIM: "Some of them are in Dongola and others in the GA'ALÍN country: among them was the feki Muḥammad ibn el Bedowi, who was Sheikh el Islám." "And Ḥákím also has descendants round Arko, called the MIḤAYNÁB."*

4. *The NAŞIRÁB: "Their ancestor Naşir dwelt on the White Nile near Berayma."*

5. *Ḥámid Abu Tinka: (1) "He of el 'Ayn, which lies west of el Şáfia in the KABÁBISH country." (2) The descendants of his son 'Adlán are said to be at el Kóz village, those of his other two sons at Um 'Adám, and those of his grandson Muḥammad "among the ḤALÁWÍN," i.e. all in Mesallamía district.*

6. *Marangána (ancestress of the HÁGÁB): "She of the ridge near Walad Medani."*

7. *The RASHÍDÁB: "Who live on the White Nile near el Ḥanayk."*

8. *The MUḤDÁB: "On the west bank of the White Nile, opposite Gebel Auli."*

9. *The NÁTLÁB: "They include the sons of el Mek Bábir who were about 18 in all and each of whom had posterity."*

10. *The SULAYMÁNÍA: "On the White Nile, opposite Um Arḍa Island."*

11. *The ḤAMAYDÁNÍA: "Among them was the feki Ibráhím 'Abd el Dáfa'i, the author of the History of the Sudan."*

12. *The SHAKÍRÁB: "Near Um Arḍa Island."*

13. *The 'ÍSÁWÍA: "Some of them are with the KABÁBISH."*

14. *The DUNÍBÁB: "Who live with the GIMÍ'ÁB, and include Kuḍur the panegyrist."*

15. *The ḤARAYZÁB: "Who include Sheikh Dafa'alla el Gharḵán¹, who lives at Omdurmán."*

¹ reading القرقان, الغرقار.

16. *The descendants of Faṭāḥ the Younger: "They include the 'omda of the FITĪḤĀB and the children of Sulaymān ibn el Mek and of his brother Shibayli, and the ḲUṢAYṢĀB, the sons of Ḥamid ibn Ḳussa. . . , etc." (as in tree).*

17. *Dardōḥ: "In Dārfūr, and among his descendants were Abó ibn 'Abdulla ibn Gódafāt."*

XXII All of the above are ḲURAYSH and descended from el 'Abbás ibn 'Abd el Muṭṭalib ibn Hášhim; and all of them are the children of Ibráḥīm el Hášhimi who was surnamed "Ga'al," and the first of their ancestors to come to the Sudan was named Ghánim, surnamed "el 'Abbási." He fled from Baghdád after the Tatar attacked it, in 676 A.H.¹. Then they (*sic*) came to Egypt and found the Fāṭimites ruling there, but they were unable to settle down with them, so migrated to the Sudan and took up their abode, some on the Blue Nile and some on the White and some in Dārfūr and Dār Wadái (that is Borḳu), and spread in all directions.

XXIII Those that are in Dārfūr are represented by the royal family only. The rest of the Dārfūrians are KUNGÁRA and HILÁLA, and such as are neither are all FERÁTÍT [*i.e.* FERTÍT].

XXIV As regards Borḳu, the royal family are 'ABBÁŚĪA, that is ḲURAYSH. The rest are Arabs of Yemen, that is ḤIMYAR, descended from Báriḳ ibn 'Uday ibn Ḥáriṭha ibn 'Ámir ibn Ḥáriṭha ibn Thāliba ibn Amrá el Ḳays ibn Mázin ibn el Azd, who are [all of the tribe of] GHASSÁN.

XXV The tribes of Muṣṣr ibn Nizár and RABĪ'A ibn Nizár. All in the Wádi el 'Arab trace their descent to these tribes, and their pedigrees all meet in Ḳays ibn Ghaylān ibn Muṣṣr and el Yás ibn Muṣṣr. RABĪ'A, too, forms one stock with Muṣṣr. The mother of el Yás ibn Muṣṣr was el Rubáb bint Sayda ibn Ma'ad ibn 'Adnán; and el Yás ibn Muṣṣr had three sons, Mudraka and Ṭábikha and 'Umayr, and their mother was Khindif, whose [real] name was Layla bint Ḥalwán ibn 'Omran ibn el Ḥáfī ibn Ḳudá'a ibn Ma'ad ibn 'Adnán. Therefore the posterity of el Yás ibn Muṣṣr were called "KHINDIF," because she was their mother and to her they trace their descent. From 'Adnán branch off all the tribes of the Arabs.

XXVI All of the descendants of Muṣṣr ibn Nizár who came to the Sudan are the children of Ḳays ibn Ghaylān ibn Muṣṣr. They include Guhayna ibn Rísh ibn. . . (*as in Tree 4, to 'Adnán*), and, secondly, Guhayna ibn 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhaní, and thirdly, Guhayna of the tribe of ḲUPĀ'A, namely Guhayna ibn Zayd ibn. . . (*as in tree, to 'Adnán*), and, fourthly, Guhayna ibn 'Aṭīa ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Abdulla

¹ 1277 A.D.

ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám ibn Khowaylid ibn Asad ibn 'Abd el 'Uzzá ibn Ḳuṣai ibn Keláb.

All these four, after their arrival in the Sudan, came to an agreement and became one tribe.

The tribes of GUHAYNA are fifty-two in all, not counting those that in the past have entered the Sudan *via* the Nile in the time of the FUNG, and most of them are west of Tūnis and Tripoli [*Tardblus*] and Fezzán and Borḳu. Three of the sons of Baghíd came to the Sudan, namely Ḳays and Sufián and Dhubián, and the descendants of Ḳays ibn Baghíd were the Guhayna ibn Rish mentioned above and Guhayna ibn 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhani. These are the children of Ḳays.

XXVII The descendants of Sufián ibn Baghíd are the KABÁBISH, who are the children of Muḥammad ibn Sufián ibn 'Abs ibn Sufián ibn Baghíd. They are sometimes surnamed "BENI 'ABS."

Now Muḥammad ibn Sufián had two sons. . . . (*For these and their descendants see tree. Remarks made in passing, and not included in the tree, are as follows:*

1. *The descendants of the sons of Nūr ibn 'Alī. "Each of them forms a tribe that defends itself."*

2. *The descendants of the sons of 'Alī ibn Nūr. "Each of them forms an independent tribe that defends the other."*

XXVIII The sons of Dhubián ibn Baghíd ibn Rayth ibn. . . . (*as in tree, to 'Adnán*) were nine in number, namely Watid and. . . , etc., *as in tree, which also gives their descendants. Remarks made in passing, and not included in the tree, are as follows:*

1. *The descendants of Muḥammad ibn 'Amir: "Each of them forms a separate tribe, some of them living near el Siūt and others in the deserts of Sennár."*

2. *Rikáb son of Sulṭán: "Not to be confused with Rikáb ibn Ghulámulla."*

3. *The SHUKRÍA descended from Bashír ibn Dhubián: "The descendants of Bashír ibn. . . , etc., are the SHUKRÍA and the NABÁRÍA. Now all the SHUKRÍA trace their descent to Yashkur ibn Wáil ibn. . . ." (as in tree, to Nizár), "except the AWLÁD ABU SIN, who are ḲURAYSH, descended from 'Abdulla ibn Ga'afir ibn Abu Ṭálib."*

4. *The ḲARÍBÁB: "Who live on the banks of the Nile opposite Rufá'a."*

5. *The KAWÁHLA descended from Káhil ibn Ḥasan: "Not to be confused with the KAWÁHLA descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám."*

6. *The KANÁGIRA: "They include KUNGÁRA in Dárfūr, and Borḳu and Bornu and Afñū: others of them are sons of Fellát ibn Kungar, who are partly FELLÁTA."*

7. The THAKRA: "Some of whom are Muhammadans and the remainder infidels."

8. The KALKĀLA: "They are in Tūnis: some of them [too] live near el Kāmnīn."

9. The DAWĀGIRA: "They live east of Mekka and are the people of el Nūḳ el Bakht."

10. The SANĀDALĪB: "Some of whom used to be in Sennār."

11. The descendants of the sons of Hilāl ibn Muḥammad: "Some of them are at el Hildāla."

12. The tribes descended from 'Aḳil ibn Muḥammad 'Amir: "These tribes live in Upper Egypt. But the SHĀMĪA and the MA'ĀIDA and the KĀLĀLĪB are descended from 'Aid ibn Ḥusayn. Some of them are west of Dārfūr."

XXIX The descendants of 'Abdulla ibn Zubayr ibn el 'Awwām are the KAWĀHLA in the Gezira of Sennār, who are the children of Guhayna ibn 'Aṭīa ibn el Ḥasan ibn 'Abdulla ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwām, and also the 'ABĀBDA, who are the children of el Zubayr. These are QURAYSH.

XXX The nomads in the Sudan who have been mentioned are all descended from Muḍr ibn Nizār and Rabī'a ibn Nizār.

XXXI The GA'ĀFIRA in Upper Egypt include the descendants of Ga'afir el Ṣādiḳ, and the descendants of Ga'afir el Ṭiār, the brother of the Imām 'Ali ibn Abu el Ṭālib, and the descendants of Ga'afir ibn Qutāf el Ṭāī, who are of the stock of Ḥātīm el Tāī, so famous for his generosity and bravery, and the descendants of Ga'afir el Barmaki. All of them live in Upper Egypt.

XXXII The ḤAḌĀRMA were originally nomads in Ḥaḍramaut and moved across to the west bank of the Red Sea [el Mālīḥ] and settled at Sūākin in the Sudan. They left the east bank in the time of el Ḥaggāg ibn Yūsef el Thakfi.

XXXIII The GABARTA¹ are by origin Arabs.

XXXIV The MESALLAMĪA of the district so-named are the stock of Musallam ibn Ḥamāz 'Aṭāf the Ommawi. They migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Āzīz the Ommawi and settled in the Sudan in the country known after them.

XXXV The inhabitants of Edfu are of different races. Some are ASHRĀF, and some are Arabs, including MANĀḲIRA and KHŪLA and ḤARĀIZ and KALŪḤ and KĀLĀLĪB and MERĪNĀB, all of whom are GUHAYNA, and the BUṢAYLĪA, the descendants of Ḥammād el Buṣayli, who are Arabs of Ḥegāz tracing their descent to GUHAYNA.

¹ reading الجبرة for الجبرت.

XXXVI The SABÁ'FA and the MAṬÁ'ANA are western Arabs, tracing their descent to the MASÁMIDA.

XXXVII The HOWÁRA trace their descent to the BARÁNÍS. They are western Arabs, and their pedigree goes back to ḲURAYSH.

XXXVIII The AWLÁD 'ALÍ trace their descent to HILÁLA and are GUHAYNA.

XXXIX The ḤEGÁZIYYŪN are eastern Arabs, ḲURAYSH by race.

XL The rest of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt are composed of COPTS [*Aḳbat*], and RŪM, and GUMUSA, the GUMUSA being slaves, and ALEPPANS [*Haleb*], who are children of adultery.

XLI The FAKHRÁNÍA include ASHRÁF on the mother's side.

XLII El Sayyid 'Abd el Raḥím el Ḳenáwi was one of the ASHRÁF of the west, and he is sufficiently famous to need no further description.

XLIII The inhabitants of the Nile [valley] south of Egypt and west of the Red Sea are all 'ABÁBDA, the descendants of 'Abdulla ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám.

XLIV The inhabitants of Ḥalfa are KANŪZ, the sons of Dowlat el Kanzi, that is NŪBA.

XLV Similarly the original inhabitants of Dongola, all of them, from the Red Sea to the Equator, are descended from the ZING. These came from Neged and el 'Iráq.

XLVI The Persians [*Fárisiá*] are of the seed of Selmán el Fárisi.

XLVII The original ḤUDŪR are all GUHAYNA and inhabit the country between Edfu and Aṣwán.

XLVIII The BENI 'ÁMIR, that is UM 'AR'ARA, entered Abyssinia. They are famous for their bravery and courage and stout-heartedness, and are a mighty tribe.

XLIX The facts given above are based on a tree which I found written in the handwriting of el Ḥasan ibn 'Alí, the brother of el Sayyid Aḥmad el Bedowi, and taken from the genealogical tree found by el Sháfa'i 'Alí Ibráhím and the above-mentioned el Ḥasan.

L According to Ibn Khaldūn the tribes of Arabs descended from GUHAYNA came after the Muḥammadan conquest of the northern NŪBA in 1318 A.D., and spread over the Sudan, and formed a separate branch.

LI The ḤAMAR Arabs are originally GUHAYNA and trace their descent to that tribe.

LII The TA'ÁISHA and the HABBÁNÍA and the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD and SELÍM are descendants of Ḥammád ibn Gunayd. The ḤAWÁZMA

and the ḤUMR and the MESSÍRÍA and the RIZAYKÁT are descendants of his brother 'Aṭía. All of them are GUHAYNA by descent.

Similarly the BENI HELBA, who are west of Dárfūr¹ and are a great tribe, trace their descent to GUHAYNA. So also do the BENI ḤUSAYN and the TERGAM and KHUZÁMA and the MÁHRÍA (*sic*) and the MASÁLÍT and the KORÓBÁT, who live west of Kebkábía.

LIII The KHAWÁBÍR, who inhabit Wadái² in the west, are in some cases merchants and in others nomads. They are BENI OMMAYYA, KURAYSH, by origin.

LIV Some of the descendants of the sons of Abu Bukr³ el Šadīk who have immigrated to the Sudan.

They include the sons of Sheikh Muḥammad el Mugelli, who was buried near Esná in the district of Zerníkh, and who was a Sherif on his mother's side and a Bukri on his father's. With him was his brother Sheikh Aḥmad surnamed "el Yómání." They came from the direction of el Yemen, from a village in Yemen called Bunda, to Egypt. Thence they went and settled in a village called Zerníkh near Esná, [he] and his sons with him. Among these sons were Sheikh Muḥammad "el Mutargam" ("the Interpreter"), and Sheikh Muḥammad "el Royyán," and Sheikh Muḥammad "el Gharqadi," and Sheikh Ya'aqūb. Sheikh Ya'aqūb proceeded to the Sudan in 1001⁴ A.H. and betook himself to the king of the FUNG, 'Omára Dunḡas, at Sennár. The latter gave him an order [entitling him] to reside at Ḥalfáyat el Mulūk on the east bank of the Blue Nile, and he lived there for a number of years and died there, and was buried near the [village of the] IZAYRIKÁB, north of el Ḥalfáya, and his tomb is still there.

LV Sheikh Ya'aqūb left four sons, Sheikh 'Aṭaalla, Sheikh Mūsa, Sheikh Muḥammad Zámir, and Sheikh Ḥammad, Kāḡi of Bandi; and each of these four had numerous children, tribes.

The descendants of 'Aṭaalla live round Bayli and are called the 'AṬÁFÁB. The descendants of Sheikh Mūsa are numerous tribes, some round Sennár and some elsewhere, and they are called the MŪSÍÁB. The descendants of Sheikh Muḥammad Zámir are numerous tribes, some at Ḥalfáyat el Mulūk and some in the GA'ALÍN (*sic*) country, and they are called the ZAMRÁB. The descendants of Sheikh Ya'aqūb, who is buried at [the village of] the IZAYRIKÁB, include Sheikh Ḥammad who is famous as "Um Amiriūm" (*sic*) whose *ḡubba* is at Khartoum North: the latter's [full] name was Sheikh Ḥammad ibn

¹ reading دارفور for داراو.

² reading وداعي for وداعة.

³ reading ابوبكر for أبأكبر.

⁴ 1592 A.D.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Omar ibn el Sheikh Máḍī ibn Muḥammad Abu Guayd ibn el Sheikh Ḥammad, Kāḍī of Bandī, ibn el Sheikh Ya'aḳūb ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad Mugelli.

LVI [There are] also the sons of Sheikh Aḥmad Abu el Gūd, the brother of Muḥammad Abu Guayd, and these are the ZENÁRKHA who live with the GAMŪ'fa.

Similarly the AWLÁD KHAYRULLA near Um Dóm, east of Khar-toum.

These form numerous tribes, and all of them trace their descent to 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Abu Bukr el Šadīḳ and are ḲURAYSH. They include the MUGELLÍÁB and the ḤAMMATTÍÁB in the GA'ALÍN (*sic*) country, and the MAKTANÁB, and the 'AMŪDÁB, and the DELAYḲÁB, and the ḲERAYDÁB, and the NAḲÁGÁB, and the 'AMÁRNA, some of whom are at Gebel Saḳádi and Móya and the remainder in the east near the Red Sea, at Sūákin and elsewhere.

ABC (NOTES)

I The tribes and persons described in this and the following eight paragraphs are all known as MAḤASS at present. It will be seen that the author considers them to be all originally Ḥimyaritic Arabs from southern Arabia, ANṢĀR of the tribe of KHAZRAG. One or two of the earlier names given in the tree occur in Wüstenfeld, 16 and 22, but there is no consistent coincidence between the pedigree as given in ABC and that given by Wüstenfeld.

II Cp. D 3, 141 and note thereto for Sheikh Idrīs and “el ‘Ayl Fūng” (*i.e.* el ‘Aylafūn).

For Hūd see Hughes, pp. 181, 182. He is spoken of in Chapters 7, 11 and 26 of the Qurʾān, and was the prophet sent to the contumacious tribe of ‘Ād. There is no reason whatever to identify him with Ḳaḥṭān.

III El Ḥāg Idrīs, as being the ancestor of the AWLĀD ḤADRA (*see Tree 1*), is the author’s progenitor. Of el Ḥāg Idrīs’s descendants the author says: “All the descendants of el Ḥāg Muḥammad are round Shanbāt and, in some cases, near Sennār. Those of el Ḥāg Sulaymān are on Tūti Island, including el Khalīfa Muḥammad ibn . . . , etc.” (*as in tree*), “and others are round Shanbāt, and others near Sennār: they form numerous tribes.”

D 3 gives no life of el Ḥāg Idrīs nor of any of his sons.

IV Cp. D 3, 154 and 19.

The date 1155 A.H. agrees with D 3. Either “1065 A.H.” or “101 years” is an error.

V These are the ḲARDAḲĀB section of MAḤASS.

VI For the BUDĀNĀB cp. D 7, CCLIX.

El Raḳayba is generally known as “Hillet el Maḥass” or “Maḥass el Raḳayba.” For “Kāmīn” in place of “Kāmlīn” see note to D 3, 109, and Vol. I, p. 341.

The descendants of Marzūk would normally be called “MARĀZĪḲ.” Sections of that name occur both among the ḤAMAR and the GAWĀMA’A of Kordofān and the SHĀĪḲĪA.

VIII There is a section of AWLĀD ‘UḲBA called SA’ADULLĀB (*see Mac-Michael, Tribes...*, p. 175).

IX These ḤAMMADULLĀB are a section of MESALLAMĪA (*see C 8, XVII and XXIII*).

“The Atbara” is spelt in ABC البحر الاتبراوى (“el Baḥr el Atbarāwī”).

By “Sanhīt” is meant the Setīt.

‘Abdulla Abu Sarāḥ’s more common name is ‘Abdulla ibn Sa’ad. He made no expedition in 43 A.H. (663 A.D.). The campaign of 651–2 A.D. is no doubt meant.

For the final sentence cp. D 1, LXXI.

x Cp. D 3, 132, according to which Sheikh Ḥasan died in 1075 A.H.

xi This paragraph provides us with the name of the author of D 3 and is corroborated by tradition on the point (see Introduction to D 3). The pedigree, however, differs from that given in D 3 (*q.v.* No. 89) and the latter is more likely to be correct.

For the final sentence cp. D 7, CLXXXV, which corroborates.

xii Cp. BA, CXXXII, etc., for the name "Ga'al."

For the descendants of 'Armān cp. BA, CLXV *et seq.*, A 2, XI *et seq.* and A 11, XXIV *et seq.*, all of which differ to some extent from one another, as a comparison of the trees will show.

The "MAGĀDĪB" are not to be confused with the "MAGĀDHĪB" (*i.e.* AWLĀD EL MAGDHŪB), who are traditionally Ashrāf.

"Shai" (شي) appears in A 11 and BA (MS. 3) as "Shabbu" (شَبُّ) or "Shabbū" (شَبُو).

As regards "Tisa'a Kulli" and "the tenth of them, Muḥammad el Nigayḍ," there is obviously some error in the texts of ABC, BA, A 11, etc. In ABC the figure "9" is actually written over "Tisa'a," and in the original copy no doubt nine sons were mentioned and after their names the author wrote "nine in all, and a tenth was Negāḍi." Later copyists added other sons and in some cases seem to have converted the "nine in all" and "a tenth" into proper names (see BA, CLXVII and A 11, XXXIX).

xiii Ḥāmid Abu 'Aṣa's biography is No. 113 in D 3.

xiv *et seq.* Cp. BA, note to CLXXI.

xvi It will be seen that only 12 of the 14 sons of 'Abd el Dāīm are given. See BA, CLXXI, CLXXII for notes.

It is to be assumed that Abu Ḍaraywa was a son of 'Abd el Dāīm, as shown in the tree, because he appears as such in BA (MS. 3) and A 11. Similarly, 'Abd el Ma'abūd in para. xvii may, for a like reason, be assumed to be a son of 'Adlān, and Ba'abūsh and Sa'ad Abu Dabūs to be sons of 'Abd el Ma'abūd.

For "el Fīāl" (الفيال) BA (MS. 3) gives "Ḳanḳāl" (القنقال), and for "Ḳirāwīr" (كتاويت), "KENĀWĪN" (كناوين). BA is more likely to be correct in both cases.

xix These names are not included in the tree. Cp. note to BA, CLXXI.

xx Cp. BA, CLI *et seq.*; A 11, XL *et seq.*, etc.

The names "Ḥumayyir" (*lit.* "little donkey") and Daḥaysh (*lit.* a "donkey's foal") in juxtaposition are curious.

xxi Cp. BA, CXLIII *et seq.*

2. 'Asākir Abu Kalām was the chief of the GIMA'A in the time of the Mahdi (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 43, 44).

3. Sheikh el Bedowi was Ḳāḍi of Berber in the Mahdi's time, and at the reoccupation was made President of the Board of 'Ulema in the Sudan.

5. Ḥāmid Abu Tinka is a more or less legendary character. Gebel el 'Ayn, between Dongola and Kordofān, is commonly called "'Ayn Wad el Tinka." There is a story current of his having travelled to the DINKA (?) country in the far south and there by accident killed a stork which had built upon the roof of the royal residence—a heinous offence, in conse-

quence of which he fled northwards along the Kóz el Hágiz to el 'Ayn in the far north, where he died.

9. The NÁILÁB are the ruling family of GAMŪ'ĪA, that of Násir el Mek.

11. The "History of the Sudan" referred to is without doubt "D 7," of which the introduction should be consulted.

The "AWLÁD EL SHEIKH EL TAIB" (*see tree*) are the GAMŪ'ĪA of the village of Sheikh el Taib, *i.e.* Sheikh Aḥmad el Taib el Bashír, for whom see D 7, CCXXXV (and note).

15. Dafa'alla "el Gharḳán" (*i.e.* "the drowned") was a religious recluse living in Omdurmán. Since the Turkish days, *i.e.* for at least 33 years, he never emerged from his room. He was partly paralyzed and only a very select few ever had the *entrée* to his presence. For no other reason than the above he acquired a great reputation for sanctity. He died in 1917.

16. "El 'Anagáwi" (*see tree*) in other versions is "el Fungáwi."

The tribes mentioned as descended from Manṣūr the son of Gamŭ'a represent the subsections of the GAMŪ'ĪA.

XXII Cp. D 6, XXXIX. D 5 (c) speaks of Şubuḥ Abu Merkha, Ghánim's grandfather, as the first of the family to settle in the Sudan (paras. I-III). The Tartars took Baghdád in 1258 A.D.

XXIII This accounts for the frequent occurrence in *nisbas* of "FŪR" as descended from Dŭla son of Kerdam the Ga'ali. One remembers too the name "Edrisdjal," *i.e.* Idris el Ga'ali, as grandfather of Sulaymán Solon, one of the early FŪR kings, and how 'Abd el Kerim ibn Gáma'i the founder of the Wadái dynasty is said to have belonged to a Ga'ali family (see Introduction to Chap. I of Part III). Para. XXIV has reference to the second of these traditions.

XXIV See preceding note; and cp. Wüstenfeld, 11. Báriḳ is not mentioned. The remainder are all but correctly given.

XXV See Wüstenfeld, A, D, and J. "Rubáb" (رباب) should be "Riáb" (رياب) and "Şayda" (صيدة) should be "Ḥayda" (حيدة).

For Layla see Wüstenfeld, 2. The author seems to nod in representing Kuḏá'a as the son of Ma'ad ibn 'Adnán. Otherwise the genealogical facts are correct.

XXVI The accuracy of the first sentence is impugned by the author's own subsequent statements, *e.g.* as to the descent of the fourth tribe of GUHAYNA.

"Ghaylán" is generally written "'Aylán": cp. D 1 *passim*.

For "Guhayna ibn Rish" see Wüstenfeld, H. "Rish" (ريش) should be "Rayth" (ريث). The names of this Guhayna's ancestors as given do occur in Wüstenfeld, H, but with altered relationships.

For the second Guhayna see BA, LVIII and note thereto: "Anas" should be "Unays." This Guhayna belonged to the tribe of ḲUPÁ'A.

For the third Guhayna see Wüstenfeld, 1. "Sawád" (سواد) should be "Sūd" (سود). The family of this Guhayna were neighbours of the family of the Fezára son of Dhubián who was very closely connected with the first Guhayna: see Wüstenfeld, p. 275 (*sub* Leith ben Sa'd).

For the fourth Guhayna cp. BA, LVII and note.

For the 52 tribes of GUHAYNA cp. BA, CXXIII.

The three sons of Baghīd according to Wüstenfeld (H) were Dhubián (father of Fezára), Annár and 'Abs.

XXVII Cp. BA, c. There we get "Sha'ūf" (شعوف) for the "Shaḡūḡ" (شقوق) of ABC. The 'Abs mentioned here obviously represents the 'Abs son of Baghīd mentioned in the preceding note.

The genealogy of the NŪRÁB section of KABÁBÍSH is given in a confused manner: for instance, it is expressly mentioned that 'Ali ibn Nūr had "five sons," but reference is subsequently made to a sixth, viz. Kerádim.

On p. 195 of *Tribes*..., I have given a genealogical tree based on the version supplied orally by the chief men of the NŪRÁB themselves: it agrees fairly well with ABC. It will be noticed that the ROWÁḤLA, who are a section of the KABÁBÍSH, do not appear with the NŪRÁB, RIBAYḲÁT and other sections, i.e. as descended from Sufián, but among the descendants of Dhubián. There are sections of NŪRÁB called DÁR KEBÍR, DÁR UM BAKHÍT, AWLÁD EL KÍR, and DÁR SA'ÍD: hence the names of the sons of Nūr ibn 'Ali (*see tree*).

Sheikh 'Ali wad el Tóm is the present *názir* of the KABÁBÍSH.

XXVIII Cp. BA, LVI and LIX *et seq.*, etc.

In this section the author has several times confused the two men called Dhubián, viz. the son of Baghīd and the son of 'Abd: both are descended (*see tree*) from Baghīd, and in mentioning the full name of some of the descendants of the former he has, on reaching Dhubián, continued "...son of 'Abd," etc., instead of "...son of Baghīd," although he has previously made it clear that, as in all other *nishas* of the GUHAYNA group, the persons and tribes mentioned are descended from the son of Baghīd. I have ignored these errors in the tree.

The name "'Abd el 'Azíz Maḡsin" is an amusing illustration of methods. Other *nishas* give "'Abd el 'Azíz Maḡass (محس), ancestor of the MAḡASS"; but the author of ABC, himself a Maḡassi, has already provided (*see Tree 1*) a better pedigree for his tribe, so he changes "Maḡass" to "Maḡsin" (محسن) by little more than the addition of a dot, and omits mention of the MAḡASS. He even makes mention of two different descendants of Dhubián called 'Abd el 'Azíz Maḡsin. The name Maḡsin occurs again in para. 1 (*see tree*).

The 'AWÁMRA are given as descendants of 'Omrán, whereas from their name they should clearly be descended from 'Ámir.

One gathers that, in the author's view, there are two different bodies of SHUKRÍA, one descended from Yashkur and one from Bashír. They generally appear in *nishas* as descended from Bashír. For Yashkur cp. D 7, XI. For the descent of the ruling family of the SHUKRÍA, the AWLÁD ABU SIN, from ḲURAYSH, see C 5.

There is a village called el Ḳalkála close to el Kámlín.

Cp. BA, XCIV for the DAWÁGIRA.

'Áid ibn Ḥusayn has not previously been mentioned....

The presentation of the descendants of Dhubián is very inaccurate

even if judged by the standard of other *nisbas*. *E.g.* Kungar as ancestor of the "BORĠU, BORNU and AFNU" [*i.e.* HOUSSA], and with a son "Fellât," is ridiculous; and "MAĠĠĠLA" for "MA'AĠLA" and "HABBÂNIA" for "HABÂBÎN" are really bad mistakes.

XXIX Cp. BA, CXXIV.

XXXI Cp. D 1, CIII; and also BA, CLXXV and A 2, XL, etc.

XXXII Cp. BA, CLXXVI.

XXXIII Cp. BA, CLXXVII.

XXXIV Cp. BA, CLXXVIII.

XXXV "Arabs" here, as so often, means nomad Arabs.

XXXVI "MASÂMÎNA" I take to represent MAŞÂMIDA, *i.e.* MAŞMÛDA Berbers (see App. to Part II, Ch. 1).

XXXVIII The well-known AWLÂD 'ALÎ nomads of Egypt are intended.

XLIV In the Appendix will be found an account of the KANŪZ by one of their number. For "Dowlat el Kanzi," that is Kanz el Dowla, see Part II, Chaps. 1 and 2.

XLV Cp. D 1, CLXXXII.

XLVI Cp. BA, XLIV. This is an amazing statement! See BA, XLIV.

XLVIII Cp. BA, CCXV. By "UM 'AR'ARA" are meant the tribe commonly known as Amarar.

L See Vol. I, p. 138.

LII Practically all the tribes mentioned in this paragraph are BAĠĠARA of western Kordofân and Dârfûr. See Part III, Ch. 3; and for the last two named see Vol. I, pp. 85 and 336 respectively.

LIII See Vol. I, p. 268.

LIV The tribes alluded to in this and the following paragraphs are known as ZENÂRKHA and MASHÂĠKHA. For the latter, and particularly Sheikh Ya'aqûb, see D 3, 255.

The name MASHÂĠKHA (*sing.* Mushakhi) is said to be complimentary to their nobility of descent, *i.e.* to be properly a sobriquet (cp. Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, I, 58). Most of the MASHÂĠKHA are near Khartoum and others are at Sennâr, Abu Harâz, Kabûshîa, in the Gezîra, etc. They consist of no more than scattered families. Eleven generations are given as having elapsed since the time of el Mugelli.

The ZENÂRKHA, as the author says, live among the GAMŪ'IA, to the south of Omdurmân, but are independent and have their own sheikh, though in past days they obeyed the call of the GAMŪ'IA *nahds*.

LV The 'ATÂFÎAB are in Kassala.

The biography of Hammad "ibn Mariam" (or "Wad Um Mariûm," "Um Mariûm," etc.) is No. 124 in D 3, *q.v.* (note) for the nickname.

Bandi is an island between the Shablûka and Shendi.

LVI For the HAMMATTÎÂB (HAMMADTUWÎÂB?) see D 3, 21 and 158.

APPENDIX¹*The Kanūz*

SECTION I

The KANŪZ are divided into two tribes.

Firstly. There are the descendants of el Sayyid Muḥammad Wanas son of Raḥma son of Ḥasan, whose pedigree reaches to el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbās. The *amīr* Muḥammad Wanas had six sons, and he died and was buried at the burial-place [*gabāna*] of Aṣwān.

These sons were:

1. IDRĪS, the eldest, ancestor of el Melik Ṭunbul² of Arḳó Island, [whose family] are known as the kings of Dongola.

2. ḤAMDULLA. He had few descendants. Such as exist are at Kalábsha and are known as the WANASĀB EL ḤAMDULLĀB after their ancestor.

3. ARKHI. His descendants are in the Gezira and the Sudan, and their tribe is called the ARKHĪĀB.

4. AD-HAM. [His descendants are] at el Khaṭāra and the island of Aṣwān, but most of them are in the Sudan. Branches of them are BELĪLĀB and MUSALLAMĀB.

5. 'ADLĀN. His mother was from the Oases [*el Wāḥāt*]. His descendants are at Aṣwān and in the Sudan; and they include the tribe of 'ADLĀNĀB³ among the SHĀĪḲĪĀ.

6. KHAYRULLA. His descendants are the KHAYRULLĀB, who are in the province of Aṣwān. Most of them are in the Sudan.

Secondly. We will next mention the noble chieftains called Awlād Tamīm el Dār⁴ el Anṣārī, three in number.

1. The *amīr* Sheraf el Dīn who had two sons and was buried at Cairo at the Gate of Victory (*Bāb el Naṣr*): his sons were Madhnāb, whose tribe is called the ḲURNĀB and resides at Abu Hūr and in the Sudan, and Begū, whose tribe is called the BEGWĀB and resides at Abu Hūr and in the Sudan.

2. Naṣr el Dīn Tamīm el Dār, whose son was Naṣrulla. The latter's tribe is called the NAṢRULLĀB and resides at Kasengar and [among] the SHĀĪḲĪĀ.

¹ This brief account of the Kanūz was written for me at Omdurmān in 1914 by el Ṣadīḳ 'Isa one of the chief men of the tribe residing there.

The Kanūz are now rightly reckoned as one of the main divisions of the Nūbian race living between Dongola and Egypt. They are no doubt a blend of those Awlād Kanz Arabs, who in 1365 conquered Aṣwān and for some time dominated the surrounding country, and the older Nūbian stock. See Part II.

² On the island of Tombos, near Kerma, is "a fortress built by Muḥammad Wad Ṭunbul, king of Arḳó, and here are the tombs of his ancestors" (Budge, II, 372).

³ For the 'Adlānāb contrast D 5 (c), xxvi and xxxiv.

⁴ The Awlād Tamīm el Dār, however, were Beni Lakhm and not Awlad Kanz at all (see Wüstenfeld, 5, and *Ibid.* I, 441, 442).

3. Tomám, son of Tamím el Dár, [*i.e.*] the *amír* Nigm el Dín ["Star of Religion"], who was buried at Cairo at the Gate of Victory, had four sons, viz.:

(a) Um Bárak ibn Nigm el Dín, whose descendants are called the UMBÁRAKÁB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(b) 'Ónulla ibn Nigm el Dín, whose descendants are called the 'ÓNUL-LÁB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(c) Ghulámulla ibn Nigm el Dín, whose descendants are called the HARBÍÁB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(d) 'Ámir ibn Nigm el Dín, whose descendants are called the AWLÁD 'OMRÁN¹ and live in Upper Egypt and Kordofán [in] the Sudan.

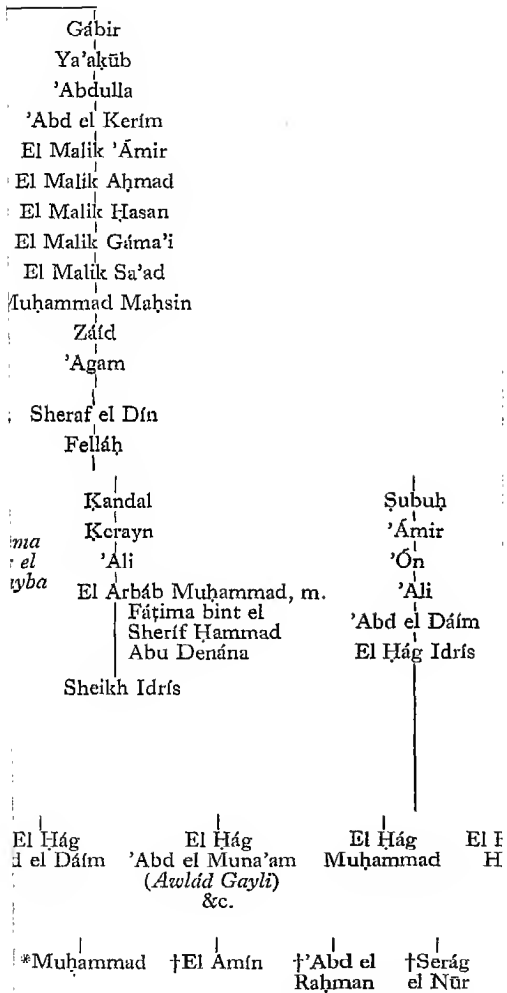
SECTION II

The following are said to be the 27 divisions of Kanūz in Upper Egypt and the Sudan².

El Wanasáb	{ At Aṣwán, Khartoum, Omdur-
El Mududáb	{ man, and Khartoum North
El Huzayláb	and el Káwa.
El 'Ónulláb	and Butri and el Mesallamía.
El Umbáarakáb	and Berber and el Dámer.
Abu Hūr	and Berber.
7. El Geraysáb	and el Kámlín.
8. Dabód	"
9. El Khayrulláb	and Shendi.
10. El Ad·hamáb	and in Dár Fung.
11. El Ghidaysáb	
12. El Naṣrulláb	
13. El Bughdaláb	
14. El Ríffia	and el Kámlín.
15. El Sálmáb	and Berber.
16. El Ḥawátín	
17. El Felláḥín	"
18. El Wáznáb	and Shendi.
19. El Tónáb	
20. El Begwáb	
21. El Ḥowwasháb	and Shendi.
22. El Ṭáyibáb	
23. El Gazayra	
24. El Ḥagáb	
25. El Gharbíá	
26. El Beláláb	and Dongola.
27. El Nuḡḍáb	

¹ The Beni [Awlād] 'Omrán are a small tribe living among the Bedayria in Kordofán near el Obeid.

² Nos. 1, 3 and 15 come from Kalábsha and are sometimes spoken of by that name: these form a majority in the Sudan. The Kanūz are chiefly employed in the workshops of the Steamers and Railways Departments, and as servants. From Section I it seems that Nos. 9 and 10 and, again, Nos. 4, 5, 12, 20, are respectively connected by close



MANUSCRIPT A 1

Introduction

A FEW years after the reoccupation of the Sudan a Ga'ali named Muḥammad 'Ali Kenán obtained this pedigree from the late Sheikh el Bedowi of Omdurmán, who was Kāḍi of Berber in the Mahdía and President of the Board of 'Ulema for some years after the re-occupation.

It corresponds to paragraphs CLXII to CCX of MS. AB, but the relation between AB and Sheikh el Bedowi's copy is not known. Probably paragraphs CLXII to CCX of the former were copied from the latter.

Compare A 5.

I In the name of God. . . .

II—L (*Here follows a replica of the text of AB from para. CLXII to para. CCX inclusive, identical therewith word for word with the exceptions given in the notes to paragraphs CXXIX and CXL-CLXI of BA.*)

LI (*This paragraph is in nature of a postscript and is written in a different and rougher hand: it commences "This pedigree was asked for by¹ Muḥammad 'Ali son of. . . etc.," as in the tree, and ends ". . . son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán."*)

LII Beyond 'Adnán [the tracing of pedigrees] was forbidden by the Lawgiver, upon whom be the blessings of God. . . .

LIII A pedigree from on high, well guarded and indisputable:

There is no pedigree to compare with it.

Pearls heaped high from of old: a pure light

Beyond that of the Heavenly Twins.

A pedigree by whose sweetness the noble ones are known:

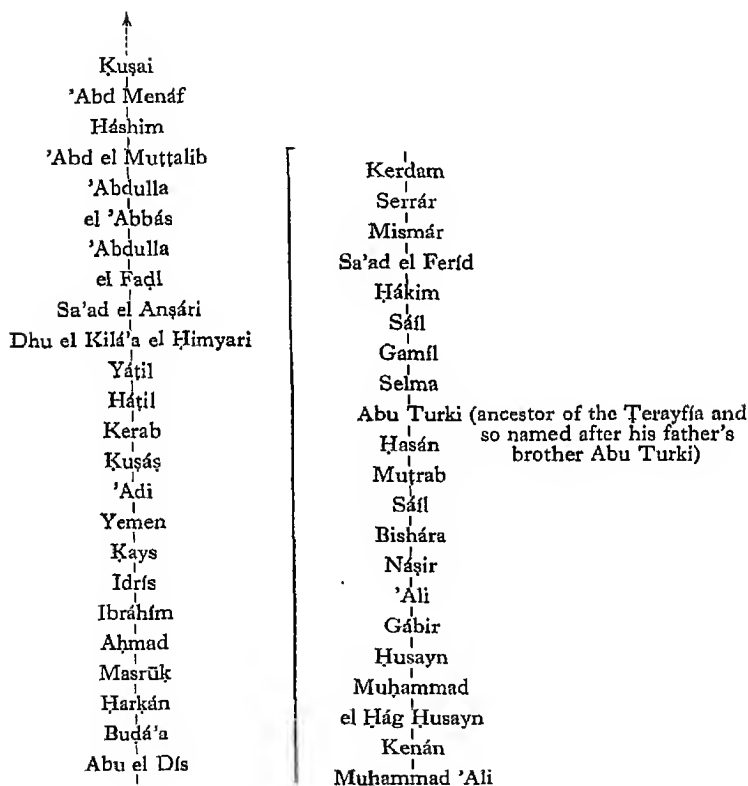
The Heavenly Twins encircle it.

Lo here a necklace precious and magnificent,

For Thou art in it: the rarest of all pearls.

¹ I.e. Muḥammad 'Ali applied to Sheikh el Bedowi for a copy.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 1



MANUSCRIPT A 2

Introduction

THE *nisba* here translated was a copy made for me by Ishāk Muḥammad Sheddād, a Bedayri of Bára in Kordofán, from the copy in his possession.

The latter is alleged to have been copied by Sheikh 'Omára 'Awūda Shakál el Ḳáriḥ (*q.v.* para. XLIV), who lived in Dongola about the middle of the seventeenth century, from the original work of "el Samarḳandi." Compare, however, the introduction to A 3.

This is a true copy of the original pedigree.

I In the name of God. . .

This is the pedigree of el Sheikh Ishāk ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad Aḥmad Sheddād: Ishāk son of. . . (*The pedigree is given from son to father, up to el 'Abbás, as in the tree.*)

II And of el 'Abbás the Prophet. . . said "Nobility pertains to me and to my uncle Ḥamza and to el 'Abbás"; whose lineage finally reaches to 'Adnán.

III And the Prophet. . . said "Whosoever goes beyond this. . . etc."

IV *A Copy of the Pedigrees of All the Arabs.*

Verily the noble man begot noble [children].

V-XIII Now Šubuḥ. . . (*From this point to the end of para. XIII the text closely corresponds to that of A 11 (paras. XVI to XXVII: all such variations, additions and omissions as occur will be seen from the trees and the notes to A 2 and A 11. The arrangement is occasionally altered but the source is obviously one.)*)

XIV-XXI Rubāt had five sons. . . (*The copyist having omitted the subject-matter of paras. XXVIII to XXXIX of A 11, which are very corrupt, from here onwards to para. XXI gives practically the same details as are in paras. XL to XLVI of A 11. For variations see the trees and notes to A 2 and A 11.*)

XXII Now the 'ABBÁSIYYŪN, or the 'ABBÁS, are the family of Abu 'Abdulla el Saffāḥ, who is Muḥammad son of 'Abdulla son of 'Ali son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás; and Ibráḥīm Ga'al is descended from Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás; so they [the 'ABBÁSIYYŪN] and the GA'ALIYYŪN have their first common ancestor in 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášim. Here ends the pedigree of Ga'al.

XXIII The above is what I have found. Now the 'ABBÁSIYYŪN held the power at Isbah'án because they were of the family of Hášhim, and the BENI OMMAYYA took it from them, and the 'ABBÁSIYYŪN were impotent until the time of Muḥammad Abu 'Abdulla el Saffáh. He then wrested the power from the BENI OMMAYYA, and took it for himself, and slew them there with great slaughter till he had taken their place in the land and put an end to them.

XXIV The KAWÁHLA are descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám, and their mother was Šaffa; and according to el Samarḳandi they are the family of Káhil son of 'Ámir son of Khalífa Ibayraḳ son of Muḥammad son of Sulaymán son of Khálid son of el Walíd.

XXV The SHUKRÍA are a great tribe, renowned for their bravery. They are descended from Shukr son of Idrís, and their genealogies are traced to 'Abdulla el Gawád son of Ga'afir son of Abu Ṭálib son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib (surnamed 'Abd Menáf).

XXVI Similarly the ḤASÁNÍA are [descended] from the family of Ga'afir son of Abu Ṭálib and are the children of Ḥasán son of Gamíl, and their pedigree reaches to 'Abdulla el Gawád son of Ga'afir son of Abu Ṭálib.

XXVII The RIKÁBIYYŪN are the family of Rikáb son of 'Abdulla and their genealogies are traced to el Sheikh Aḥmad el Zila'i.

XXVIII The FÁDNÍA are the descendants of the noble el Sayyid Muḥammad, son of el Imám 'Ali, known as "Ibn el Ḥanafía."

XXIX The MESALLAMÍA are the family of Musallam son of Ḥegáz son of 'Áṭif el Ommawi, [who] migrated from Syria [*el Shám*] in the days of 'Ornar ibn 'Abd el 'Azíz (God bless him), and settled in the Sudan.

XXX The 'AMRIYYŪN (spelt with 'AMR...) are the family of Sulaymán son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwán the Ommawi. It is said that they ruled the blacks in the Sudan and the country of the HAMAG, and finally [*lit.* "until"] they became assimilated to them in every respect and came to be known as "the FUNG." The reason of their emigration [*i.e.* from Arabia] was thus: Sulaymán fled to the Sudan in the time of the Khalífate of Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad el Saffáh, who was the first of the BENI 'ABBÁS to hold that position, and who wrested the power from Marwán, who is said to have been the last of the BENI OMMAYYA dynasty. Abu 'Abdulla continued laughing the BENI OMMAYYA and subjecting them till he had taken their place throughout the country. So Sulaymán fled to Abyssinia and settled there for a time. Then news reached him that el Saffáh had pursued [?] the BENI OMMAYYA after their dispersion into [various] countries and had finally overtaken Muhammad ibn

el Walid ibn Hāshim in Spain [*el Andalus*] and slain him. Sulaymán therefore fled from Abyssinia to the Sudan and settled there and married the daughter of one of the kings of the Sudan. By her he had two sons, the one named Dāūd and the other Ans. Then [Sulaymán] died, and the names [of his sons] got altered, and Dāūd was called Oudūn, and Ans was called Ounṣ. Ounṣ was ancestor of the OUNṢÁB, and Dāūd of the OUDŪNÁB. These [descendants of Sulaymán] multiplied among the blacks and finally they became fused with them in every respect, and their power flourished and they became those rulers of the Sudan who are known from history. The first king of this stock in Sennár was the Sultan 'Omára, and the power passed from Sultan to Sultan till the time of the Sultan Bádi whose rule ended with the Turkish conquest of Sennár in the Sudan. Ends. This is what we have found.

XXXI As regards FEZÁRA, their pedigree is well known: they are a tribe of BENI TAMÍM, who settled in the Sudan.

XXXII The BENI 'ÁMIR are the family of 'Ámir and occupied Abyssinia and are its rulers.

XXXIII KENÁNA are a great and famous tribe in the Sudan and are the family of Deḡaym el Kenáni, an important¹ and unblemished family: they dwell in the same parts of the country as FEZÁRA.

XXXIV The GÁBIRÍA are numerous in Abyssinia; [but] most of them [are] between the MAḤASS and the well-known [town of] Dongola. They are the family of Gábir son of 'Abdulla el Anṣári. When Dongola was occupied, at the time of its siege, the majority of them assisted the armies of the Muslims in the expedition of 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi (God bless him).

XXXV RUFÁ'A were settled at the first among the BEGA: then.... They are [one] of the tribes of KUTÁF.

XXXVI The GABARTA² are by origin Arabs.

XXXVII FELLÁTA are the children of 'Uḡba; and the writers of genealogies relate that the sheikh who was in Upper Egypt [*Ard el Ṣa'id*] and known as el Sheikh Mugelli was one of them³. Their pedigree goes back to 'Abd el Raḥman son of Abu Bukr el Ṣadīḡ (God bless him).

XXXVIII The ḤADÁRBA are a well-known tribe. El Samarḡandi says "I heard from el Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn el Wuzír el Ḥaḡrami that they declare they [came] originally from Ḥaḡramaut and migrated inland

¹ reading من آل بحراج for من آل راجح.

² reading جبرية for جبرية.

³ reading فانهم منهم for فانه منهم.

in the time of el Haggág ibn Yūsef and settled with the BEGA till they became [a part] of them and ruled at Sūákin el Gezira, and settled there on the coasts of the salt sea of the Sudan."

XXXIX The BERÍÁB are ASHRÁF descended from el Hūsayn.

XL The GA'AFIRA are a great tribe: their pedigree goes back to Ga'afir ibn Kuṭáf of the tribe of ṬAI, and it is said that Ma'atab ibn Hátim el ṬÁI was [one] of them. They are famous by [containing among their number] Kerdam and others whom we have not space to mention. Ends.

XLI Now this pedigree has been transcribed from el Samarḳandi the Great, from the original. As regards the pedigree given as that of the transcriber of it, there is no need to expand it [any further] here.

XLII Now 'Armán and Nimayr and Muḥammad are the sons of 'Abd Rabbihi son of 'Armán son of Dūáb son of Ghánim [son of Ḥamaydán] son of Šubuh Abu Merkha son of Mismár, who is brother of Samra the father of el Bedayri (the ancestor of the BEDAYRÍA); and both of them (Mismár and Samra) are the sons of Serrár ibn Kerdam, as has just been explained from the beginning as far back as 'Adnán.

XLIII And of 'Adnán one has said "How many a father owes the nobility which he possesses to his son, even as 'Adnán owes his to the Prophet of God..."

XLIV This pedigree, which has the authority of past generations, and which was transcribed from [the work of] el Samarḳandi the Great, as we mentioned above, was transcribed by el Sheikh 'Omára el Sheikh 'Awūda Shakál el Ḳáriḥ, and preserved and verified, and upon it are the signatures of the 'omad and notables and *Khalīfas* and learned men whose names appear below.

The signature and seal of el Ostádh Mirghani Sowár el Dhahab, "*Khalīfat el Khulafá*" in Dongola and representative of the Khatmía.

El Sheikh Mukhtár Sāti Muḥammad el Obayyaḍ, and his seal.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh el Ḳáḍi Sāti Muḥammad ibn el Ḳáḍi Muḥammad Šáliḥ.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muḥammad Ṭáha Muḥammad Nūr el Khuṭ (?), *Khalīfa* of Tanḳassi.

The signature and seal of the *Khalīfa* 'Abd el Ḳádir Yūsef, the *Khalīfa* of el Sheikh 'Awūda el Ḳáriḥ.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Sāti Muḥammad Muḥammad Ziáda.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muḥammad Ḥasan el Sheikh 'Abd el Gelíl Ḥabūba.

El Sheikh Muḥammad Ahmad 'Ṭa.

The signature and seal of the 'omda Sa'id Muḥammad Feraḥ, 'omda of Tanḡassi Island and district.

The *Khalifa* 'Omára Muḥammad 'Ísa, and his handwriting.

The signature and seal of the *Khalifa* Muḥammad Ḥasan Sádi, *Khalifa* of el Hág . . . (*illegible*).

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Ḥámid Muḥammad 'Ísa.

El Sheikh Aḥmad el Ḳurashi Muḥammad Ahmed.

El Sheikh Muḥammad Sulaymán Medani.

El Sheikh Aḥmad Muḥammad Magdhúb.

The *Khalifa* 'Othmán Aḥmad Ḳurashi.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Ḳumr (?) Idrís Muṣṭafa Maḥmūd.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Bábir Sádi Muḥammad el Obayyaḍ.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muḥammad Aḥmad el Feki 'Abd el Raḥman.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd el Raḥím, *máṣn* of Tanḡassi.

The signature and seal of the *Khalifa* el Sheikh Ibráhm el Dásuḡi.

Seal of el Sheikh 'Abd el Wahháb Aḥmad Ṣughayr, the *Khalifa*, in his handwriting.

El Sheikh Muḥammad Ṭáha ibn *el feki* (?) Aḥmad el 'Álim.

The 'omda Sináda Muḥammad Feraḥ.

El Sheikh Gerár (?) Muḥammad Feraḥ.

And others.

A 2 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, cxxxiii (note), A 3, xv, and AB, xxxix *et seq.*

"Ḥūzabī" is very doubtful: the copyist writes first حيزري ("Ḥay-dari") and then over it حوزبي ("Ḥūzabī") or حدزبي ("Ḥadzabī").

II Cp. A 8, v.

III Cp. BA, cxxxv (note).

v-xiii Šubuḥ Abu Merkha is here called "Šubuḥ Abu Murāḳa'a, but this form does not occur elsewhere. The only emendations made in paras. v-xiii is "Ghanīm" for "Ghanīma."

The "MĀLIDĀ" occur also as "MĀGIDĀ" (see note to D 3, 200 and 108).

Para. xi closes with "They" (*sc.* the 13 sons of 'Armān) "died unmarried." This may be a gloss by the latest copyist to save the trouble of giving any more lists of descendants. In para. xlii he actually gives certain descendants of 'Armān by way of a postscript.

Para. xiii opens with "Ḥammad el Bahkarūb begot the NAHKAR" (by slip for BAHKAR), although Ḥammad el Bahkarūb has not been previously mentioned. Presumably he is the "Ḥammad surnamed Kati" of para. xii, and "bi Kati" may be an error for "bi Bahkarūb." A 11 (xxv and xxvii) calls him "el Bahkūr."

xiv-xxi Cp. A 11, xl.

As to Rubāt and Sa'ad el Ferīd being sons of Mismār see note on the genealogical tree.

"Maḳbuḍ" (مقبض) is an emendation of "Maḳḍub" (مفضب).

"SAḲĀRANG" is an emendation of "SAḲĀRAG," and "BORNŪ" of "BORNA."

A 2 (para. xvii) says "Ḥākīm begot the ḤĀKIMĀB, the people of Arkó Island. Gábir begot the MAḤASS, the kings of Khandak and Dongola"; but A 11 omits this.

After "kings of Tekāli" A 2 adds "who are the original royal stock," and after "TOMĀM" adds "in the west": A 11 contains neither of these remarks.

xxii This and para. xxiii are not in A 11, though cp. A 11, lix.

For "Abu 'Abdulla" see note to BA, ccxiii.

"Is descended from Sa'ad" is given literally as "is son of Sa'ad."

xxiv Cp. BA, cxviii, cxxiv; A 11, xlviii; C 1; D 2, xix and D 1, cxxxi.

The version of D 1 reconciles the two accounts given in A 2. A 11 gives "'Omāra" for "'Āmir."

Wüstenfeld (*q.v.* S) gives no "Sulaymán" as son of Khálid: the latter was of the BENI MAKHẒŪM.

The name "Ibayrak" is clearly connected with "BERĀḲNA," the name of one of the main sub-tribes of the KAWĀ'ĪA.

xxv. Cp. A 11, 1 and D 2, xxxi.

For 'Abdulla ibn Ga'afir see Wüstenfeld, Y.

'Abd el Muṭṭalib was grandson of 'Abd Menáf.

xxvi Contrast D 1, clxxi and cp. D 2, xxxiv.

xxvii Cp. BA, clxxix, etc.

xxviii Cp. BA, clxxiv, etc.

xxix Cp. BA, clxxviii, etc.

xxx Cp. BA, ccxiii, etc.

For a different account of Ounsa and Oudūn see tree of B 1.

xxxi Cp. A 11, liv, etc.

xxxii Cp. BA, ccxv; A 11, lv and D 2, xli.

xxxiii Cp. A 11, lvi; D 1, cxl and D 2, xiii.

This paragraph and A 11, lvi originate from the same source but the copyist must be wrong in one case. The reading of A 11 is the better, viz. *من آل بحراج و آل سليم* in place of A 2, viz. *و آل راجح و آل سليم*.

"Deḡaym" should probably be "Deghaym" (see D 2, xiii).

xxxiv Cp. BA, cxlviii and A 11, lvii.

The reference is to the conquest of Dongola in 652 A.D. by 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad. I can find no record of 'Abdulla's having a son Gábir.

xxxv Cp. A 11, lviii and D 2, xiv.

After "then" is written *تجري*: the meaning is evidently that they migrated (see Part III, Chap. 2 (a)). For "Ḳuṭáf" A 11 gives ḲAḤṬÁN.

xxxvi Cp. BA, clxxvii and A 11, lx.

xxxvii Cp. BA, cxix and A 11, lxi (and notes).

By "Uḡba" is meant 'Uḡba ibn Yásir.

For 'Abd el Raḥman see Wüstenfeld, R.

El Sheikh Mugelli is the Mashaykhi mentioned in D 3, 255 and ABC, liv.

xxxviii See BA, clxxvi and D 7, li.

xxxix This paragraph appears only in A 2.

xl Cp. BA, clxxv and A 11, lxiii.

A 2 and A 11 give "Ḳuṭáf" for ḲAḤṬÁN (BA): cp. para. xxxv.

xlvi See note on paras. v-xiii.

xlvi Cp. BA, ccxxix and AB, xxx.

xliv 'Awūda ibn 'Omar Shakál el Ḳāriḥ's biography is in D 3 (No. 66). He was the pupil of a pupil of Ḥasan waḍ Ḥasūna, who died in 1664, and he was alive in 1659.

Khaliḡa, literally "a successor," is used to mean the head of a religious sect.

The Khatmía includes the Morghanía *ṭarīḡa*.

Tanḡassi Island is close to Debba, in Dongola.

The signatories appear to be mostly GA'ALÍŪN (including BEDAYRÍA). This practice of obtaining certificates of authenticity from well-known religious persons is not uncommon: cp. A 8.

MANUSCRIPT A 3

Introduction

THIS *nisba* was copied for me by el Šáfi Sulaymán, 'omda of the BISHÁRÍA MA'ÁKLA in Kordofán, in 1909, from the copy in his possession.

From a comparison of paragraphs II of A 4 and XIII of A 3 it seems that both A 3 and A 4 are extracts from the pedigree of Muḥammad ibn 'Ísa Sowár el Dhahab, and that this latter was supposed to have been brought from Mekka by "el Sheikh Kámil el Murshid."

Now Kámil is said to have been a Bedayri, and so was Muḥammad ibn 'Ísa Sowár el Dhahab; and Ishák Sheddád, whose pedigree we have in A 2, is also a Bedayri, of the same section as Muḥammad ibn 'Ísa. D 3 contains (No. 191) the biography of the last named. He lived, as his descendants still do, in Dongola, and he was a contemporary and friend (see D 3, 191) of that 'Awūda whose son made a copy of A 2 (*q.v.* para. XLIV). Evidently, therefore, A 2, A 3 and A 4, though varying in minor details (*q.v.* in the trees), all represent extracts from a *nisba* which was current in Dongola about the middle of the seventeenth century, and which in one form or another was used by the compiler of AB.

I In the name of God. . .

[The following is] an extract from the pedigrees of the tribes of the Arabs from the noble tradition as related by el Termidhi and Ibn Nági and el Bokhári and Muslim.

II And [it is related] upon the authority of Abu Hurayra concerning the Prophet. . . [that he said] "Ye know [from] your pedigrees how ye are connected."

III The Almighty said "And I have made you races and tribes, that ye may know one another. The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

IV The tribes whom it is not permitted to enslave are, according to *El Gáma'i el Şughayr ft hadith el bashir el Kádír* ["The small encyclopaedia on the tradition of the mighty evangelist"],

{ KURAYSH
EL ANŞÁR
GUHAYNA

{ MUZAYNA
ASLAM
ASHGA'A

{ GHAFÁR¹
HIMYAR²
KHUZAYMA³

¹ reading غفار for عفار.

² reading حمير for بارة.

³ reading خزيمه for حزيمة.

V And the noblest of these...(*continues as BA, XLIX, down to ... "boast"*).

VI And according to the tradition related by Abu Mūsa, KURAYSH were, in the time of the Prophet... , eighty¹ tribes.

VII Now GU'UL, considered as a whole, are [descended from]... (*continues as BA, CXXXII, down to ... Hāshim*).

VIII The Prophet... said "Carry not your pedigrees beyond 'Adnān."

IX As regards the BENI MA'AMŪR... (*continues as BA, CXXXI*).

X It has been explained that Gu'ul's name was Ibrāhīm, and he was called Gu'ul because... (*continues as BA, CXXXII, i.e. AB, CLXV*).

XI Most of GUHAYNA are... (*continues as AB, CXXXVI, for which see BA, LI*).

XII Now there are [also] seven tribes apart from... (*continues as AB, CXXXVII*).

XIII Now this account is the true one, and I was given it from the manuscript of the scribes at Mekka the Noble by el Sheikh Kāmīl el Murshid. This is the pedigree of the people.

XIV Now the man who collected the whole of the tribe of GU'UL together was Kerdam, and he lived in the Ḥegāz and the fertile lands, and whosoever is not among his descendants is no Ga'ali.

XV The true pedigree is as follows: Kerdam son of Abu el Dīs son of Budā'a... (*etc., up to Hāshim: see tree*).

XVI-XXXV Serrār was ancestor... (*continues like AB, CLXX: et seq. The details as given here concerning Serrār's descendants will be found in the tree, which corresponds largely to the tree of AB*).

XXXVI This is what appeared to us and was made clear.

XXXVII The pedigree of MA'ĀḲLA is from GUHAYNA.

XXXVIII Sahal had three sons, 'Āl and Ma'āl and 'Abd el 'Āl: 'Āl begot the MA'ĀLIA, and Ma'āl begot the MA'ĀḲLA, and 'Abd el 'Āl begot the ZAYĀDĪA and the MEGĀNĪN.

XXXIX The MA'ĀḲLA are the descendants of two men, Kāl and Wāl. Kāl had two sons, Ḥubaysh and Ramaḍān. Ḥubaysh's descendants are the BISHĀRĪA and the SAMĀ'ĪN and KANĀKĪL and AWLĀD BADR. Ramaḍān's descendants are KAGĀBĪL and 'ABĀDĪA and AWLĀD ḤARAYZ.

¹ reading ثمانين for ثمانية.

A 3 (NOTES)

I For "el Termidhi" see AB, cvi.

El Bokhári is the most famous of the K̲uránic commentators (see Huart, pp. 217-220).

"Muslim" is Abu el Ḥusayn ibn el Ḥaggág, author of a *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see Huart, pp. 218, 219).

"Ibn Nāgi" may be the Ibn Abu Nāgih mentioned by el Maḳrīzi (*Khetāṭ*, I, 275).

II Cp. BA, III (note).

III Cp. BA, XXIII, etc.

IV Cp. AB, CXXXII and BA, XLVIII. The author of *El Gáma'i el Ṣughayr* was Gelál el Dín el Siṭi (1445-1505).

KENÁNA is obviously omitted here by a slip.

VI Cp. BA, CXXX and AB, CLXII.

VII For "GU'UL" (instead of "GA'AL") cp. D 6, XI. The word translated "considered as a whole" is معدودة.

VIII Cp. BA, CXXXV, etc.

XI This paragraph agrees entirely with AB (as opposed to BA) except that the words "in Baṣra and" are omitted after "Ḥimyar."

The word translated in BA, LI, "mixed with" is متخرجة in A 3, ممزوجة in BA, and ممتزجة in AB: the last is probably correct.

XII The spelling here varies from that in AB, CXXXVII: "BAG" in AB is "BEGÁ" in A 3, "KHASHBA" in AB is "HASHBA" in A 3, "GHIBRA" (AB) becomes "KIBRAT" (A 3), and "ÁTHIR" becomes "ÁFIR."

XIII The Arabic of "I was given..." is

قابلتها بنسخة كتبة بمكة المشرفة عن الشيخ كامل المرشد.

For Kámil el Murshid cp. A 4, II.

XIV Cp. AB, CLXVI.

For "the fertile lands" (الارياف) the text of A 3 gives "el 'Irāk" (العراق). AB gives الارياف.

XV Cp. AB, XXXIX and BA, CXXXIII *et seq.*

XVI-XXXV The text of these sections contains only what is in the tree. "Suwayḥ" is written for "Shuwayḥ," "KODIÁT" for "GHODIÁT," "Ghomar" for "'Omar," and (once) "Ḥamayd" for "Ḥamaydán": these four slips have been corrected in the tree.

The fact that "Ḥamayd el Nawám" is spoken of proves that A 3 was not taken from AB, for AB expressly condemns that version (see BA, CLIV, note). The original of A 3, on the contrary, was evidently used by the author of AB.

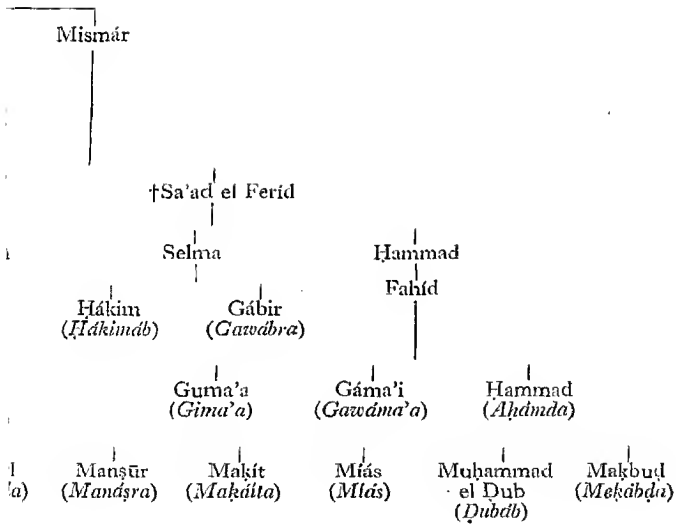
The names of 14 sons of Ḥammad el Akrat are given as in the tree, but the form in each case, e.g. "Serrárábi," "Náfa'ábi," etc., is not that

of a proper name but of a member of a sub-tribe; *i.e.* the son's name would be "Serrár," "Náfa'i," etc., and his descendants (the sub-tribe) would thus be called "SERRÁRÁB," etc., and the singular of such form is "Serrárábi," etc. Though 14 sons are given, the text of the paragraph commences "Ḥammad el Akrat had thirteen sons."

XXXVII This and the following paragraphs, to the end, are only written in pencil in the MS. They may have been copied from a different source but probably represent only vague recollections.

XXXIX The "BISHÁRÍA," etc., are sections of the MA'ÁḲLA.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A₃



gh couched in the singular.

MANUSCRIPT A 4

Introduction

(See Introduction to A 3)

I In the name of God....

The Prophet...said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected.

II The following is the pedigree which was transcribed by the feki Aḥmad Muḥammad from the pedigree of Sheikh Muḥammad ibn 'Īsa Sowār el Dhahab, [which latter came] from Mekka the Noble, for it was brought [thence] by Sheikh Kāmil el Murshid the Bedayri¹; [and it] gives the pedigrees of the descendants of Ga'al.

III-XII Serrār had three sons...*(for these and their descendants see the tree: no other details are given).*

XIII Here ends the catalogue of the GA'ALIYYŪN.

XIV Now Mismār and Samra and Samayra were the sons of Kerdam son of...*(as in tree).*

A 4 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, III.

II For Muḥammad ibn 'Īsa see introduction to A 3, and D 3, 191. Cp. A 3, XIII.

III-XII In the tree "Ḳoday" and "ḲODIĀT" have been altered to "Ghoday" and "GHODIĀT" respectively.

¹ reading البدير for البديري.

MANUSCRIPT A 5

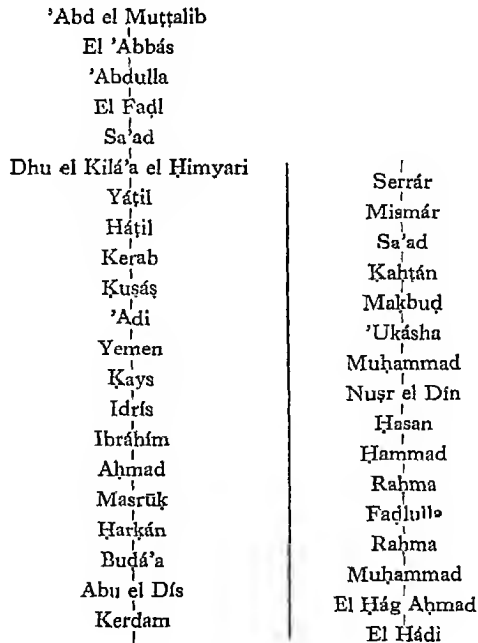
Introduction

THIS extract is said by the owner, el Hádi, to have been obtained some ten years ago by his uncle Rahma Muḥammad. He does not know its origin. Probably it is, like A 1, an extract from Sheikh el Bedowi's manuscript, and the variations may be due to the copyist.

Pedigree of the GA'ALIYYŪN.

I I am el Hádi son of . . . (as in tree, no details given).

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 5



MANUSCRIPT A 6

Introduction

THIS pedigree was lent me by Mr H. C. Jackson, who had borrowed it from the famous Zubayr Pasha. The latter, as will be seen from the tree, was one of the GAMŪ'IA section of the GA'ALĪN, being descended from their eponymous ancestor Gamū'a ibn Ghānim. He died in 1913. It is not known from where Zubayr Pasha obtained the pedigree.

(This pedigree commences with a bald list of 10 persons who are related to el Zubayr Pasha, being equally with him descended from Sulaymān ibn Abukr, and then continues as follows....)

I This is the pedigree of his excellency the late el Zubayr Raḥma Pasha, the great and mighty, to whom are related the persons whose names appear above.

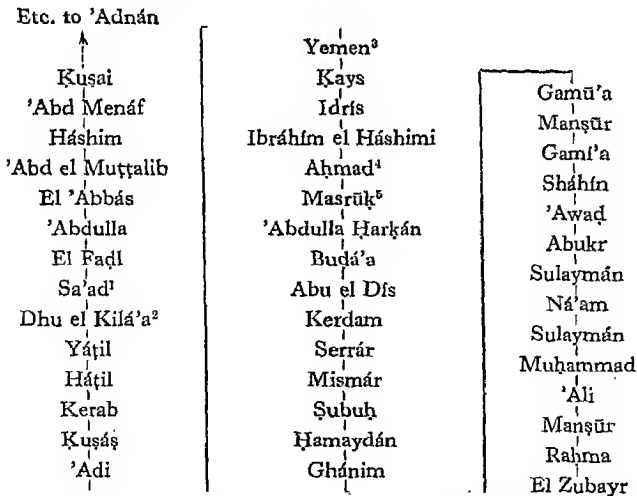
II El Zubayr son of... (as tree, q.v., as far as 'Adnān).

III And the Prophet... said "Go not beyond 'Adnān. It is in him that [ye] are united. [The generations] beyond 'Adnān are disputed."

A 6 (NOTE)

III Cp. BA, cxxxv, etc.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 6



¹ Whose mother was of El Anṣār.

² Whose mother was of El Khazrag.

³ Whose mother was of El 'Abs.

⁴ Whose mother was of Ḥimyar.

⁵ Whose mother was from Yemen.

MANUSCRIPT A 7

Introduction

THIS extract is sealed by three sheikhs. It was produced by a woman, who had been born a Tekaláwía and captured and enslaved in the Mahdía, as a proof of the fact that she was freeborn and not enslaveable.

Apparently it is from the same source as A 10.

This is the pedigree of el Tórn bint Kerayb,
copied from the great original.

I In the name of God. . . .

Praise be to Him who made men races and tribes that they might know one another, and blessings and salutations upon him that said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected," and upon his family. . . .

II Now the preservation of pedigrees is obligatory, ordained by the law, and to guard them is a duty in the past and in the future.

III The pedigree is as follows: el Tórn daughter of Kerayb son of . . . (*as in tree, q.v. as far as el Sayyid el 'Abbás*).

A 7 (NOTES)

"The great original" is *الأم الكبيرة* ("The great mother").

I Cp. BA, III, XXIII, XXXII.

III The "mekes" mentioned are those of Gebel Tekali, and it is of interest to notice that they are said to be descended from Gamū'a, *i.e.* to belong to the GAMŪ'IA branch of the Ga'ali family.

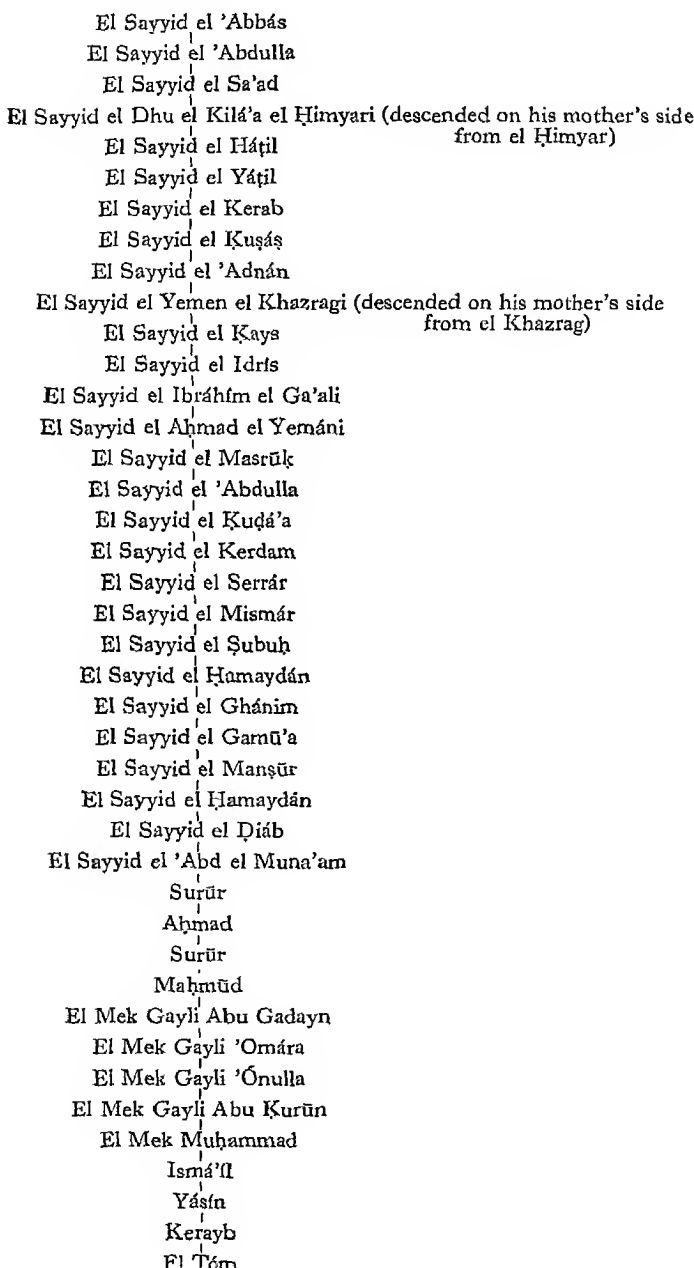
The name "Gayli" (*جيلي*) seems to attach to the ruling family at Tekali from generation to generation. Curiously enough, far to the East, between the Blue Nile and the Atbara, is Gebel Gayli (or "Kāyli" as it should be written) where a small branch of SHUKRĪA ḤASĀNĀB have their headquarters, and the Sheikh of these people uses the hereditary name of Gayli in place of his father's name; *i.e.* instead of (*e.g.*) "Muḥammad walad Aḥmad" or "Ādam walad el Nūr" he is known as "Muḥammad Gayli" or "Ādam Gayli."

Crowfoot (*Arch. Survey*..., XIX, Mem. p. 24) says Gayli "is a Nubian word meaning 'red.'" Burckhardt (*Nubia*) gives it in Nūba dialect as "geyla" and in Kanzi as "geylem." The Mídóbi for "red" is "Kayli" and the Birked "Kaylé."

"'Adnán" for "'Adi" occurs also in A 10.

"Yāṭil" and "Hāṭil" are transposed by an error.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 7



MANUSCRIPT A 8

Introduction

THIS *nisba* is a disreputable looking document nearly two feet long, the lower half covered with signatures and seals: it is badly written, in bad condition, and full of inaccuracies. Obviously several generations have dropped out between Serrár and the present. It was lent me by 'Abd el Kádír 'Abdulla, the sanitary barber of el Kám-lín and he stated that it was copied for him about 1900 by his relatives, who hold an older copy, in Dongola, viz. at Um Durrág village, near Korti.

He had no knowledge of the origin of the *nisba*, but believed his relatives to have inherited their copy, which, for all he knew, might be the original.

I Praise be to God who created man from a handful¹ of earth and made him races and tribes that the noble and the baseborn might be known apart, and blessings and salutations be upon the noblest of created beings—there is no disputing it—and upon his family and his companions, the good and glorious ones; and the goodness of the ASHRÁF be upon all other noble men, and may the strength of God make their lineage a cause for them to enter into Paradise, as was said by Him who is glorious “Fear God by whom ye beseech one another and [honour] the womb that bore you.”

II Now he upon whom be all honour said “Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected.”

III And according to the agreement between those two quotations it is the bounden duty of every person to know his pedigree and tribe lest perchance he trace his lineage to the ASHRÁF though he be not of them, and so fall into sin, or not know that he is a Sherif, though being one. For lack of carefulness in this occasions harm.

IV It is thy duty to fear God under all circumstances according to the word of him who is glorious “The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you.”

V This is an honourable pedigree, ennobled by the aid of a host² of manuscripts, the pedigree of el 'Abbás, of whom it was said by the Lord of the Apostles “Nobility pertains to me and to my uncle Hamza and to el 'Abbás.”

¹ reading سليلة for سلالة.

² reading حليت for حيلة.

VI Once on a time he upon whom be all honour collected round him his uncle el 'Abbás and his children and threw over them a mantle (or, according to one account a coat) and called to them saying "Verily they are the people of my own kith and kin," and circumcized them.

VII It is said on the authority of el Imám Abu Ḥanifa el Na'amáni "The noblest is the family of 'Ali and the family of el 'Abbás and the family of Ga'afir and the family of 'Akayl and of el Ḥārith ibn 'Abd el Muṭṭalib, and when the origins [of all] are made clear all those who are connected with them are free, of proved lineage."

VIII And here is that pedigree, as you who are learned and intelligent may see: 'Abd el Kādir son of 'Abdulla... (*as in the tree, q.v., as far as 'Adnán*).

IX The Imám Mālik said, "Verily I hate that which carries a pedigree above...; and beyond 'Adnán all is false..."

X This is what has been recorded regarding all who belong to the TUAYMÁB who are in the SHÁÍḤIA country and the ḤUMAYYIRÁB who are neighbours of the BEDAYRÍA, as is testified by those whose names are written¹ below.

27th el Higga 1319.

(Here follows a list of some 37 signatories testifying to the truth of the above pedigree.)

A 8 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, XLII and XXIII and X.

II Cp. BA, III and XXXII.

III Cp. BA, II and A II, III.

V Cp. A 2, II.

VIII The text gives "Abu el Kilá'a son of el Ḥimyari" by error for "Dhu el Kilá'a el Ḥimyari."

'Abdulla has been inserted between el Faḍl and el 'Abbás by a later hand.

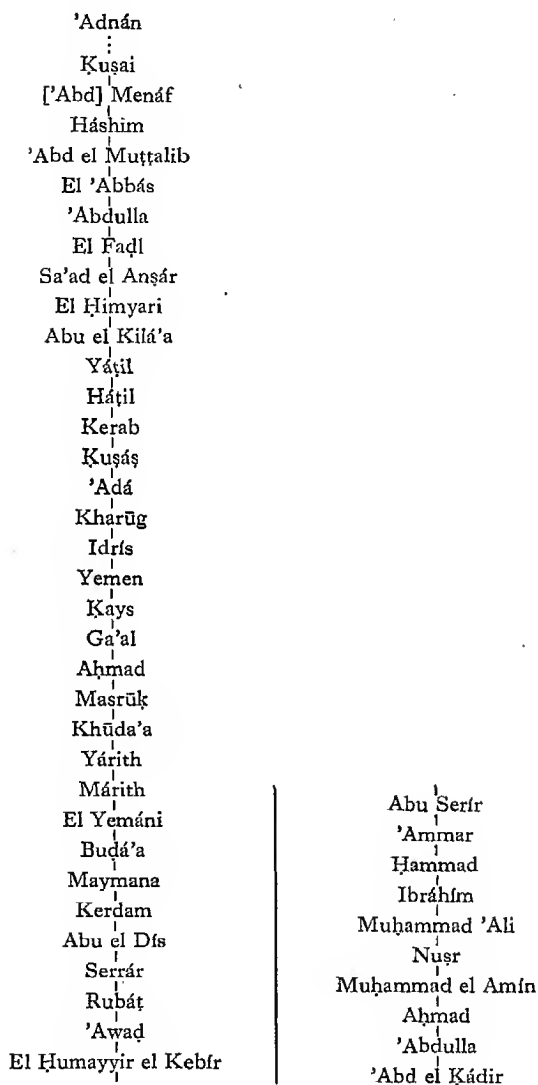
IX Cp. BA, CXXXV. Two or three words here are illegible.

X The TUAYMÁB are the section of GA'ALÍN to which the owner of the pedigree belongs. The ḤUMAYYIRÁB are apparently a subsection of them named after the eleventh man on the list.

The signatories are mostly relatives of the owner: they have in many cases added such remarks as "we approve this true pedigree," etc.

¹ reading موضح موضح.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 8



MANUSCRIPT A 9

Introduction

THIS pedigree is that of a certain Muḥammad el Nūr Ketaйна of el Kámlín (Blue Nile). He stated that the original was at Yūnis village in Berber at the mosque of the KETAYNÁB and that he took his copy thence. The original is known as *nisbat el Ketaynáb* but its author is unknown.

An attempt seems to have been made here to dovetail together the pedigrees of the GA'ALÍN and the MAḤASS.

I In the name of God...

God said "O people, I have created you of male and female and made you races and tribes that ye might know one another. Verily the noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

II And the Prophet...said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

III Here follows the pedigree: Muḥammad son of el Nūr... (*as in tree, q.v., as far as 'Abd el Muṭṭalib*).

A 9 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, xxii, xxxiii, etc.

II Cp. BA, iii.

III The name Ḥaṣín occurs also in AB, xl and xlii.

A note of uncertain authorship following the pedigree states that Sa'ad and Ibráhím were called "el Anṣári" and "el Ga'ali" respectively because their mothers were an Anṣária and a Ga'alla: it is also remarked that Mushayrif's mother was a Maḥassía and that from him were descended the SURŪRÁB, the family of Sheikh Idrís walad el Arbáb (for whom see D 3, 141), and the 'EBAYDÁB and the MAḤAYSÁB and the 'AWAYDÁB and the FAḤIRÁB sections and various MAḤASS.

In D 3, 154, Sheikh Khógalí's mother is spoken of as a "Maḥassía Mushayrifla." For these echoes of a matrilinear system see note to BA, cxxxiii.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A9

'Abd el Muṭṭalib
 |
 El 'Abbās
 |
 'Abdulla
 |
 El Faḍl
 |
 Sa'ad
 |
 Ibrāhīm
 |
 Ḥarkān
 |
 'Abdulla
 |
 Dūla
 |
 El Dīs Sharūḵ
 |
 El Yemāni
 |
 Aḥmad el Ḥegāzi
 |
 El Dīs
 |
 'Abdulla
 |
 Ḥaṣṣn
 |
 Budā'a
 |
 Ḍarār
 |
 'Abdulla
 |
 Medani
 |
 Idrīs
 |
 Muḥammad
 |
 'Abd el Raḥīm
 |
 Muḥayrif
 |
 Serḥān
 |
 Sharḥ
 |
 Muḥammad
 |
 Abu el Ḳāsīm
 |
 Medani
 |
 Abu el Ḳāsīm
 |
 'Abdulla
 |
 Aḥmad
 |
 Muḥammad
 |
 El Nūr
 |
 Muḥammad

MANUSCRIPT A 10

Introduction

THIS pedigree was sent me by Sheikh el Ṭaib Hāshim, the *Mufti* of the Sudan.

His section of GA'ALIYŪN is the GÓDALĀB, so named from Gódulla his eleventh ancestor.

I This is the pedigree of the *fakhr* the *Mufti* of the Sudan, viz. Sheikh el Ṭaib son of Aḥmad son of...(as in tree, q.v., to el 'Abbās).

A 10 (NOTE)

After "Ibrāhīm el Ga'ali" is added "and he was ancestor of all the tribes of the GA'ALIYŪN, and to him do all their numerous tribes trace their descent, and every branch of them is united in his person."

"'Adnān" occurs also in A 7.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 10

El 'Abbās		
'Abdulla		Mismār
El Faḍl		Ṣubuh Abu Merkha
Sa'ad el Anṣārī ¹		Ḥamaydān
Dhu el Kilā'a el Ḥimyarī ¹		Ghanim
Yāṭil		Dūāb
Hāṭil		'Aṭmān
Kerab		'Abd el 'Āl
Ḳuṣāṣ		Gódulla
'Adnān		Surūr
Yemen el Khazragī ¹		Ibrāhīm
Ḳays		Idrīs
Idrīs		Rahma
Ibrāhīm el Ga'al		Idrīs
Aḥmad el Yemāni		'Ali Ḳumr
Masrūk		Aḥmad
'Abdulla (surnamed Ḥarḳān)		Muḥammad
Ḳudā'a		Hāshim
Kerdam		Aḥmad
Serrār		Sheikh el Ṭaib

¹ So called after his mother's father.

MANUSCRIPT A 11

Introduction

THE particular copy of this *nisba* lent me for translation was the property of one of the family of Ṭalḥa 'Abd el Báḳi, the head sheikh of the BAṬĀḤÍN, a tribe of nomads living east of the Blue Nile.

Its history was unknown, but from internal evidence it would seem clearly to have had the same origin as A 2 and A 3. It has more the appearance of a paraphrase than of an exact copy. The Arabic is somewhat colloquial, the style is disconnected, there are a number of clerical errors, and glosses have been added.

The impression left is that the earliest copyist had access to a lengthy manuscript, possibly the original of "El Samarḳandi," and that he or one of his successors made a hasty transcription without greatly discriminating between the relevant and the irrelevant, at times merely paraphrasing the meaning, at times hurriedly copying a whole passage literally, and at times omitting a few paragraphs.

The glosses were probably added after the BAṬĀḤÍN had acquired their copy, and the latest copyist of all may be entirely responsible for the clerical errors, as for the cramped and crude writing of the text.

I In the name of God . . .

II Now the knowledge of pedigrees should be pursued with pains and care, for he upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected"; and many reliable men of learning, brilliant savants and geniuses, have given their attention to the study of pedigrees, such as Sídí el Sheikh Abu Sulaymán el 'Iráḳi and Sheikh Maḥmūd el Samarḳandi and Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn Sa'íd el Samarḳandi and Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman el Baḥrání.

III El Baḥrání, God bless him, used to say "Verily we have undertaken a mighty task, and the pedigrees have fallen into confusion among us. What hero will take them in hand¹ that the Sherif may be distinguished from other men? . . . etc."

IV I will mention what is necessary concerning the pedigree of GA'AL, and, God being my aid to the right way, I will tell of the pedigree of the Arabs known as GA'AL. [But as] the tribes of the Arabs are many, I will not deal with them [all]. He that would do so²

¹ reading يحملها for يحملها.

² reading الاستقبال for الاشتغال.

should [do so by studying] the books of el Samarḳandi the Great and of el Baḥrání el Sheikh¹ 'Abd el Raḥman.

V GA'AL are the ruling race in the Sudan, and they owe their might to the fact of their [descent] from Háshim, and with them is a refuge in times of trouble, and this [has always been] the glory of [the tribes descended from] ḲURAYSH, [even] before the mission of the Prophet. Their poet says:

VI "O thou that travellest from place to place, hast thou not stayed with the family of 'Abd Menáf? Hast thou not visited them and desired their hospitality? They [would] have saved thee from penury and ill. ḲURAYSH was as an egg that is broken and scattered; and as the very essence of the yolk are [the sons of] 'Abd Menáf, that give drink to the thirsty, the protectors of the people, and their guides, that move their encampments in concord and peace, that smite the chieftains [of their foes] in the midst of the pate, that cry 'welcome!' to the guest. 'Amr the mighty apportioned the pottage to his people, what time the men of Mekka suffered from the dearth of food. Happy indeed art thou if thou campedst near to them: verily thou wilt experience generosity and justice."

VII Now the reason of their migration to the Sudan was the outbreak of war between the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI HÁSHIM. In consequence they migrated to the West, *i.e.* to the Oases, and then returned eastwards, *i.e.* to Dongola, and conquered its people and subdued GUHAYNA, and subsequently Dongola and Berber; and GUHAYNA became subject to GA'AL.

VIII The reason of their being so named was, it is said, that their ancestor Ibráhím ibn Idrís was a generous king, and the feeble tribesmen used to come to him complaining of want of food, and he used to say to them "*ga'alnakum min ahl nafaḳátnd*" ["we have made you a part of our household"]; and for this reason he was surnamed "Ga'al." There are also other versions; and God best knows the truth.

IX And his descendants have been famous by this name, *viz.* GA'AL, until the present.

X We will now take up the thread of our discourse.

XI Serrár had three sons, Samra and Samayra and Mismár.

XII Samra had four sons, Bedayr (ancestor of the BEDAYRÍA²) and 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Shayḥ (ancestor of the SHUWAYḤÁT), and Turuk (ancestor of the ṬERAYFÍA), and Ríash (ancestor of the RÍASHÍA).

¹ reading للشيخ for الشيخ.

² reading بديرية for بدرية.

XIII From Samayra four [tribes] are descended, the GHODIÁT¹, the KUNAN, the KUŞÁŞ and the BAṬÁHÍN.

XIV In the book of el Baḥrání the Great [it is said] that their ancestor was nicknamed Abṭáh [after] a *wádi* of that name in the highlands of Mekka, and the nickname passed to his descendants and they were known as the BAṬÁHÍN.

XV Mismár had four sons, Sa'ad el Feríd, and the three sons by a single [other] mother, Şubuh Abu Merkha and Rubát and Nebíh.

XVI Abu Merkha had three sons, Ḥammad el Akrat (ancestor of the MÁGIDÍA and the KURTÁN), and Ḥamayd el Nawám (ancestor of the ŞANDIDÁB² and the MANŞÜRÁB³), and Ḥamaydán.

XVII [Ḥamaydán] had eight sons, Ghánim and Sháik (whose mother was Ḥamáma the daughter of his father's brother Rubát), and Ḥasabulla (el ḤASABULLÁWIYYŪN) and Muṭraf (whose mother was the daughter of Ḥáshi el Kumr el Fungáwi), and Ghaním and Ghanūm and Gamí'a (EL GIMÍ'AB) and Malik el Zayn, all four full brothers.

XVIII Ghánim had three sons, Dīáb and Dūáb and Gamū'a (the GAMŪ'Á).

XIX Dīáb had two sons, Bishára and Náşir.

XX Bishára was ancestor of the MÍRAFÁB and the ZAYDÁB and the 'ABDRAḤMANÁB and the FÁPLÁB and the RUBÁṬÁB and the SERAYḤÁB and the rest of the well-known descendants of Bishára who live from Berber to el Zóra.

XXI The descendants of Náşir are the NÁŞIRÁB.

XXII Dūáb had two sons, 'Armán and Abu Khamsín.

XXIII 'Armán was ancestor of a tribe called the KĀMŪS.

XXIV 'Armán had thirteen sons, Gebel and Gabr and 'Abd el 'Áli and 'Adlán and Zayd and Mukábir and Shá'a el Dín and Sa'íd and Naşrulla and 'Abd Rabbihi and Musallam and Shabbu and Būbái.

XXV Abu Khamsín had two sons, Muḥammad and Ḥammad el Bahkūr.

XXVI Muḥammad was ancestor of the ḤAMMADÁB and the AWRIKA⁴, the people of el Gerayf, and the KERRIÁB, and the BELIÁB, and the KITÁB.

XXVII Ḥammad el Bahkūr begot the WAGÁYÁB, the people of Ádam walad Farag.

XXVIII It is said—and God knows the truth—that the AWRIKA are descendants of el Bahkūr, as also the ḤURAYRÁB and the ḤUGÁG

¹ reading غديات for قديات.

² reading صنديداب for صنديداب.

³ reading المنصوراب for النصوراب. ⁴ reading الادرقا for الاورقة.

(the *fekih's* people): this I was told by some of their descendants, but I am not sure of its truth, and God knows best.

XXIX 'Adlān had thirty sons: four [of them] were the KARĀKISA, whose mother was daughter of 'Ali Karḳūs walad Shuḳl; and four [of them] were the SITNĀB, whose mother was daughter of walad Sinbis¹ (?); and four [of them] were the 'ABŪDĀB, whose mother was daughter of 'Abūd; and four [of them] were the children of Um Ḥalayb; and Nāfa'a and Nafi'a the sons of el Fungāwīa; and Muḥammad [and] 'Ali, sons of one mother², namely the daughter of Karḳūs walad Shuḳl, el Kamālīa; and 'Abd el Dāīm and 'Abd el Ma'abūd, sons of one mother; and Abu Selīma and Barakāt, sons of one mother; and el Mek Muḥammad, only son of his mother; and el 'Awādī, only son of his mother; and 'Abd el Raḥman, only son of his mother; and Tór, only son of his mother.

XXX 'Abd el Dāīm had fourteen sons, Ḥammād el Hanḳal (?) and Abu el Baṣīrūn and el 'Arāshkól and el Kabūsh and Abu el Gidād and el Kenádi [Kenāwī ?] and Ḍow el Ḳidr and el Shaddū and Abu Ḍaraywa and 'Ali and Yōiy and Ḥammad, father of the 'ALĀTĪD, and Muḥammad el Funḳál.

XXXI 'Abd el Ma'abūd's descendants are the SHADŪGĀB and the FĀRISĀB and the DŌGĀB³ EL WAHĀHĪB, the people of *el fekih* Muḥammad son of 'Abd el Wahháb Guayr son of Sulaymán el 'Adhab, and Ḳungár son of Sulaymán el 'Adhab son of Sa'ad son of 'Abd el Salām son of 'Abd el Ma'abūd, for ['Abd el Ma'abūd] had eight sons, Muḥammad el Aṣfar and Balūla el Ḳír and Sinbis and Shuḳl and Katḳíb and 'Abd el Salām and Mūsa and el Khuḍayr.

XXXII El Aṣfar begot the ṢUFAR, and Katḳíb the KATKITĀB, and Mūsa the ḤAMMĀDĀ(?) and the TUMĀR, and el Khudayr the FĪĀLĀB and the BA'ĀBĪSH, and 'Abd el Salām begot Musnad, and 'Abd el Dāīm, the people of el HŌfīa, and el Kanbalāwī and Sa'ad and Idrís.

XXXIII Sa'ad and Idrís begot the KALĀMĪN, and Abu Bukr begot the Awlād 'Abd el Dāīm, [viz.] Ḥaḍbū'a (?) and others.

XXXIV Ḥaḍbū'a (?) begot the people of 'Abdulla walad Delíl; and Abu Ḥasísi [Ḥasín ? Ḥasís ?] (?) begot the people of Ghanāwa [Gha-fāwa ?]; and all of these are descendants of Idrís.

XXXV Nāfa'a son of 'Adlān had seven sons, Aḥmad Abu Ḥarb and Hammād Abu Rikayb and Abu Nŏ and Muṣṭafa and Samá'in and 'Ali Abu Zawáíd⁴ and Abu Ruays.

XXXVI Among the descendants of Abu Ḥarb are the ḲĀRHĀB and

¹ reading سنيس for سنين.

² reading اسق for اشقاء.

³ reading والدوجاب for والدوجاب.

⁴ reading زوايد for زوايد.

the FÍLA and the 'AMAKRÁB, who are known as the HAḌÁLÍ; and Hammád was the father of the HAMMÁDÁB.

XXXVII Abu NÓ was ancestor of the NOWÁB, and Muṣṭafa of the MUṢṬAFÁB, and Samá'in of the SAMÁ'ÍNÁB¹, and 'Ali Abu Zawáid of the NUGŪMÍA and the SHERAF, and Abu Ruays of the RUAYSÁB.

XXXVIII Naff'a had twenty sons, [from whom are descended] the MÍRÍÁB and the ṬAWÍLÁB and the ḲABÁB and KHADÍMÁB and the SHÓTALÁB (?) and the ḲURSHÁB, etc., as far as is known.

XXXIX 'Abd el 'Áli had twenty-four sons, Ḥammad (who begot el Kabūsh), and Ḳandíl, and Muḥammad, and 'Abdulla el Kabír, and Gabár, and Ḥasabulla, and Mūsa, and 'Omar, and Khidr, and Gádulla, and Ráfa'i, and Magzūz, and Kaltūd, and Kashr, and Bashr, and Tisa'a Kulli, and el 'Áshir el Negáḍi whose descendants are with the BAṬÁḤÍN.

XL Rubát had five sons, 'Awaḍ and Ḳuraysh and Khanfar and 'Abdulla and Muḳbal.

XLI Sa'ad el Feríd had three sons, Ḳaḥṭán and Selma and Fuhayd.

XLII Ḳaḥṭán had seven sons, Šubuḥ (ancestor of the ŠUBUḤ), Faḍl (ancestor of the FAḌLIYYŪN), Muḥammad el Ḍub (ancestor of the ḌUBÁB), Maḳbuḍ (ancestor of the MEḲÁBḌA²), Manšūr (ancestor of the MANÁŠRA), Maḳit (ancestor of the MAḲÁṬA³), and Mímáís (ancestor of the MÍMÁÍSA).

XLIII Selma had two sons, Ḥákím and Gábír.

XLIV The sons of Fuhayd were Ḥammad (ancestor of the AḤÁMDA), and Guma'a (ancestor of the GÍMA'A), and Gáma'i (ancestor of the GAWÁMA'A).

XLV Kerdam had ten sons: seven returned to Kūfa, and three bred here, namely Serrár, the ancestor of the whole, and secondly Dūla, the ancestor of the FŪR (the FŪR royal family) and the SAḲÁRANG, kings of Tekali; and, lastly, Tomám, the ancestor of the TOMÁM.

XLVI Abu el Dís had two sons, Tergam and Kerdam.

XLVII The pedigree of Serrár leads back to the blessed 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás the uncle of the Prophet. . . .

XLVIII The KAWÁHLA⁴ are the family of Káhil son of 'Omára son of Khalífa son of Muḥammad son of Sulaymán son of Khálid son of el Walíd.

XLIX GUHAYNA are well known.

L The SHUKRÍA trace their descent to 'Abdulla el Gawád son of Ga'afir son of Abu Tálib.

¹ reading سماعاب for سماعيناب.

² reading مقابضة for مقابض.

³ reading مقايمة for مقايمة.

⁴ reading كواهل for كواهل.

LI The MESALLAMÍA are the family of Musallam son of Hegáz¹ son of 'Āṭif el Bukri. He migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azíz and settled in the Sudan.

LII The RIKÁBIYYŪN are the family of Rikáb ibn 'Abdulla and trace their descent to el Sheikh Aḥmad ibn 'Omar el Zíla'i, who was of the stock of 'Oḡayl ibn Abu Ṭálib.

LIII The 'AMRIYYUN (spelt 'AMR...) are the family of Sulaymán son of 'Omar son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwán, and are the ruling race that are known now as the FŪNG.

LIV The pedigree of FEZÁRA is well known. They are one of the tribes of TAMÍM and have dwelt [in the Sudan] since the conquest of el Bahnasá.

LV The BENI 'ĀMIR are the family of 'Āmir ibn el Ḍarab el 'Adwáni, [and] entered Abyssinia.

LVI KENÁNA are the relatives of Duhaym ibn Aḥmad el Kenáni, an important and unblemished family. They dwell in the same parts of the country as FEZÁRA.

LVII The GÁBIRÍA are a numerous body in Abyssinia, [but] the majority of them are between the MAḤASS and Dongola; and it is well known that they are the family of Gábir ibn 'Abdulla el Anšár[i], who left them [as his posterity] at the time of the conquest of Dongola, after its siege.

LVIII RUFA'A used to dwell with the BEGÁ and Abyssinians. Then they migrated to the Nile. They are the family of Ḳaḥṭán; and God knows best.

LIX The 'ABBÁSIYYŪN are of the family of 'Abdulla ibn 'Abbás in the Sudan. They include the family of el Saffáḥ and others.

LX The GABARTA are Arabs by origin.

LXI The FELLÁTA² invaded the land of Takrūr. They are the family of Fellát son of 'Uḡba³ ibn Yásir from el Baṭrayn. Some genealogists say that they trace their descent to 'Abd el Raḥman son of Abu Bukr el Ṣadīḳ; others say they are Arabs. God knows best.

LXII The ḤADÁRBA. I heard el Sheikh 'Abdulla Abu el Wuzír el Ḥadrami say that they were from Ḥadramaut, and similarly the DELAYḲÁB also, and [that] the cause of their emigration was [their] maltreatment of pilgrims. Then they settled among the BEGÁ at Erkowit and Sūákin, [where they are] till the present day; and some of them have scattered farther afield.

LXIII The GA'ÁFIRA are a mighty tribe, and are descended from

¹ reading جمار for حجاز.

² reading فلات for فلاته.

³ reading عغبة for عغبة.

Ga'afir ibn ẖuṭáf of the tribe of ṬAI. They are famous for generosity.

LXIV The FÁDNÍÁ are the descendants of el Sayyid Muḥammad son of the Imám 'Alí, God bless him, and there is much related of them.

LXV The sub-tribes of 'Adlán are seven, the NÁFA'ÁB and the NIFÍ'ÁB¹ and the MUḤAMMADÁB and the 'ABŪDÁB and the KARÁKISA and the YÓIYÁB and the SHAKÁLU and the ẖURUḌ; and the dispute [for the headship ?] is between three of them, viz. the NÁFA'ÁB, the NIFÍ'ÁB, and the KARÁKISA; and it is related that six of these sub-tribes agreed to take the viziership from the AWLÁD NIMR, but the NÁFA'ÁB dissented and resisted this, because el Arbáb Muḥammad [was] their sister's son. So, when the treaty of Ga'al was concluded, they allotted to the BENI NIMR the rule of the East [bank] to be their own, and [the NÁFA'ÁB] joined the NIMRÁB instead of joining the six sub-tribes which² are collectively called the SA'ADÁB; and the treaty was observed until the end of their rule.

(The following is added in pencil at the close.)

LXVI Serrár son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dís son of ẖuḍá'a son of Ḥarkán son of Masrūk son of Aḥmad son of Ibráhím Ga'al, ancestor of the tribe, son of Idrís son of ẖays son of Yemen son of 'Adi son of ẖuṣṣáṣ son of Kerab son of Háṭil son of Yáṭil son of Dhu el Kilá'a son of Sa'ad son of el Faḍl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbás, uncle of the Prophet. . . , son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Háshim.

¹ reading الفيغاب for النفيغاب .

² reading اللتي for التي .

A 11 (NOTES)

II Cp. BA, II and III.

None of the savants mentioned occur either in Ibn Khallikán's or Hagi Khalfa's biographical works. For "el Samarkandi" and "el Bahrání" see index.

III The full quotation is given in the text of D 6, III, and part of it there translated.

v-vi For the hospitality of KURAYSH (the family of 'Abd Menáf) and their lavish entertainment of the pilgrims to Mekka see Muir's *Life of Mahomet* (Introduction, pp. xciv *et seq.*).

The full quotation as given in A 11 is as follows:

يا أيها الرجل المحول رحله هلا نزلت بآل عبد مناف
هلا مروت بهم تريد قراهم ممنوعك من ضر ومن اكفاف
كانت قریش بيضة فتفتت فالخخالصه لعبد مناف
اهل السقاية والرعاية والهدى والراحلون برحلة الاثلاف
الضاربون الكيش مفروق راسه والقائلون هلمر للاضياف
عمر العلا هشير الثريد لقومه ورجال مكة مستنون عجاف
ثكلتك امك لو نزلت بجنبهم لرايت من كرم ومن انصاف

In "'Amr the mighty apportioned..." there is a play on the word "Háshim." "Háshim's" name was 'Amr (see Wüstenfeld, W), and he was surnamed "Háshim," i.e. "He that *hasham* (apportioned)," *sc.* the food and drink. This line is frequently quoted, *e.g.* (1) in the *T'dg el 'Arūs* (vol. IX, p. 104), the chief commentary on the great *Ẹámūs*, and (2) in Ibn Hishám's *Sira Sayyudna Muḥammad...* (p. 87), which was written about 750 A.D., in a quotation from Ibn Ishák, and (3) in Ibn Dórayd, and (4) in el Mas'ūdi (Chap. xxxix), and (5) it may also be found in *Lisán el 'Arab* (vol. xvi, p. 94, *sub* "Háshim").

After this penultimate line, which begins with "'Amr" and ends with "food," Ibn Hishám, on page 87 of the *Sira*, adds another in place of the last line given in A 11. On this occasion he only gives two lines in all, but later (ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. I, pp. 113, 114) he quotes seven lines (not including the line about Háshim referred to above), of which the first two are

يا أيها الرجل المحول رحله هلا سالت عن آل عبد مناف
هبلتلك امك لو حملت بدارهم ضمنوك من جرهم ومن اقواف

and the other five quite different from A 11. The other works quoted give only the single line; and all but Mas'ūdi (edit. B. de Meynard) commence *عمر العلا*. Mas'ūdi begins *عمر الذي*.

As regards the authorship, the *Lisán el 'Arab* attributes the verses to Hāshim's daughter, Ibn Ishāk (*op. Ibn Hishām*, p. 87) to "one of Ḳuraysh or one of the [other] Arabs," Ibn Hishām (on p. 113, when quoting the seven lines mentioned) to Maṭrūd ibn Ka'ab el Khuẓá'i, and the *Tāg el 'Arūs* to Ibn el Zaba'ará. Mas'ūdi gives no definite statement on the subject. Again, el Ṭabari quotes separately, in different places, two of the seven lines given in A 11.

The *Kitāb el Amālī* of Abu 'Alī el Ḳālī (vol. 1, p. 247) makes Abu Bukr quote five lines to the Prophet of which the first two are:

يا ايها الرجل المحول رحله ألا نزلت بآل عبد مناف
هبلتكم امك لو نزلت برحلهم منعوك من عدم ومن اقتار

and the rest quite different from A 11.

The third line of A 11 occurs in el Azraqī's *History of Mekka* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 68) as follows:

كانت قريش بيضة فتفلققت فالمخ خالصها لعبد مناف

This author gives five lines, and, like the *Tāg el 'Arūs*, attributes them to Ibn el Zaba'ará: of these five the first is as quoted, the second and third different from anything in A 11, the fourth something similar to the fifth line of A 11, and the fifth reads thus:

عمرو العلاء هشم الشريد لمعشر كانوا بمكة مستتين عجاف

On the whole, however, the nearest parallel I have found is the following from Ibn Wāḍih el Ya'aqūbi's *History* (ed. Houtsma, 1883), vol. 1, p. 282:

يأيها الرجل المحول رحله	هلا نزلت بآل عبد مناف
هبلتكم أمك لو حملت بدارهم	ضمنوك من جوع ومن اقراق
عمرو العلاء هشم الشريد لقومه	ورجال مكة مسنتون عجاف
نسبوا اليه الرحلتين كليهما	عند الشتاء ورحلة الأضياف
الآخذون العهد في آفاقها	والراحلون لرحلة الإيلاف

Ibn Wāḍih attributes the verses to "Maṭrūd el Khuẓá'i," thus supporting Ibn Hishām (*q.v. supra*). I have to thank Professor Bevan for drawing my attention to this passage. The expression *تكلتكم امك* (*lit.* "may thy mother be bereft of thee") is explained by Lane (Dictionary) as "an expression of vehement love."

VII Cp. D 6, x, "They" presumably means the alleged Ḳurayshite ancestors of the GA'ALÍŪ.

Great numbers of GUHAYNA settled on the Nile and east of it in the centuries following the Arab occupation of Egypt and it is not at all improbable that the forefathers of the GA'ALÍŪ of the present day ousted them from considerable areas between Ḥalfa and Khartoum, and even south of that

Tribes of "Ga'ali" origin have for centuries been predominant over long stretches of country bordering the Nile in the locality mentioned, and the GUHAYNA group of tribes appear to have been to some extent pushed inland, away from the river.

Various branches of GUHAYNA, too, no doubt acknowledged the overlordship of the Ga'ali *meks*, when the latter, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were in power round Shendi and Metemma.

For "the oases" (*el Wāḥāt*) see Mas'ūdi, Chap. xxxiii. D 6, x in the corresponding passage omits mention of them.

"Eastwards" should rather be "south-eastwards."

viii Cp. BA, cxxxii; A 3, x, etc.

xi From here onwards cp. BA, cxxxix *et seq.*

For Serrār's pedigree see para. LXVI.

xiv This story is the one generally accepted by the tribe, and it is interesting because it is well authenticated (*vide, e.g., el Mas'ūdi*) that in the time of Kuṣai, the fifth ancestor of the Prophet, *i.e.* about 400-450 A.D., the tribe of KURAYSH were divided into "*el Baṭāḥ*" (*i.e.* "lowlanders" or inhabitants of the valleys) and "*el Zuḥdḥir*" (*i.e.* "highlanders"), and the two divisions were kept apart when Kuṣai settled the tribe at Mekka. The "Lowlanders" comprised the Beni 'Abd Menāf, the Beni 'Abd el Dār, the Beni 'Abd el 'Uzza, and the descendants of Zuhra, Makhzūm, Taym, Guma'a, Sahm, and 'Adi—all closely related—and the Beni Ḥanbal ibn 'Āmir. The passage in Mas'ūdi (Chap. xxxix) runs thus:

ورتب قريشا على منازلها في النسب بمكة وبين الابطاحى من قريش وهم
الابطاحى وجعل الظاهري ظاهريا فقريش البطاح هي قبائل بني عبد المناف
etc.

On this matter see also Yāḳūt (*Geogr.* under "El Biṭāḥ"). Whether the BAṬĀḤĪN are really connected in any way with these "Baṭāḥ" can hardly be decided, but the traditional pedigree that unites the GA'ALĪN group (including the BAṬĀḤĪN) with KURAYSH (*i.e.* the BENI 'ABBĀS) and the coincidence of the name need not necessarily be dismissed as pure "fakes." It may be that the tribe assumed the name "BAṬĀḤĪN" in order to support the *nisbas* and because they lived in a land of valleys (round Abu Delayḳ and 'Alwān), but I think it improbable that there was not some other reason as well.

xvi-xvii Cp. BA, cliv-clvi and A 2, v.

A 2 omits mention of the ṢANDĪDĀB and MAṢṢŪRĀB, of the name of Rubāṭ's daughter, and of the name of Ḥasabulla's mother. It says of the last four men mentioned that their descendants are in the west, and omits to say they were full brothers.

The names "el Ḥasabullāwiyyūn" and "el Gimī'āb" are written in the text just over the names of Ḥasabulla and Gami'a.

xviii-xix Cp. BA, clviii, etc. and A 2, vii, etc.

xx The words "And the rest of...el Zōra" occur word for word in A 2.

By the "ABDRAḤMANĀB" are meant the Ḥammadtu family (see D 3, 158).

XXI Cp. BA, CLX. A 2, IX, says: "...the NÁŠIRÁB in the west."

XXII Cp. BA, CLXI and A 2, X.

XXIII The paragraph is probably a gloss. It does not occur in BA nor A 2. I have not elsewhere met with "ḲĀMŪS."

XXIV Cp. BA, CLXV and A 2, XI.

XXV Cp. BA, CLXII and note to A 2, V-XIII.

From here the text becomes rather corrupt, and A 2 is no longer of use for checking purposes: several names are doubtful.

XXVI I have taken "Awriḳa" (for "Adriḳa") from para. XXVIII, but either or neither may be correct.

"El Gerayf" is Gerayf Ḥamdulla (see BA, CLXIII).

For "ḲERRIÁB" BA gives "ḲARÍBÁB": possibly the ḲERRIÁT are intended.

XXVII Cp. BA, CLXIV. For "WAGÁYÁB" BA gives "AWGÁB."

XXVIII This may be a gloss.

XXIX Cp. BA, CLXVII-CLXXII and notes.

Twenty-eight sons only are given, and the text in this and the following paragraphs is corrupt and differs in many details from BA: the trees may be compared.

Shuḳl should be one of the 30 sons and not father of 'Alī Karḳūs, as is clear from BA, CLXXI and A 11, LXV.

For "Um Ḥalayb" BA gives "Ādam Ḥalayb," which is probably right.

XXX Thirteen names only are given. "Hanḳal" (هناقل) has been corrected in the text by the owner in pencil to هرغل (*sic*).

"El 'Aráshkól" is the name of a hill near el Dueim on the White Nile: Cp. BA, CLXXII.

For "el Kabūsh" cp. para. XXXIX and BA, CLXVII.

Kabūshia is on the Nile close to the south of the pyramids of Meroe.

XXXII For "el Kanbaláwi" see Part III, Chap. 1 (*k*).

XXXV These are the NÁFA'ÁB section.

XXXVIII These are the NIF'ÁB section.

XXXIX Cp. para. xxx for Kabūsh: Seven sons are missing from the list.

XL Cp. BA, CLI and A 2, XIV. Sections XL-XLVI correspond closely to A 2, XIV-XXI.

XLII "Mimáis" is no doubt the "Mías" of other versions.

XLIII A 2 (*q.v.* note) adds a remark as to the descendants of these two men.

XLV Cp. BA, CXXXVIII and A 2, XIX.

XLVIII Cp. A 2, XXIV and D 6, XII.

L Cp. A 2, XXV and D 6, XV.

LI Cp. A 2, XXIX and D 6, XXIII.

LII Cp. A 2, XXVII and D 6, XXV.

LIII Cp. A 2, XXX and D 6, XXVI.

LIV Cp. A 2, XXXI and D 6, XIII.

The reference is to the conquest of Bahnasá (Oxyrhynchus) in 642 A.D. by 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad (see Budge, vol. II, p. 184, and Burckhardt, *Nubia...*, p. 528).

LV-LVIII Cp. A 2, XXXII-XXXV and D 6, XXVIII, XXXIII and XXXV.

LIX Cp. A 2, XXII.

LX Cp. A 2, XXXVI.

LXI Cp. A 2, XXXVII; BA, CXIX, and D 6, XLIII.

LXII "I" is evidently cl Samarḳandi: see note to BA, CLXXVI. Cp. D 6, LI.

The words "and similarly the DELAYḲÁB also" and "and some of them. . ." are undoubtedly a gloss by a Baḥānī. The BAṬÁḤÍN have a long-standing feud with the DELAYḲÁB as to the ownership of lands near Abu Delayḳ, and so vent their spite by casting aspersions on the antecedents of the DELAYḲÁB.

In D 1, XXVI similar treatment is accorded to the ḤUMR.

For the ḤADÁRBA or ḤAPÁREB see Part III, Chap. 13 (b), and cp. note to BA, CLXXVI.

LXIII Cp. BA, CLXXV and A 2, XL and D 6, LII.

LXIV Cp. A 2, XXVIII and D 6, IV.

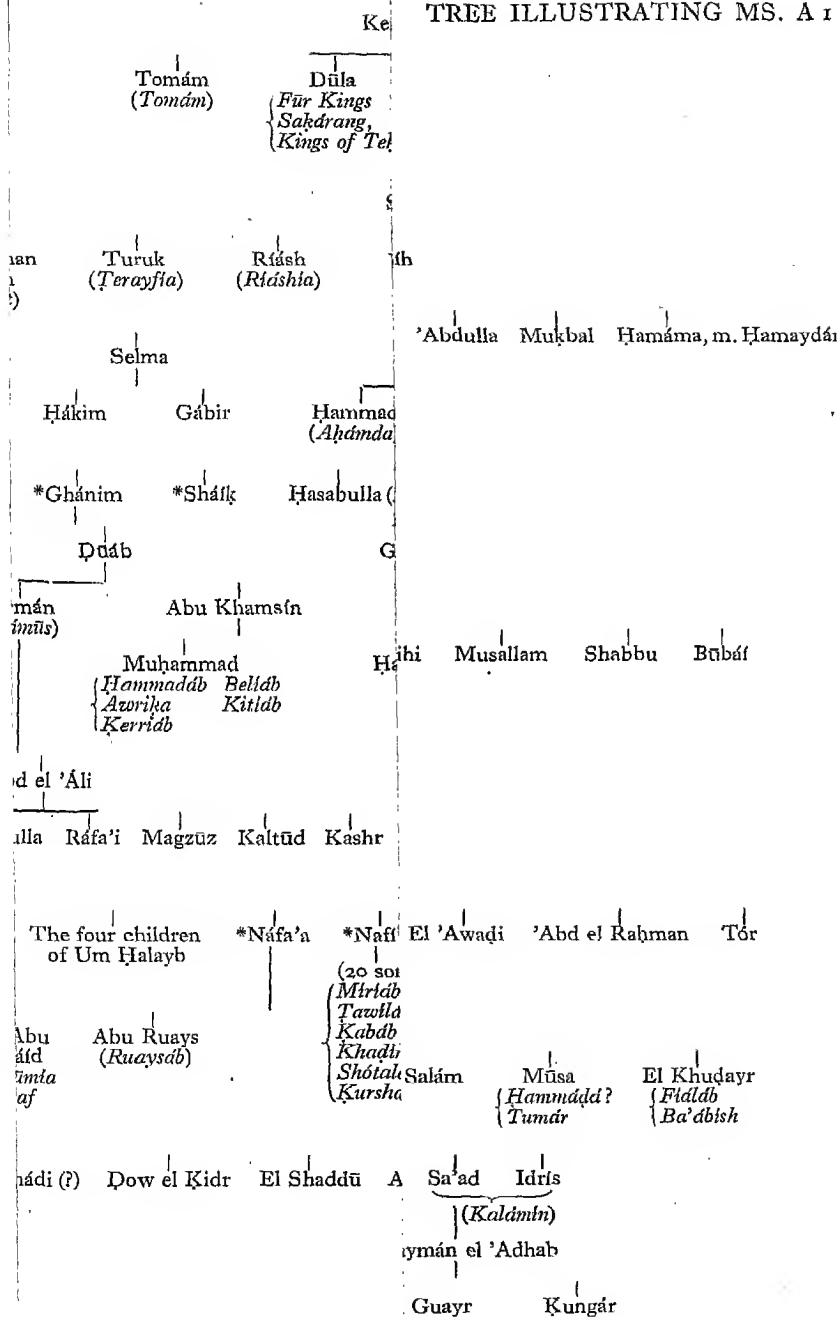
LXV Cp. para. XXIX *et seq.*

"Sub-tribes" here is مطارق.

"Ḳuruḍ" (قروض) may be an error for "'Awad" (عوض).

The Arabic translated "When the treaty. . ." is لما عقدت كلمة جعل. This division of the GA'ALÍN is referred to and explained in Part III, Chap. 1 (k).

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 1



MANUSCRIPT B I

Introduction

THE copy of this *nisba*, which was lent to me for translation by the 'omda of the GELÍLÁB at Sa'id village in el Kámlín district, was taken a few years ago from the copy in possession of el feki Ḥasan walad Muḥammad 'Ísa, a Gelílábí of Wad el Sha'ír, also in the Blue Nile Province. El feki Ḥasan is said to have inherited his copy from an ancestor, who copied it from some earlier unknown MS.

The GELÍLÁB think (though they have no evidence) that probably their ancestor Sa'id son of Dáūd son of 'Abd el Gelíl brought the original from the north. He lived nine generations ago (*see tree*) and is said to have built "99" mosques and endowed each with fourteen slaves for service.

It was Hegázi Ma'in the uncle of 'Abd el Gelíl who founded Arbagi about 1475 A.D. (see D 3, IV, and note to D 3, 67, and Jackson, p. 18).

The ultimate source of the *nisba* is obviously the same as that of BA: it no doubt emanated from Dongola two or three centuries ago, and the copyist, being only interested in the part that related to the GUHAYNA group of tribes, omitted the part concerning the Ga'ali group.

I In the name of God...

[The following is] an extract taken from *The Noble Gift and Rare Excellence* [*el Nafḥat el Sharífa wa 'l Ṭurfá 'l Mundfa*] of el Sheikh el Imám el Sháfa'í... on the origins of the Arabs.

II Now the [tribes of the] Arabs are ḤIMYAR and ṬAI and THA'ALEB and LAGM and GUDHÁM and HAMDÁN and MA'ÁREF and BÍŞ and HUḤNA and KELB EL AZD and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA. All of these trace their descent to a single ancestor, el Maḥays son of Kaḥtán son of el Maḥays son of Ibráhím... God knows the truth of this, and praise be to Him alone.

III The apostle in the "Traditions" said "Ye know from¹ your pedigrees how ye are connected."

IV And he said of a man who had learnt the pedigrees of the people "A knowledge [of them] is useless and ignorance harmless"—this being in times of mutual love and affection; but... (*continues as BA, VII and VIII, as far as "various nations"*).

¹ inserting موصوف.

V And no man neglects it [the study of pedigrees] except the rogue, who is not mentioned when absent nor consulted when present; for it is of benefit to the servants of God in this world and the next, and [whoever ignores it] is a poltroon and a vagabond.

VI-XIX This is the pedigree peculiar to the tribes of GUHAYNA only. Know that Guhayna begot Dhubián, and Dhubián begot. . . . *(Here follows a genealogical list of the descendants, individual and tribal, of Dhubián. The names can be seen in the tree. No other facts excepting those shown by the tree are given.)*

XX The tribes that may not be enslaved are seven, viz. . . . *(seven names as in BA, XLVIII).*

XXI Know that GUHAYNA are [to be found] in two different places: [there are in the first place] the descendants of Guhayna el Kabír ibn Hunád of whom the Prophet. . . said "Through him shall the last of the unbelievers be saved from the fire; whose tribe is from Mekka the noble: there is none of them here: not one of them has come to me excepting 'Abdulla el Guhani, who has come to help me; and Guhayna, all of them, now are the stock of el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám, the son of my aunt Šafía."

XXII The Prophet. . . referred [also] to him as "my helper" (by "my helper" meaning el Zubayr), and he said too "I am of Guhayna and Guhayna are of me: what pleases Guhayna pleases me, and what angers Guhayna angers me, even though Kúraysh be affected." And he prayed for increase for Guhayna for the sake of the stock of el Zubayr.

XXIII [Secondly] their tribe became [*lit.* "reached"] fifty-two tribes in the land of Sóba [under] the rule of the FUNG, but most of them are in the West, namely in Tūnis and Bornūh.

XXIV This is a pedigree: Zubayr had two sons, 'Abdulla and Ḥasan. 'Abdulla was ancestor of the KAWÁHLA, and Ḥasan begot 'Aṭía. 'Aṭía begot Guhayna, who begot Dhubián.

XXV This is the pedigree of Zubayr: [he was] son of el 'Awwám son of. . . *(as in the tree, up to 'Adnán).*

XXVI This is the true and generally agreed upon pedigree. And as a variant, ['Adnán was] son of Ismá'íl. . . son of Ibráhím. . . son of Tárikh son of Fárikh son of Náhūr¹ son of Ashra'a son of Rá'ū son of Fáligh² son of 'Ámir son of Shálikh son of Fakhshadh son of Sám son of Nūh. . . son of Shíth. . . son of Barda son of Miháyíl son of Káyán son of Anūsh son of Shíth. . . son of Ádam. . .

XXVII This book was completed under the help of God and the

¹ reading فاحور for ناحور.

² reading فالغ for فالح.

goodness of His grace by the hand of its writer the *faḳīr* 'Abd el Gelīl Muḥammad Dafa'alla, who wrote it for his brother Muḥammad son of el Hāg 'Alī... (*as in tree, up to 'Adnán*).

XXVIII This is the true pedigree according to the words of the prophet... "They are liars that trace their pedigree beyond 'Adnán."

XXIX And as a variant—'Adnán was son of Ismā'īl...son of... (*exactly as para. xxvi, as far as Adam...*), and Adam was created of mud.

XXX In the name of God...

What follows is the pedigree of Ma'in's own sons. Ma'in had seven sons... (*see tree*). These are the seven sons begotten of Ma'in. Muḥammad begot 'Abd el Gelīl, the ancestor of the GELILĀB. Ḥegāzi was ancestor of the ḤEGĀZĀB, Fāris of... (*etc., as in tree*).

B 1 (NOTES)

I See BA, LXII-LXV (note) and B 3, 1.

II Cp. BA, L. B 1 and B 3 give "Ma'áref," but BA and AB "Ma'áfir."

III Cp. BA, III.

IV Cp. BA, v.

The latter part of the paragraph is word for word the same as BA, VII-VIII except that for (BA) "...And it is not... a rebel" B 1 says merely "And he who neglects them is a rebel."

V This is peculiar to B 1.

VI-XIX Cp. BA, LIX *et seq.*; B 3, II, etc.

There are one or two mistakes in spelling here, viz.:

مقاربه ("MOQÁRBA") for مغاربة ("MOGHÁRBA").

فاذنية ("FÁDHNÍA") for فاذنية ("FÁDNIÁ").

[once] محمد العلاطي ("Muhammad el 'Uláti") for حميد العلاطي ("Ḥammad el 'Uláti").

حجارة ("Ḥegára") for حجازة ("Ḥegáza").

بقداد ("Baḡdád") for بغداد ("Baḡhdád").

[once] عول ("Awál") for عوال ("Awál").

In para. XIII the BASHÁKIRA are merely mentioned as descendants of Ḥammad el 'Uláti, but in para. XVII occurs "Bashḡar was ancestor of the BASHÁKIRA and 'Isayl of the 'ISAYLÁT," the writer forgetting that he has not previously mentioned Bashḡar specifically as a son of Ḥammad.

XX Cp. BA, XLVIII.

XXI The two divisions of GUHAYNA referred to are apparently (1) those of Arabia, the well-known and ancient Ḥimyaritic tribe, and (2) those in the Sudan round Soba.

The Arabic for "Of whom the Prophet... said..." is

الذى قال في حقه النبي يخرج اهل النار

The meaning is rather obscure, but if the sixth word be pointed يُخْرِج the meaning may be that the most wicked of men may be saved at the personal intercession of GUHAYNA.

"El Kabír" may mean "the great" or "the elder." The whole tradition given here is suspicious.

I can find no Guhayna son of Hunád, nor is it clear why GUHAYNA, a Ḥimyaritic tribe, or 'Abdulla el Guḡani who was also a Ḥimyarite, should ever have been called "the stock of el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám," who was a Qurayshi.

For "'Abdulla el Guhani" see note to BA, LVIII.

Whether the whole of the passage in inverted commas is meant to be included in the tradition, or whether the words from "whose tribe..." to "here" is a gloss by another copyist, is doubtful, but the latter is probable.

XXII The first tradition is well authenticated: el Bokhári (*el Sahîh*, Part II, p. 193) gives it as follows:

حدثنا مالك بن اسمعيل حدثنا عبد العزيز....عن....قال قال النبي
....ان لكل نبي حواري وان حواري الزبير العوام

("Málik ibn Isma'íl told me that 'Abd el 'Azíz...told him on the authority of...who had been told by...that the Prophet...said 'Every prophet has a helper, and my helper is Zubayr el 'Awwám.'")

The second tradition I have not traced and it may, or may not, be genuine: the Arabic is as follows:

انا من جهينة وجهينة مني ارضا برضا جهينة واغضب بقضب جهينة حتى
قریش

(*lit.* "...as far KURAYSH,"—KURAYSH being the Prophet's own tribe).

XXIII-XXIV These paragraphs are practically identical with BA, CXXIII, CXXIV: cp. also BA, LVII (note).

XXV This pedigree is very faulty as Zubayr is given as descended from the wrong son of Kuṣai (BA, LVII is correct, see Wüstenfeld, T). From Kuṣai to 'Adnán is given correctly except that Ka'ab and Murra are transposed. See note to para. xxx.

XXVI No pedigree of any weight ever made 'Adnán son of Ishmael and grandson of Abraham.

For the tree from Abraham ("Ibráhím") upwards to Noah see D 1, LXVI, etc. "Tárikh" (Terah) was son of Náhūr (Nahor) and the insertion of "Fárikh" seems to be due to some dim recollection of "Fáris son of Tírash son of Máshūr," the Persian ancestor mentioned in D 1, LXV.

The text also gives "Fáhūr" for "Náhūr," "Ashra'a" for "Shárūgh," "Ámir" for "Ábir," and "Fakhshadh" for "Arfakhshadh."

"Rá'ū" is another and legitimate form of "Ar'ū" (D 1, LXIX).

Between Shem and Adam the text is equally at fault: the father of Noah was Akhnūkh or "Idrís" (Enoch) and not "Shíth"; "Barda" (بردة) should be Lūd (لود) and "Miháyfl" should be Mahalál: cp. Mas'ūdi, Chap. III (ed. B. de M. vol. 1, pp. 68-73).

XXVII The transposition of Ka'ab and Murra (see para. xxv) is here corrected: otherwise the pedigree is the same in paras. xxv and xxvii.

From Muḥammad ibn el Hág to Dhubián the direct stem only is given in this paragraph: the other six sons of Ma'in are added to the tree from para. xxx—the note to which see.

XXVIII Cp. BA, CXXXV.

XXIX The copyist has apparently got into difficulties here as this paragraph is the same as para. xxvi, the very errors being exactly repeated, as far as "Ádam."

XXX From the occurrence again of a formal invocation we may suppose that a copyist added this paragraph from some other source than that of the rest of the *nisha*. By a slip "KALÍGÁB" is written for "KALÍNGÁB." As a matter of fact there is little doubt but that Hēgázi ibn Ma'in, the founder of Arbāgi, was one of the HUPŪR and had no connection with the GUHAYNA group whatever (see Part III, Chap. 13).

MANUSCRIPT B 2

Introduction

THIS *nisba* was written out for me by Aḥmad 'Omar Sulṭān, the 'omda of the 'ARÍFÍA, a section of DÁR ḤÁMID in Kordofán, from a copy in his possession. It has little value.

I In the name of God. . .

This is the pedigree of the 'ARÍFÍA: Aḥmad son of 'Omar son of. . . (*as in tree, up to 'Abd Menáf*).

II Now Mázin the son of Sha'ūf had four sons: . . . (*as in tree, with their descendants, as shown therein*).

III These men are the descendants of Mázin son of. . . (*etc., as in para. 1, up to 'Abdulla el Guhani*) . . . 'Abdulla el Guhani, the Companion of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God.

IV The MESSÍRÍA and the HABBÁNÍA and the RIZAYḲÁT¹ and the FAYÁRÍN and the TA'ÁFSHA are the descendants of Ráshid son of Muḥammad el Aṣla'a son of 'Abs son of Dhubián.

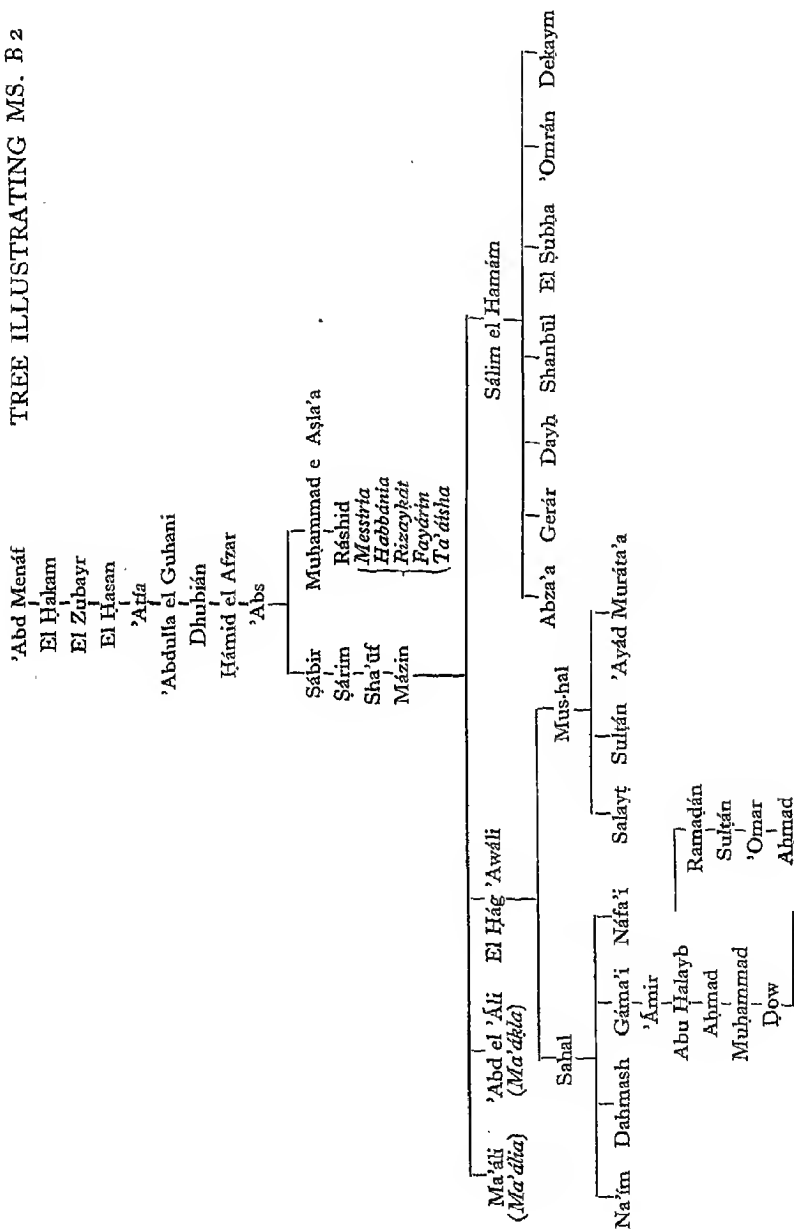
B 2 (NOTES)

I The pedigree from Dhubián to 'Abd Menáf is very inaccurate. The names are all familiar ones, but are jumbled together haphazard.

II "Abza'a," "Gerár," "Dayḥ" [*i.e.* Dwayḥ], and "Shanbül" are intended as the eponymous ancestors of the BAZA'A, BENI GERÁR, DWAYḤ, and SHENÁBLA, respectively. Cp. BA, CII *et seq.*

¹ reading الرزىقات for الزىقات.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. B 2



MANUSCRIPT B₃

Introduction

THIS scanty extract was the prized possession of an old *feki* in Dár Hamar in Western Kordofán.

It bears a strong family likeness to B 1.

I El Imám el Sháfa'i says that the original stock of the Arabs was HÍMYAR and TAI and THA'ALEB and NIGM and GUDHÁM and HAMDÁN and MA'AREF and BÍŞAR and HUKNA and KELB EL AZD and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA,—all of these tracing their descent to one ancestor, viz. Ibn el Maḥays Kaḥṭān son of el Maḥays son of Ibráhīm; and God knows the truth of this.

II Now as for the tribes of GUHAYNA¹, taken separately: Guhayna¹ begot Dhubián, and Dhubián begot ten sons,—viz... (*as in tree*).

III Dabí'a begot the DABÍ'ÁT, and Daḡaym the DAḠÍMÍN, and Kírit the KIRÁT, and Ba'ashóm...

B₃ (NOTES)

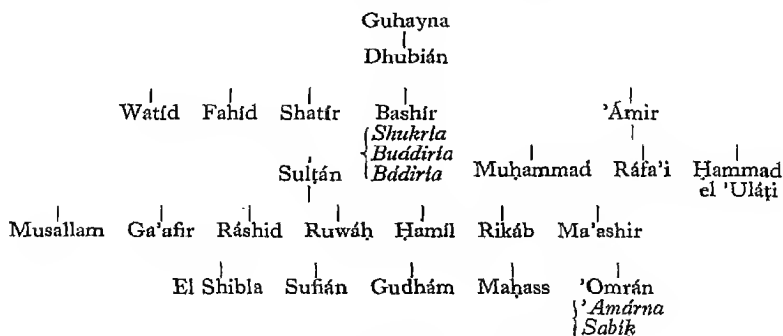
1 Cp. BA, L and B 1, I and II.

II Cp. BA, LIX and B I, VI.

iii These four men had not been mentioned before. The copyist has omitted the paragraphs preceding this mention of them. From BA, xcvi, we see that they were descendants of 'Omran son of Dhubián.

With "Ba'ashóm" the *nisba* abruptly ends.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. B₃



¹ reading جهرين for جهينة.

MANUSCRIPTS C I (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THESE two *nisbas* were both found among the effects of Sheikh 'Abdulla Gádulla Balilū, *nāẓir* of the KAWÁHLA in Kordofán, in 1909. Their origin is unknown but they were both clearly copies.

C I (a)

I This is the pedigree of the KAWÁHLA in short.

II Muḥammad Káhil son of 'Ámir son of 'Abdulla (according to Ibn Yaḥya) son of Zubayr son of el 'Awwám; and the mother of Zubayr was Šafía daughter of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib. The mother of Muḥammad Káhil was Sikína daughter of 'Ali the Imám son of Abu Ṭálib, whom God bless; and her mother was Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet.

III Muḥammad Káhil had thirteen sons: viz. Hammad, the eldest, the ancestor of the AḤÁMDA, by el Khadría¹; and Beraḵ and Aswad and Khalífa and Budrán (and also a daughter) by 'Izza the daughter of 'Affán son of 'Othmán, the Imám, whom God bless; and, by the concubine, Sa'id and Nifayd and Yezíd and Khalbūs and 'Abád; and, by el Fungáwía, Ritayma and 'Akír and Bishára.

IV Khalífa had three sons, el Aḥmar, Muḵwad, and Hilál. The descendants of Hilál are... (*illegible*).

V The descendants of el Aḥmar are the ḤAMAYDÁNÍA and the 'AMRÍA and the KERÁMÍA and the GEBÁLÍA and the LABÁBÍS... (*illegible*).

VI 'Akír begot... (*illegible*); and Šaláh begot the GHAZÁYA² and the... (*illegible*) and the FŪÁIDA and the SU'ŪDÍA and the KAWÁMLA.

VII Muḵwad begot the ḲURAYSHÁB and the SALÁṬNA and the MUḤAMMADÁB and the NŪRÁB and the RIMAYTÁB and the ḤASÁNÍA and the GIMAYLÍA and the DELAYḲÁB and the 'URWÁB and the SINAYṬÁB and the GHAZALÁB³.

VIII Ritayma begot the WÁÍLÍA and the GELÁLÍA and the BĀḲÍA and the MUṬÁRFA and the KHALAFÍA.

IX Aswad had two sons, Rashíd and Ḳeláb.

¹ reading الحصرية for الحضرية. ² reading الغزاية for القزاية.

³ reading الغزلاب for القزلاب.

X Rashid's descendants are the... (*illegible*) and the BEḲAYRÁB and the... (*illegible*).

XI Ḳeláb's descendants are the... (*illegible*) and the GELÁLÁB.

XII From Berak, the son of Muḥammad Káhil, are descended the KAMÁLÁB and the KAWÁMLA and the BERÁḲNA and the KIMAYLÁB and the MUDAKÍNÁB and the... (*illegible*) and the MUḤAMMADÍA.

XIII From Budrán the son of [Muḥammad] Káhil are descended the SHARÁ'ANA—all of them—and the BEDÁRIYYŪN, and, it is said, the MÁḌDÍA, and the... (*illegible*).

XIV Bishára was ancestor of the BISHÁRIYYŪN and... (*illegible*) and the BAHKAR and the BAHKARŪN and the MA'ÁLIA and the SUDÁNÍA (?) and the BERAKH (?).

XV 'Abád was ancestor of the 'ABÁBDA, all people of Upper Egypt [*el Rif*] and owners of the country.

XVI Nifayd was ancestor of the NIFAYDÍA.

XVII Sa'id his brother was ancestor of the BENI SA'ID in the southern mountains.

XVIII Yezid his brother was ancestor of the YEZIDÍA and the MA'ÁBDA.

XIX Khalbūs had no descendants.

XX Descendants of Ritayma are at Mekka and Medína... (*illegible*).

XXI Šafía the daughter of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib was the aunt of the Prophet.

XXII The [best] known sons of Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám were Bakhít and Muḥammad and 'Urwa and 'Obayḍ and 'Abdulla.

C 1 (a) (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, CXVIII.

II Cp. BA, CXXIV; A 2, XXIV.

No "Muḥammad Káhil" and no "Sikína" appear in Wüstenfeld (*q.v.* T and Y).

III The names of 'Affán and 'Othmán have been transposed. The Imám was 'Othmán ibn 'Affán. "'Izza" is not in Wüstenfeld (*q.v.* U).

The occurrence of "el Fungáwía" (*i.e.* "the Fung woman") suggests that Muḥammad Káhil himself resided in the Sudan.

V The Labábís appear among the subsections of KABÁBÍSH, *q.v.*

VI Cp. para. XII.

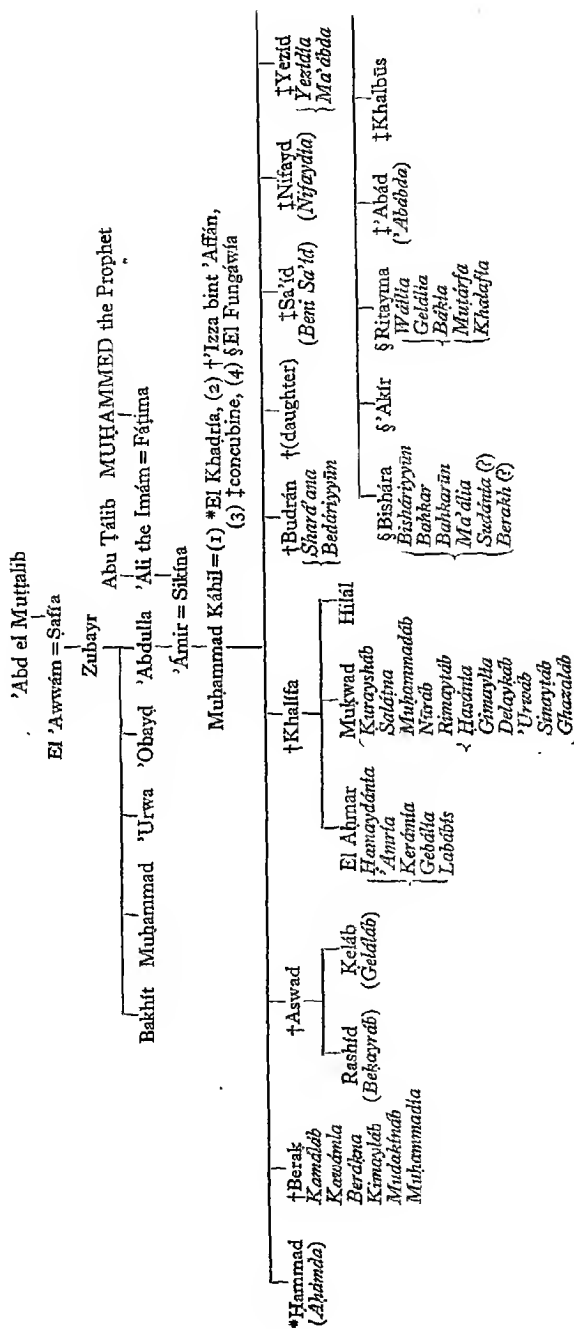
XIV "Sudanía" and "Berakh" are doubtful readings.

XVII The mountains of southern Kordofán are meant. Cp. MacMichael (*Tribes...*, p. 202) and Part III, Chap. 5 (a).

XIX Contrast C 1 (b), XVIII.

XXII Wüstenfeld (T) does not mention Bakhít or Muḥammad.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C1(a)



C 1 (b)

I Káhil was son of Mūsa (?) son of 'Abdulla son of Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám, whose mother was Šafía the daughter of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib. There is no nobler pedigree among the Arabs but [that of] the BENI HÁSHIM. . .

II Káhil the son of Mūsa (?) had thirteen sons, who are the ancestors of the KAWÁHLA. Four of them were the sons of the daughter of his aunt, viz. Khalífa and Beraḵ and Aswad and Budrán; and four were the sons of el Fungáwía, viz. Nifayd and Yezíd and Sa'íd and Bishára; and four were the sons of the concubine, viz. Bághī and Hadī [and] Mudakín (?) and Khalbūs; and one, viz. Ḥammad, was the son of el Khaḍríá. These thirteen¹ men are the ancestors of the KAWÁHLA.

III Khalífa had three sons, Muḥammad and Muḵwad and Muḥammad el Aḥmar.

IV Muḥammad was ancestor of the ḤASÁNÍA and the GIMAYLÍA² and the SINAYṬÁB and the DELAYḶÁB and the GHAZALÁB³.

V Muḥammad el Aḥmar was ancestor of the LABÁBÍS and the KERÁMÍA and the 'AMRÍA and the ḤAMAYDÁNÍA, and his sons were Hilál and Ḷedáḥ.

VI Hilál begot 'Abád, the ancestor of the 'ABÁBDA.

VII Ḷedáḥ begot three sons, Shambal and Šaláḥ and 'Akír.

VIII The descendants of Shambal are the SHENÁBLA and the ḶURAYSHÁB and the NŪRÁB and the RIMAYṬÁB and the SALÁṬNA.

IX The descendants of Šaláḥ are the GHAZÁYA⁴ and the SHADÁIDA and the SU'ŪDÍA.

X 'Akír was ancestor of the FŪÁIDA and the KAWÁMLA⁵.

XI 'Abád the second begot the 'ABÁBDA.

XII Beraḵ begot the BERÁḶNA, who [consist of] three sections, viz. the ḤASANÁT [descended from] Ḥasan, and the MUḤAMMADÍA [descended from] Muḥammad, and the BERÁḶNA [proper].

XIII Aswad begot the ASÁWIDA.

XIV Budrán begot the BUDRÁNÍA.

XV Sa'íd⁶ begot the KADHÁḶIL (?) NÁS 'ABD EL MUṬṬALIB. . .

XVI Bishára begot the BISHÁRIYYŪN.

XVII The sons of the concubine were jointly the ancestors of the BEGÁ.

¹ reading 13 for 3.

² reading جمليه for جميلة.

³ reading القزلاب for الغزلاب.

⁴ reading الغزاية for الغزاية.

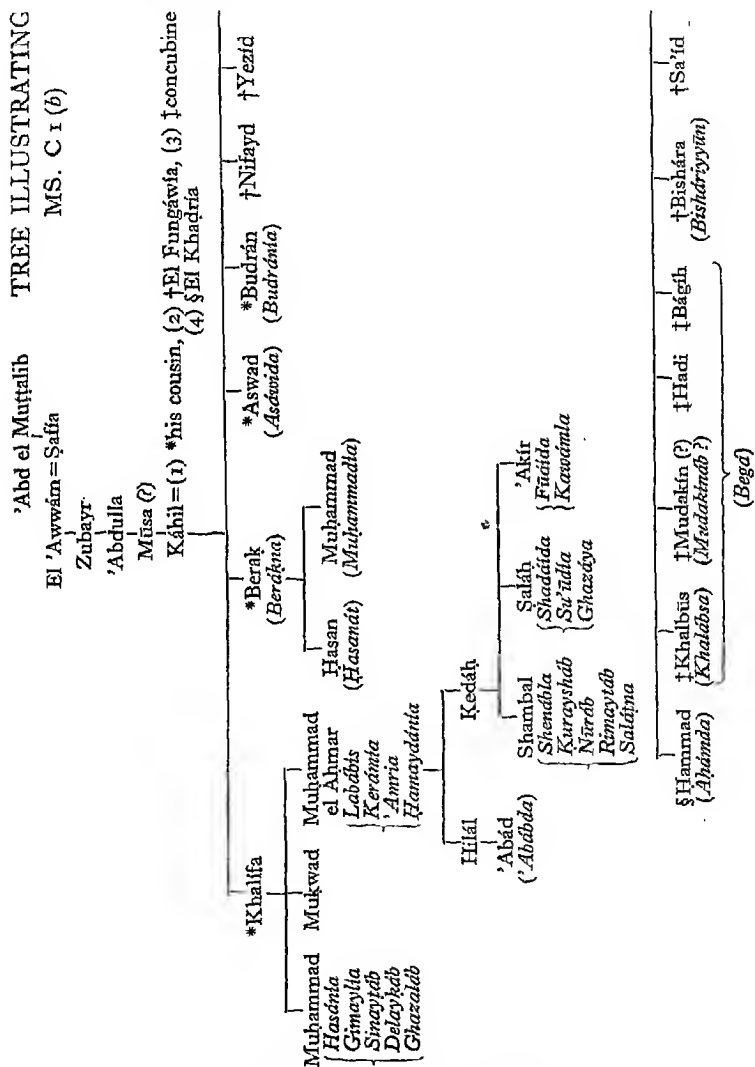
⁵ reading كواملة for كوامل.

⁶ reading سعيد for سعد.

XVIII Hadi begot the... (*illegible*); Khalbūs begot the KHALÁBSA; Mudakín begot the MUDAKÍNÁB; and Hamdán el Khaḍríá¹ begot the AḤÁMDA.

C I (b) (NOTE)

XI It is not clear what is meant by "the second" (الثاني).

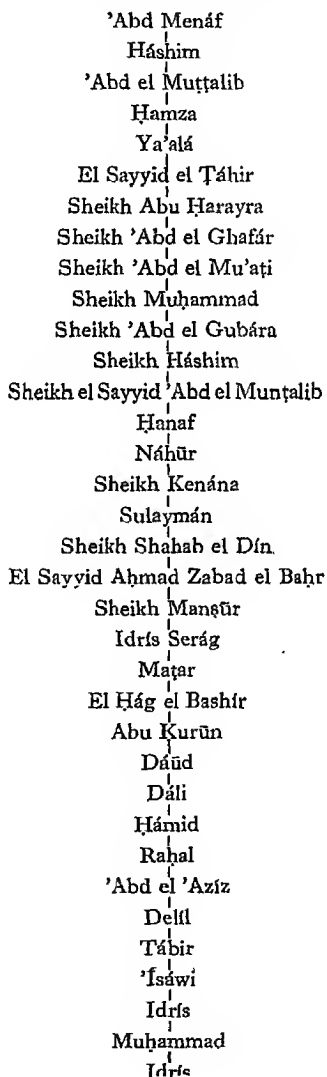


¹ reading الحضرية for الحضرية.

MANUSCRIPT C 2

THIS pedigree was found in the possession of *el feki* Idris Muḥammad, a Kenáni of el Silayk in Kordofán, in 1908. It consists of nothing more than the series of names shown in the tree. The first five generations are given in Wüstenfeld (Z).

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C 2



MANUSCRIPT C 3

Introduction

THIS pedigree was copied out for me from his own copy by Hámid Muḥammad Gabr el Dár, the hereditary chief of the MUSABA'ÁT of Dárfür, who lives near el Obeid in Kordofán. He is more negroid in appearance than Arab.

I In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful.

God Almighty said "Ye people, I have created you of male and female, and made you races and tribes, that ye may know that he is noblest in God's sight who is the most pious"; and God is the source of all learning and knowledge.

II He upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know your pedigrees, how ye are descended," and he who knows not his pedigree is a Hamagi.

III The following is the pedigree of the stock of the Sultan Háshim the Musaba'áwi, and it contains the complete pedigree of the tribe of the MUSABA'ÁT.

IV I am el Sultán Hámid son of el Sultán Muḥammad Gabr el Dár son of el Sultán Aḥmad el Ga'ali son of el Sultán Háshim son of el Sultán 'Ísáwi son of el Sultán Muḥammad Gunḡul son of el Sultán Baḥr son of el Sultán Idrís Gerwábukht son of el Sultán Muḥammad Tumsáḥ, ancestor of the MUSABA'ÁT and brother of Aḥmad Kūr, ancestor of KUNGÁRA, the two of whom were sons of el Sultán Muḥammad Šábūn Ga'al son of el Sultán Ḥabíb (?) son of el Sultán Muḥammad Dáli son of Aḥmad el Ma'aḡūr son of Rizik son of Šufiál son of el Sultán Ga'afir Gurmūn son of Kás son of Rufá'a son of Baṭnán son of 'Agīb son of Nagíl son of 'Ísa son of Mámūn son of Idrís son of Hilál son of 'Abd el Salám el Asmar, *Imám* of the people of Baṣra, son of el Nuḡr son of Kenán son of Khuzaym son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḡr son of Nizár son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán. Ends.

C 3 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, xxii-xxxiii.

II Cp. BA, iii. "Hamagi" is used as a term of opprobrium;—an Arab usage common in the Western Sudan (see Vol. I, p. 275).

III For Hášim's history see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, pp. 12-75).

IV Cp. pedigree xii on p. 585 of *The World's History*, vol. III (ed. Helmolt). Gunkul (*q.v.* in D 3, 207) is mentioned on p. 545 of the same work and called "Djongol."

The generations from el Nuḍr to 'Adnán are correct, but Wüstenfeld (N) mentions no 'Abd el Salám el Asmar.

References to Muḥammad Dáli, Muḥammad Tumsáh, and Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr will be found in MacMichael (*Tribes...*).

MANUSCRIPT C 4

Introduction

THIS pedigree was translated from a dingy document held by the local *feki* at the MAḤASS village of Kutráng on the Blue Nile.

As an accurate record it is worthless.

I This is the pedigree of the MAḤASS, the five sons of Felláh, viz. [*lit.* "of them are..."] Marzūk and Šubuh and Qurduḵ and Mūsa and Qundur.

II Marzūk [*i.e.* his descendants] are settled in Kordofán, Šubuh among the DUBÁINA, Qundur at 'Aylafūn, Qurduḵ at Tūti and el Khartoum, and Mūsa at Kutráng¹.

III The father of Felláh was named Sharaf son of Mushayrif² son of Záid son of Mazád son of Dablak son of Ḥamaydi son of Gáma'i son of Sukr son of Kuban son of 'Abūd son of Muḥammad el Máḥass son of 'Abdulla son of Ma'áz son of Gebel son of 'Abdulla son of Ka'ab son of Fihir son of Lūai son of Ghálib son of Kenána.

IV Here ends the pedigree of the MAḤASS descended from Felláh.

C 4 (NOTES)

I I have not seen "Felláh" mentioned in any *nisba* but this.

II The normal plural to denote "descendants of Marzūk" would be "MERÁZÍḲ," and this name does occur as that of a subsection of the GHISHIMÁT section of the ḤAMAR 'ASÁKIRA and also among the GAWÁMA'A in Kordofán (see Part III, Chaps. 1 and 4).

'Aylafūn is on the Blue Nile near Khartoum.

Tūti Island lies opposite Khartoum.

Kutráng is on the Blue Nile, south-east of 'Aylafūn.

III The last part of the pedigree is confused and inaccurate. Ka'ab (*q.v.* Wüstenfeld, P) had no son 'Abdulla.

¹ reading كتراج for كتراج.

² reading مشريف for مشريف.

MANUSCRIPTS C 5 (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THESE two *nisbas* do not coincide with the pedigrees of the A group until Abu Ṭálib. The one coincides with the other at Sa'ūd ibn Waḥsh, but even so they vary in the preceding generations. The first was translated from a copy taken in 1912 by 'Ali walad Ṭai, 'omda of the NŪRĀB section of SHUKRĪĀ east of the Blue Nile, from the copy alleged to be in the possession of 'Abdulla Abu Sin the hereditary chief of the SHUKRĪĀ in Rufá'a district.

The second was taken down for me from the dictation of an old man in Rufá'a district, named Ḥammad el Kaḡam.

Both are clearly inaccurate and rest upon oral tradition rather than documentary evidence. Other forms of the pedigree will be found in the account of the SHUKRĪĀ.

C 5 (a)

These are splendid pedigrees reaching back to Hāshim.

I In the name of God. . .

II Praise be to God who created the human race from water and made it male and female.

III God Almighty said "O people, I have created you of male and female and made you races and tribes that ye may know one another."

IV Again He said. . . (*text corrupt*).

v And the Prophet. . . said "He that cuts the connections of blood [*lit.* 'cuts the womb'], God will cut off his hope of salvation."

VI Again the Prophet. . . said "Ye know your pedigrees, how ye are connected."

VII So this is [written] in obedience to the order of God and His Prophet, and for the preservation of blood-relationships.

VIII I am Sheikh 'Ali son of. . . (*as in tree, up to Hāshim*).

IX This was transcribed from el Samarkāndi¹; and God best knows the truth.

¹ reading السمرقندی for السمرقند.

C 5 (a) (NOTES)

III Cp. BA, xxii, etc.

VI Cp. BA, III.

V Cp. BA, XIII.

VII Cp. BA, II and IX.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C 5 (a)

Háshim
 'Abd el Munṭalib
 Abu Tálīb
 Ga'afir*
 'Abdulla el Gawád†
 'Ōn
 Ḥasan
 'Abd Menáf
 Bedr
 'Abdulla
 Ḥammad
 'Alī
 Muḥammad
 Idrīs
 Shakīr
 Zaydān
 Wahsh
 Sa'ūd
 'Agabī
 Tāgīr
 Ḥammad Shóm
 Ba'ashóm
 'Alī
 Bedū
 Ḥammad
 Ḥāmid
 Idrīs
 Tāi
 Muḥammad
 El Sheikh 'Alī

* reading جعفر for جعفر.

† reading جواد for جواد.

C 5 (b)

I In the name of God...

II And now I will give the pedigree of the SHUKRÍA. They are among the most exalted of the Arabs by race, for the Prophet... said "God chose KENÁNA from among the Arabs... etc. to the end." Therefore KURAYSH were among the noblest of the Arabs; and the SHUKRÍA are descended from 'Abd el Muṭṭalib.

III This then is the pedigree of el Sheikh Ḥammad ibn Muḥammad, known as "el Kaḡam,"—son of Ḥammad, son of... (*as in tree, up to 'Abd el Muṭṭalib*).

IV Now the mother of 'Ōn ibn 'Abdulla el Gawád was el Sayyida Zaynab (the daughter of el Imám 'Ali...) whose mother was Fáṭīma the Glorious, the daughter of the Prophet...

V The above pedigree from the mouth of one of the SHUKRÍA Arabs who knows his pedigree is in accordance with what is in the book of el Samarḡandi the Great, and in that book [the author in speaking of the generations] from Shakír to 'Abd el Muṭṭalib mentions their nobility of character and bravery; and such they have ever maintained, for one of them can meet a thousand foes in war and cope with them without any assistance until they flee in disorder before him.

VI Their characters are pleasant and their conduct good both individually and in their mutual relationships; and were it not that it would take too long I would mention them and their deeds man by man and event after event. Their influence with the rulers of the country has been great because of their skill in affairs of state, and, to sum up, their virtues are many.

VII In addition they are of the family of the Prophet... and that is to be found in the book *Nūr el Abṣār* about the virtues of their ancestress el Sayyida Zaynab, the daughter of the Imám 'Ali..., and the men of learning speak of them from ten different points of view. God best knows the truth.

C 5 (b) (NOTES)

III. BA, XLIX.

IV This is incorrect: see Wüstenfeld, Y.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C 5 (b)

'Abd el Munṭalib
 |
 Abu Ṭālib
 |
 Ga'aṣir el Ṭiār El Imām 'Alī
 |
 'Abdulla el Gawād = Zaynab
 |
 'Ōn
 |
 Ḥasan
 |
 Bedr
 |
 'Abd Menáf
 |
 Muḥammad
 |
 'Alī
 |
 Idrīs
 |
 Shakkīr
 |
 Zaydān
 |
 Waḥsh
 |
 Sa'ūd
 |
 Abu el 'Alá
 |
 Raṇūb
 |
 Laytāt
 |
 Muḥammad
 |
 El Ḥāg Ṭā'ā
 |
 Mekki
 |
 Ḥāmid
 |
 'Abūda
 |
 Ḥasan
 |
 'Abd el Gelīl
 |
 'Abd el Gubār
 |
 Ḥammad
 |
 Muḥammad "el Kaḡam"
 |
 Ḥammad

MANUSCRIPTS C 6 (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THE former of these two *Sherifi* pedigrees comes from Wad Ḥasūna, between Khartoum and Abu Delayk. It is alleged that the original was brought from Mekka by a certain el Ḥāg el Sheikh about fifty years ago. This original is in a crabbed but clear hand, written on four small pages. One or two other pages were lost in the Dervish times, but a copy of the whole had previously been taken by Ibrāhīm el Imām of Wad Ḥasūna. The copy lent to me for translation was made five years ago from Ibrāhīm el Imām's copy. The grammar and the writing are both bad.

The second version of the pedigree appears to be for the most part a mere variant of the first version, attached to the pedigree of a quite different man. It had evidently been written out within recent years by a copyist. It was given to me by an Inspector but he had forgotten from where he had obtained it. Both the *nisbas* seem quite independent of the A and B groups wherein the authorship is generally ascribed to "el Samarḳandi." They were probably procured by pilgrims from some *soi-disant Sherif* at Mekka.

It is noteworthy that whereas the former of the two pedigrees makes the Ḥasūna family descendants of el Ḥusayn, *i.e.* ASHRĀF, and though they are commonly regarded as such by many at present, the author of D 3, writing in the latter half of the eighteenth century, had obviously no suspicion that they were ASHRĀF at all.

C 6 (a)

I In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful. Praise be to God, and blessings and salutation upon the apostle of God, who revealed that which was in darkness, the Prophet, son of 'Abdulla, the last and greatest of the prophets, the mediator for sinners, the disperser of clouds [of doubt], he that made the darkness light: upon him be the blessings of God in every place. Blessings and salutation upon him who revealed that which was in darkness, and all thanks. . .

II This is the pedigree of the children of el Ḥasan and el Ḥusayn, the sons of Fāṭima the Glorious, God bless her.

III I will commence with the children of el Ḥusayn.

Among them is el Sayyid Ḥasan son of el Sayyid Mekki son of el Sayyid Ḥasan son of el Sayyid Mekki son of el Sayyid Sowār son

of el Khalífa Belal el Shayb son of el Sayyid 'Abd el Fattáh son of el Sayyid Ḥasūna son of el Sayyid Mūsa el Hárím son of el Sayyid el Ḥág Raḥma son of el Sayyid el Ḥág 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Maḥmūd son of el Sayyid el Ḥág Ibráhím son of el Sayyid Hášhim son of el Sayyid Muḥammad son of el Sayyid Gemál el Dín son of el Sayyid Muḥammad son of el Sayyid Ḥasan son of el Sayyid 'Ali son of el Sayyid Ibráhím son of el Sayyid Idrís son of el Sayyid Šáliḥ son of el Sayyid Ḥasan son of el Sayyid Mūsa son of el Sayyid Ibráhím son of el Sayyid Mūsa son of el Sayyid Sháni son of el Sayyid Mūsa el Kázim son of el Sayyid Ga'afir son of el Sayyid Muḥammad son of el Sayyid Zayn el 'Ábdín son of el Sayyid el Ḥusayn son of el Sayyid 'Ali son of Abu Ṭálib, God bless and honour him.

IV And [God bless] the children of Fátima the Glorious, upon whom be the blessings of God, the daughter of the Prophet. In her person are united all the pedigrees of the Sayyids, who are purified of all that is evil,—the abominators¹ of all that are in error or unbelief, the smiters with smiting swords, the pursuers of the right way, the virtuous livers, the forbidders of evil, the arbitrators of mankind.

V In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful, in whom we put our trust at every time. So long as nights² [and days] endure and year succeeds to year praise be to God who chose Muḥammad to be [our] mediator.

VI [Muḥammad] is the one object of love, the eye of [God's] providence, the treasure of gifts, the glory of the resurrection, the bridegroom of the kingdom of God, the tongue of proof, the mediator of all men, the... (*illegible*) of [God's] mercy.

VII God increase the honour of his seed and men's knowledge of them, for they are the noblest and the purest of mankind, the most perfect in goodness, the noblest in rank, the most splendid in power, the greatest in might, the most approved by proofs, the most weighty in the scale, the strongest in faith, the last [*i.e.* greatest] in their coming, the noblest and purest of tribes, the stock of the sons of 'Ali, el Ḥasan and el Ḥusayn, who are the two Sayyids, the fair, the honoured, the brilliant, the noble, the sons of Fátima the glorious, the splendid, the magnificent, the Arab, chief of all the faithful women, the daughter of the Lord of the Apostles, even Fátima, God bless her. Hear the cry from before God Almighty "O all ye folk³, veil your eyes until the marriage of Fátima is consummated, God bless her, the daughter

¹ reading المبعضين for المبقضين. ² reading الليالي for الليالي.

³ reading يا اهل, for يا اهل.

of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God, the chief of all women who are true believers."

VIII It is not permitted to him that trusts in God and the last day to harm a *Sheriff*, and if he do so he is a rebel, nor to wrong him, nor to seize him, nor to repulse him, nor to strike him, [and this is] in honour of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God, who said "Harm me not in [harming] my family." And they are the flower of mankind, the Sayyids, the sons of Sayyids, and if one of them be ignorant or immoral he is [yet] better than any other ignorant man, and if one of them be learned he is better than any other learned man.

IX If anyone make light of or destroy their honour, or render them odious, or speak them [evil], God will destroy that man's honour on the day of the resurrection, and destroy his kingdom if he be a king, and subvert his empire if he have an empire, and change his wealth to poverty if he have riches, and scatter whatsoever he may have collected together.

X God Almighty said "Say, I ask not of you, for this [my preaching], any reward, except the love of [my] relations," meaning those who are related to the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God. Thus he that loves them not is disobedient to Almighty God, and he that injures them and advantages himself shall be punished; and whatever they say must be believed, by virtue of their noble descent, without enquiries as to whether they are liars. And every judge and every chief and every ruler is bound to honour them, and he that would do them evil is [hereby] warned, and every judge and chief and ruler must honour them and ennoble them, for they are Sayyids and sons of Sayyids, the best of men and sons of the best of men.

XI The Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, said "Woe, and again I say woe to any that oppose them: their reward shall be [at] the day of the resurrection¹. He that strikes them with his hand or injures them, I shall oppose him on the day of the resurrection¹, and he is accursed." And he that curses them², the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, has ordained that he be slain for having cursed his offspring; his punishment shall be to ride upon an ass, with his face to its tail, and thereon to pass before the gate of the Sultan and the chiefs and the judges and all the people.

XII He that makes light of this pedigree, if he be a king, God will take from him his kingdom, and if he be a chief, God will take from him his chieftainship, and if he be a judge, God will cause him to leave the world without salvation.

¹ reading قِيَامَةً for قِيَامَةٍ.

² reading لعنهم for لعنه.

XIII He that wrongs the descendants of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, must receive eighty-seven lashes of the whip; and grief shall fall upon him, and he shall be expelled from the religion of Islám.

XIV But he that honours and respects them and satisfies their needs, shall be honoured by God in this world and the world to come, and his needs shall be satisfied in this world and in the world to come.

XV This is the pedigree of the sons of el Ḥasan and el Ḥusayn, the sons of 'Alī el Kerrār and of Fāṭima the Glorious, the daughter of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God. Praise be to God for the beginning and the end.

24th of *Gemád Thāni* 1327.

C 6 (a) (NOTES)

III From Mūsa el Kāẓim upwards is correct (see Wüstenfeld, Y), but nothing of the remainder occurs in Wüstenfeld.

Ḥasūna is the father of Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna, for whom see D 3, 132.

x The quotation is from the 42nd chapter of the *Qurán* (see Sale, p. 360).

The word translated "chief" here and later is *muḥaddam*. Its technical meaning is the head or abbot of a *ḥawla*.

XIII C 6 (b) prescribes only 39 in place of 87 lashes. The latter may be merely a misprint: "39" is no doubt correct as "The greatest number of stripes in chastisement is thirty-nine; and the smallest number is three. This is according to Haneefa and Mohammed." (Hamilton's *Hedaya*, p. 204.)

C 6 (b)

I (*The first few paragraphs fairly closely resemble paras. IV-XIV of C 6 (a): they are not worth translating.*)

II This *nisba* was written in the month of Dhu el Ḥigga in the year 485 and its accuracy is testified to by el Sayyid el Sheríf Gemál el Dín [who was ?] also the *muedhdhin* at the mosque of the Moghrabín¹ [Moors] at the city of Fás [Fez]; and verily it is the tree of Idris ibn Idris the elder, and the witness thereto is el Sayyid el Sheríf el Ṭaib el Ḥusayn el Sháfa'i, God bless him, as is testified by 'Abdulla Aḥmad, for it was written by the hand of Gemál el Dín.

III Now the blessings of God be on our lord Muḥammad... (*invocations, etc., follow*).

¹ reading مغربين for مغربيين.

IV This is the pedigree of el Sayyid el Sherif Muḥammad 'Abd el Wahháb son of Muḥammad son of el Ẓow son of el Nūr son of el Ḥasan son of Sálím son of 'Abdulla son of 'Alí el Ṭaib son of Muḥammad son of el Sháfa'i. . . , and el Sayyid el Sherif Muḥammad el Háríb fled [*harab*] from Mekka to the city of Fás and became a devotee [*magdhúb*], . . . son of Aḥmad son of Gemál el Dín son of Ḥasan. . . son of Hášhim son of Quraysh son of Muḥammad. . . son of Idrís. . . son of Khalíl son of Bábikr. . . son of Muḥammad son of el Zayn el 'Ábdín. . . son of Khálid. . . son of Naṣr el Dín. . . son of Muḥammad. . . son of el Manṣūr son of Ismá'il son of Ga'afir son of el Ḥasan son of Fátima the Glorious, daughter of the Chosen One. . . (*there follow praises of Fátima, and the pedigree of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib, correctly given, but for two mis-spellings, to 'Adnán*).

v This glorious pedigree, that of el Sherif Muḥammad 'Abd el Wahháb has now by the help of God been completed by the hand of me its writer Ádam ibn el Sherif el Zamzami. . . (*pious remarks follow*).

C 6 (b) (NOTES)

ii The Arabic is as follows:

وهذه النسبة كُتِبَتْ في شهر الله ذو الحجة سنة خمسة وثمانون وأربعماية
وشهده بصحتها السيد الشويف جمال الدين والمؤذن بجامع المقربين
بمديننت (sic) فاس وانها شجرت (sic) ادريس ابن ادريس الاكبر وشهد بذلك
السيد الشريف الطيب الحسين الشافع رضى الله عنه وحضر على ذلك
عبد الله احمد لانها كتبت بخط جمال الدين

iv The latter part of the pedigree at least is spurious. Wüstenfeld (Z) mentions no Ga'afir son of el Ḥasan. Each name is preceded in the text by "el Sayyid el Sherif," and after most of the names follow a few words of praise, such as "protector of the poor," "an observer of the book of God," "God bless him," etc.

MANUSCRIPT C 7

Introduction

THIS document was borrowed from Aḥmad Musá'ad, brother of the 'omda of the ḤALÁWIYYŪN, who are a section of RUFÁ'A. It was a transcription, and the original had perished.

It is obviously an inferior version of the earlier paragraphs of C 9 (*q.v.*), and is indeed alleged to have been brought from Mekka by "'Abdulla el 'Araki," whose pedigree C 9 represents.

I In the name of God. . . (*some five lines of laudation follow*).

II When I saw that the records of lineage were being lost in [various] countries and most men's pedigrees in [different] lands, I feared lest my noble pedigree, which connects me with the lord of the apostles, should be lost; for it is not right for one to hide it nor to depart from it without reason; so I wished to record my pedigree, so that all my posterity after me might know it and be quite certain of their own pedigree.

III I am Aḥmad son of el feki Musá'ad son of el Sheikh Aḥmad son of Idrís son of 'Abd el Qádir son of Muḥammad son of el feki Shinayna son of the perfect saint el feki Raḥma son of Guma'a son of 'Afíf son of Ibráhím Shakh son of Muḥammad Zaghyū son of Náíl son of Ḥalū son of Ḥammad son of el Sayyid Ráfa'i son of el Sayyid 'Ámir son of el Sayyid Ḥusayn son of el Sayyid Ismá'íl son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Ibráhím son of el Sayyid Mūsa el Kázim son of el Sayyid el Imám Ga'afir el Šádiḳ son of el Sayyid el Imám Muḥammad el Bákir son of el Sayyid 'Ali Zayn el 'Ábdín son of him that was known as "Lord of the Imáms, . . . and Commander of the Faithful" el Sayyid 'Abdulla el Ḥusayn, the martyr of Kerbela¹ (which is the name of the place where he was killed), el Ḥusayn the son of Fáṭima the Glorious. . . (*four lines of laudation of Fáṭima and 'Ali, and the pedigree of the latter up to 'Adnán, correctly given, follow here*).

IV This is transcribed from *El Anwár el Nebawía fi Abái Khayr el Baría* and occurs in the fifth chapter of the *Anwár el Nebawía*: Ibn el Šaláh mentions it in the commentary on el Bokhári.

V God knows best, and may he bless our lord Muḥammad and his family.

¹ reading كربلاء for كربه.

C 7 (NOTES)

II See C 9, iv, which is identical but for the addition of the last eight words in C 7.

III El feki Raḥma may possibly be the "Raḥma el Ḥalawi" of D 3, 221.

"Zaghyt" (زغيتو) probably corresponds to the "'Azū Rigāl" (عزو رجال) of C 9, xv.

The second half of the paragraph, from Rāfa'i onwards, is practically the same as the second half of C 9, v, but there are some variations in the spelling and in the laudations of 'Ali and Fāṭima. Also "el Sayyid 'Abdulla el Ḥusayn" is wrongly given in C 7 for "The father of 'Abdulla, our lord el Ḥusayn" (C 9); and C 7 contains an obvious gloss on "Kerbela."

IV Cp. C 9, xxv. The Arabic in C 7 is as follows:

هذه منقولة من الانوار النبوية في آباء خير البرية ومحلها في الفصل
الخامس من كتاب الانوار النبوية ذكره ابن الصلاح في شرح البخاري

MANUSCRIPT C 8

Introduction

A COPY was made for me of a MS. in the possession of the late Sheikh el 'Abbás Muḥammad Bedr of Um Dubbán, a Mesallami of the Bádráb section, ex-Kāḍi of the Khalífa, and later 'omda of the first *khuṭ* of el Kámlín district.

This copy (called "No. 1" in the notes) was found to be unintelligible in places and I returned it to Sheikh el 'Abbás for verification.

He then produced "No. 2," explaining that the original had been so damaged in the course of years that the copyist—himself not well versed in the subject—had occasionally got into difficulties; but that he had himself revised the whole and made a fresh copy.

The work seems to have been well and carefully done: Nos. 1 and 2 are in close agreement, though the former contains a certain amount omitted in the latter and the order of the paragraphs has been changed in places for the sake of clearness.

Sheikh el 'Abbás thought that the original was written about the time of Idrís Arbáb. The latter (*q.v.* D 3, 141) died about 1650 A.D.

I In the name of God . . .

II When I, the *fakír* Mekki Muḥammad, saw how rife were suspicion and incertitude regarding things of importance . . .

And how ignorant men were concerning the matter of ancestors and pedigrees, I offered my prayers to God and set about clearing the pedigree of Musallam ibn 'Āṭif of doubt and incertitude.

III I took this copy from the *feki* el Amín ibn Delísa, he having taken it from the great book of pedigrees; and it is as follows.

IV Musallam ibn 'Āṭif begot Ibráhím, who begot Muḥammad, who begot Dáūd the elder, who begot Mas'ūd, who begot Dáūd el Hášhi. The last named was called "el Hášhi" because he used to round up [*yahūsh*] the animals on the days when camp was moved.

V Dáūd el Hášhi had seven sons, Muḥammad Ḳaṭárish¹, 'Abd el Khálík, 'Arabi, Faza'a, Faragág, Yásir and Sulaymán.

VI Muḥammad Ḳaṭárish begot 'Abd el Khálík, Ḥamṭūr, Haḍlūl, Šálíh, Razūk and 'Awad el Kerím.

¹ reading غطارش قطارش.

VII His brother 'Abd el Khálik begot Dáūd el Gemal, who begot Nebát, who begot Sháwar and Šálih.

VIII Sháwar was ancestor of the SHÁWARÁB, and Šálih of the ŠAWÁLĦA and the NEBÁTÍA.

IX 'Arabi begot the ḤADARÁB.

X The descendants of Faza'a are at Tókar near the Red Sea, and some of them are in the neighbourhood of Gebel Um Meraḥi.

XI Faragág died childless.

XII Yásir begot the DÁŪDÍA NÁS KABANBŪRA, as distinct from the DÁŪDÍA AWLÁD ḤÁSHI, the descendants of Ḥammad el Ḥayhari.

XIII Sulaymán had six sons, Muḥammad el Munshelakh, Ḥammad el Ḥayhari, Nebát, Ḥasan and Abu Shelūkh, all by the same mother, and Ibráhīm their stepbrother. None of these had any children excepting Ibráhīm and Ḥammad el Ḥayhari.

XIV The above are the seven sons of Dáūd el Ḥáshi and their children. I will now recount the further ramifications of his family in detail.

XV 'Abd el Khálik son of Muḥammad Kaṭárish begot 'Abd el Šádiḳ, Nigm, Ḥammadulla, Kubgán, 'Anfal, Baḳoi, Abu Sabayka [and Ga'afir].

XVI Ḥamṭūr, his brother, begot the GHUSAYNÁB¹, the MISMÁRÁB, the DELÍLÁB, the KINAYNÁB and the RIḤAYMÁB.

XVII Haḍlūl begot the HAGAḲÁB, the NA'AMÁNÁB², the 'AGÍBÁB, the HILÁLTÍT, the ḤASÓBÁB, the BALŪLÁB, the KHALAFULLÁB³, the ZŪAYNÁB, the KHARŪFÁB, the ḤAMMADULLÁB, the 'ÁHIDÁB and the BÁSHḲÁB.

XVIII Razūk begot the RIZḲÁB.

XIX 'Awaḍ el Kerím begot the ṬÁLBÁB.

XX El Hág Šálih died childless.

XXI 'Abd el Šádiḳ son of 'Abd el Khálik son of Muḥammad Kaṭárish begot the ŠÁBRÁB.

XXII Nigm, his brother, begot the NIGMÁB, the ḤUSAYNÁB, the MANÍNÁB and the DŪÁLIYYŪN⁴.

XXIII Ḥammadulla, his brother, begot the GÁBIRÁB and the ḤAMMADULLÁB.

XXIV Ga'afir, his brother, begot the GA'ÁFIRA and the 'AKFÁB.

XXV Kubgán⁵, his brother, begot the KABÁGNA and the BAṬṬÁB AWLÁD BAṬṬA.

XXVI 'Anfal begot the 'ANÁFLA.

¹ reading غسيناب for قسيناب.

² reading نعماناب for نعماب.

³ reading خلفلاب for خلفاب.

⁴ reading الدواليين for الدواليين.

⁵ reading كبجان for لبجان.

XXVII Baḳoi begot the ḤĀSHIĀB, who live at Kōz Ragab and the Kāsh, and who trace their lineage to the ASHRĀF on their mother's side.

XXVIII Abu Sabayka begot the SABAYKĀB.

XXIX Ibrāhīm the son of Sulaymān son of Dāūd el Ḥāshi begot 'Omar, Ak-ḥal, Faḳad and Baḳoi.

XXX Ak-ḥal and Faḳad died childless.

XXXI 'Omar begot the 'OMARĀB, the BAḲĀĪṢA, the SHÓKĀB, the MITKENĀB and the 'AGAMĀB.

XXXII Baḳoi begot the DELÍSĀB; and among the DELÍSĀB are the ṬERĀRĪF, the people of Idrīs Ṭeráf, the father of el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman walad Ṭeráf; and the SIRAYRĀB; and the KORŪMĀB, the people of Maḥmūd walad Záid.

XXXIII Among the descendants of Ibrāhīm the elder are the HAGĀNĀB¹, and the BĀDRĀB, the people of el Sheikh el 'Ebayd Muḥammad Bedr.

XXXIV The SHÓKĀB and the 'ASHWĀB and the RIḤAYMĀB are descended from Ibrāhīm the younger, son of 'Abdulla son of 'Omar son of Ibrāhīm the elder.

XXXV From Ḥammad el Ḥayḥari son of Sulaymān are descended the QUSAYṢĀB, the TUAYRĀB, and the WANAYSĀB, the stock of el Sheikh Muḥammad walad Abu Wanaysa, and the DŪĀLIYYŪN, the people of Um Rāwía, and the SHAWĀBNA in the Shaybūn country, and the GABĀGIRA, and the NAḲĀḲÍZ and the FADLIYYŪN.

XXXVI From him too are descended the MAHĀWASHA, the SHELU-KHATĀB², the BARṢAḲĀB³, the 'AWAYDĀB and the ḤAṬĀṬĪB.

XXXVII All of these are branches of the stock of Ḥammad el Ḥayḥari. And here ends the pedigree of the descendants of Musallam ibn 'Āṭif ibn Ḥegáz, who was an Ommawi on the side of his mother Rabí'a el Ommawía; but his father was 'Abd el Ḥamíd son of... (*etc., as in tree, q.v.*). This is the accepted pedigree of the MESALLAMÍA: there is no other reliable one. God best knows the truth, and to Him all men return.

C 8 (NOTES)

II This Musallam is the eponymous ancestor of the Mesallamía.

III El Amín ibn Delísa is said to have been a Mesallami living on the Atbara and a contemporary of Ḥasan waḍ Ḥasūna (died 1664 A.D.; see D 3, 132). Cp. para. xxxii.

"He having taken it..." is كما اخذه من النسب الكبير, but it is not

¹ reading هجانات for هجانب. ² reading شختاب for شختاب.

³ reading برصقاب for برصقاب.

clear what book is meant: the words are no doubt a gloss as they do not occur in MS. No. 1.

IV "On the days..." is *يوم الظعينة*—literally "the day of the howdah," i.e. on the day when the women ride in state in their howdahs on the camels from the old encampment to the new. The usual nomad custom is so.

VI No. 1 adds that Ḥamṭūr and Ḥaḍlūl were twins, and calls Ṣāliḥ "el Ḥāg Ṣāliḥ."

VII-VIII No. 1 says here "'Abd el Khāliḳ son of Dāūd el Ḥāshi begot the SHĀWARĀB NĀS AWLĀD MAHR as distinct from the SHĀWARĀB" (i.e. the rest of the SHĀWARĀB?) "and begot" [i.e. was ancestor of (ولد)] "Nebāt ibn Dāūd el Gemal"; and later "Nebāt ibn Dāūd el Gemal begot Shāwar, ancestor of the SHĀWARĀB, and Ṣāliḥ, ancestor of the ṢAWĀLḤA and the NEBĀTĪA."

In No. 1 there follows this paragraph: "Concerning the BŪĀLDA, the descendants of Būlād Gerri, there is a difference of opinion. Some say they are descended from Būlād son of Musallam, and others that they are GA'AL. God knows the truth about them."

X Um Meraḥi is in Gayli district, north of Khartoum.

XI Not in No. 1.

XII No. 1 adds "And the seed of the sons of Yāsir are the BAMBŪNĀB and the WASHKĀB, and the mother of these was one of the NŪBA of el Ḥarāza Um Ked, who are descendants of 'Abd el Hādi walad Muḥammad walad Dōlīb, who was descended from el Sheikh Rikāb, who was of the stock of el Imām el Zīlā'i."

El Ḥarāza is in Northern Kordofān, and 'Abd el Hādi was the father of Nabray (No. 211 in D 3) and probably (see D 3) died about 1750-1800. See MacMichael (*Tribes of N. and C. Kordofan*, Chap. VI). Rikāb is No. 222 in D 3. Cp. note xxxiv and see Chap. 7 in Part III for the RIKĀBĪA.

XIII No. 1 specifies that the five full-brothers were sons of one Merowīa el Hurra, and Ibrāhīm of a concubine named Zaynab.

XV No. 1 says 'Abd el Šādiḳ and Nigm were twins and inserts Ga'afir (omitted by a slip here in No. 2).

XVI No. 1 adds "the KURASHĀB," and gives "KENĀNĀB" for "KINAYNĀB," and says the RIḤAYMĀB were the children of Riḥayma, son of el 'Awayd son of Ḥamṭūr. The descendants of Ḥamṭūr are always spoken of as "ḤAMṬIRĪA" to-day.

In a later paragraph No. 1 says "The eldest sons of Ḥamṭūr were Barḳash and Kārshan and Thammār and 'Awaḍ el Kerīm." These are not mentioned by No. 2; but cp. note XIX.

XVII No. 1 says "The descendants of Ḥaḍlūl, according to what we have copied from the writings of el feki Sherifi ibn el feki Mekki, and according to what has been copied from el feki 'Abdulla ibn el feki el Amīn with absolute exactitude, are the SHĪŪMĀB, the KHALAFULLĀB, the ḤASANĀB and the MEKKIĀB... The sons of Ḥaḍlūl were Muḥammad and Ḥasan and 'Alī and Khālafullā."

Muḥammad begot 'Agīb, who begot Hālitf and Khayr el Sīd and Ḥasóba and el Zayn Balūla and Abu Bukr.

Hasan begot the HAGAḲÁB and the NA'AMÁNÁB (*sic*) and the KÍÁB.

Razūk begot the *feki* Mekki.

Khalafulla begot the HATŪḲÁB (?) and the 'ATWADÁB and the IGÍRBÁB.

'Ali begot Kharūf, who begot the KHARŪFÁB and ḤAMMADULLÁB and the 'AḤIDÁB and the BASHḲÁB. All of these are the descendants of Ḥaḍlūl."

Perhaps "el Zayn Balūla" should be "el Zayn and Balūla," and by "ZŪAYNÁB" in No. 1 would in this case be meant the descendants of this el Zayn.

There is nothing in No. 2 to correspond to the names of the three sections said in No. 1 to be descended from Khalafulla.

By "'AgfBÁB" (No. 2) are meant the children of the 'Agīb son of Muḥammad mentioned above (No. 1).

The *feki* Sherifi's *kubba* is at Ummát 'Anḳarib east of el Kámlín. El feki 'Abdulla was also a Mesallami and is said to have been buried near Gebel 'Ísa Ṭálib (near Ummát 'Anḳarib).

"IGÍRBÁB" means "The mangy ones."

XVIII This Razūk is not the Razūk of the quotation from No. 1 in note xvii, but a son of Muḥammad Ḳatárish (so both Nos. 1 and 2).

XIX No. 1, in agreement with No. 2, previously gave an "'Awaḍ el Kerím" as a son of Muḥammad Ḳatárish. Later on No. 1 gives another 'Awaḍ el Kerím, "ancestor of the ṬÁLBÁB," as son of Ḥamtūr. No. 2 has apparently confused the two.

XXVII No. 1 calls them "Our lords the ḤÁSHIÁB," and launches forth into praises of the AŞHRÁF, omitted by No. 2.

Ḳóz Ragab is on the Atbara, and the Ḳash to the East.

XXX No. 1 gives the sons of Ibráhīm as No. 2, but omits to say Ak-ḥal died childless, and adds "Faḳíd (*sic*) begot the RIZḲÁB."

XXXI For "SHÓKÁB" No. 1 gives "SHAKŪTÁB," and, while giving the 'AGAMÁB as descendants of Ibráhīm, does not say that they were so descended through 'Omar.

No. 1 adds among the descendants of Ibráhīm one "Muḥammad walad 'Agīb el Shinánábi."

XXXII No. 1 gives "Ṭeráf" for "Ṭerárf."

After the mention of SIRAYRÁB several lines are added by No. 1 which are incomprehensible and omitted by No. 2. The passage in No. 1 runs thus:

ومن ذرية دليسة السريراب اولاد العراق وابوا دنانة اسمه العراق عبد العال
وابو دنانه حمد اولاد الشيخ عبد الرحمن الكبير بن دليسة الكبير وامهر
الزين فعالوا جارية الحلقنة وولد منها العراق ابو دنانه وخرجوا من الحلقنة
الكبيرة من بحر النيل من بحر ناحية المجاذيب

and may possibly be translated: "And of the stock of Delísa are the SIRAYRÁB AWLÁD EL 'IRÁḲ, and the Abu Denána surnamed 'el 'Irák 'Abd el 'Áli,' and Abu Denána Ḥammad, [these two latter being] the sons of el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman the elder son of Delísa the elder; and their mother was el Zayn, called [reading قالوا for عالوا] 'Gárfat el Ḥalanḳa' ['The

bondwoman of the Ḥalanḳa']. By her he [ʿAbd el Raḥman] begot el ʿIrāḳ Abu Denána; and they left. . . , etc." The meaning is apparently that they left the Ḥalanḳa country and settled on the Nile near the MAGÁDHĪB (*i.e.* the AWLÁD EL MAGDHŪB in the vicinity of el Dámer). Cp. D 5 (c), XVIII.

For Ḥammad Abu Denána see D 3, No. 141.

For "Maḥmūd walad Zāid" No. 1 has only "walad Zāid."

xxxiii "The people of el Sheikh el ʿEbayd" are the Um Dubbān people under the headship of Sheikh el ʿAbbās el ʿEbayd Muḥammad Bedr.

xxxiv No. 1 continues "And of the seed of Ibrāhīm was ʿAwaḍulla Kábū of the AWLÁD BĀṬIL at Gerayfāt Omdurmán who are descended from Ibrāhīm; and the KALÁKLA the children of their [A. BĀṬIL?] maternal aunt Kalkala el Rubāṭía, who were called KALÁKLA" [emend from "KALÁLKLA"] [sc. after] "their mother Kalkala, an ʿAwaḍía of the GAʿALIYYŪN ʿAWAḌÍA.

The mother of ʿAwaḍulla Kábū was one of the NŪBA of el Ḥarāza Um Ḳed who are descendants of ʿAbd el Hádi walad Muḥammad Dólīb, and she was ultimately descended from el Sheikh Rikáb. This then is the pedigree of their mother; and all of these were descended from Ibrāhīm the younger."

Cp. note XII for intermarriage with el Ḥarāza people.

xxxv Muḥammad walad Abu Wanaysa is No. 172 in D 3.

After "DŪALIYYŪN" No. 1 adds, in parenthesis, "NÁS WALAD ḤÁSHI": cp. para. XII.

Shaybūn is a hill in the Nūba Mountains: its locality used to be famous in Turkish and pre-Turkish days as containing gold. The people there are entirely distinct, racially, from their neighbours. See note to D 7, CCC.

For "GABÁGIRA" No. 1 gives "ḤABÁGIRA."

In explanation of "the NAḲÁǾIZ" No. 1 adds "The descendants of Sulaymán el Naḳáz, whose mother was daughter of el Malik Sulaymán the Gamū'i"; and, as regards the FAḌLIYYŪN, No. 1 speaks of them as the descendants of Muḥammad el Faḍl, and includes them among the NAḲÁǾIZ.

xxxvi No. 1 speaks of the MAḤÁWASHA as "descendants of Maḥūsh (Mahawwash?)," and gives the other sections mentioned in this paragraph as descended from "Muḥammad" (*i.e.* Muḥammad el Munshelakh probably).

After this No. 1 continues (omitted in No. 2) as follows: "Muḥammad Musallam had two daughters, Gáiza and el Khidayrá. Gáiza was mother of the MOGHÁRBA, and el Khidayrá of the FÁDNÍA, who are descended from el Sherif el Sayyid el Ḥasīb el Nesīb ibn Muḥammad ibn el Imám ʿAlī, God bless him, who is known as Ibn el Ḥanafia."

xxxvii In No. 1 Musallam is here called "Musallam el Abwáb son of Áṭif. . . ."

At the close of No. 1 there is added "As for the version that Musallam was descended from Sulṭán, it is not trustworthy: the fact is merely that his mother el Zahra was daughter of Sulṭán, and fame connected him with his [maternal] grandfather because he was his follower and so [his name] became mixed with that of his mother's relations." BA, A 2, A 11, C 9, D 1, and D 6 all agree with C 8. D 2 alone suggests a descent from Sulṭán (who was a descendant of Guhayna).

MANUSCRIPT C 9

Introduction

THIS *nisba*, or rather the first five paragraphs of it, purports to be that of the famous Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn Dafa'alla el 'Araki, whose biography is given in D 3 (No. 34).

The actual copy of the *nisba* which has been translated was made for me from his own inherited copy by 'Omar 'Agīb, a descendant of the 'ABDULLĀB viceroys, who were themselves, like the 'Araki family, a branch of RUFĀ'A.

It is interesting to see that Rāfa'i, the eponymous ancestor of the RUFĀ'A, occurs in the B and A groups (which are attributed to "el Samarḳandi"), as son of 'Āmir son of Dhubiān, ancestor of the GUHAYNA tribes. But in C 7 and C 9 this 'Āmir is called "el Sayyid 'Āmir" and allotted a more noble pedigree, direct to el Ḥusayn, the martyr of Kerbelā and grandson of the Prophet.

'Āmir is said to have been the first of the family to settle in the Sudan, and the genealogy of his descendants may be given with approximate accuracy: there is, however, no indication that either of the versions of his ancestry that have been mentioned is correct in any particular. The fact is probably that 'Abdulla el 'Araki went on the pilgrimage and, as in the similar case of C 6, returned with a *Sherīfī* pedigree, correct from Mūsa el Kāzim upwards and otherwise spurious.

Mūsa el Kāzim had twelve sons (see Wüstenfeld, Y) and the scribes of Mekka were no doubt prepared to allot him any number more on application.

The RUFĀ'A group as a whole are considered GUHAYNA, but the *Sherīfī* descent of the 'ARAKIĪN is never disputed, although they and the RUFĀ'A are allowed to be equally descended from Rāfa'i. For the explanation of this see Chap. 2 (a) in Part III.

Paragraphs VIII to XXVI were no doubt added by a later copyist who borrowed them from one of the B group of *nisbas*, and an inferior one at that. They do not even agree with the pedigree given in para. v.

I In the name of God. . .

II As regards what follows, this is the pedigree of honour concerning the Sheikh of Islām, the Guide [*Murshid*], the Resolute [*Hammām*], 'Abdulla el 'Araki.

III Praise be to God who honoured el Medína with the Prophet of God, and protected it, and chose it above all places, and selected it, and named it "Ṭayyiba" [Sweet] because it was sweetened by the sweetness of the Beloved [*i.e.* the Prophet] and its soil was sweetened. And he bore witness that there is no god but God alone and that He has no partner, but is the God of all created beings and has developed them. And He bore witness that our lord Muḥammad is His servant and apostle, whom His God called "YS" and "ṬH."

IV As regards what follows: when I saw that the records of lineage were being lost in [various] countries and most men's pedigrees in [different] lands, I feared lest my noble pedigree which connects me with the lord of the apostles should be lost, for it is not right for one to hide it nor to depart from it without reason: so I wished to record my pedigree so that all my posterity after me might know it.

V I say then that I am the *faḵīr* in God's sight, 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Dafa'alla son of el Sayyid Muḵbal son of el Sayyid Náfa'i son of el Sayyid Muḥammad "Fala'alah Washm" son of el Sayyid Saláma son of el Sayyid Bedr son of el Sayyid Muḥammad son of el Sayyid Aḥmad son of el Sayyid Ráfa'i son of el Sayyid 'Ámir son of el Sayyid el Ḥusayn son of el Sayyid Ismá'íl son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Ibráhīm son of el Sayyid el Imám Mūsa el Kázim son of el Sayyid el Imám Ga'afir el Ṣádiḳ son of el Sayyid el Imám Muḥammad el Báḳir son of el Sayyid 'Alī Zayn el 'Ábdīn son of him that was known as "Lord of the Imáms" and "The Great Captain," whom God proved by [every] kind of trial and test, the Commander of the Faithful, the father of 'Abdulla, our lord el Ḥusayn, the martyr of Kerbela, the son of Fáṭima the Glorious, the queen of the women of the universe, the daughter of the lord of the apostles, our lord Muḥammad. . . son of 'Abdulla, son of 'Abd el Muṭṭalib son of Hášhim [and so on] to his ancestor 'Adnán.

VI At this point ends the authentic and universally accepted pedigree.

VII He upon whom be the blessings of God said "May the curse of God be upon him that intrudes himself upon us without a pedigree or that leaves us without reason."

VIII El Sayyid 'Ámir had three sons, Muḥammad Ráfa'i and Aḥmad el Ad-ḥam and Ḥammad el Á'lt, own brothers.

IX Ráfa'i begot Ḥammad and Muḥammad, own brothers, and also Aḥmad their brother on the father's side.

X Aḥmad begot Bedr; and Ḥammad begot Ḥasan el Ma'arak (the ancestor of the 'ARAKIYYŪN), and Ḥusayn (the ancestor of the BENI ḤUSAYN), and Ḥasán (the ancestor of the BENI ḤASÁN), and Shibayl

(the ancestor of the SHIBAYLĀT and father of 'Ayād and el Aṭraṣh), and Muḥammad el 'Āqil (the ancestor of the 'AḲALIYYŪN), and Ḥakīm, and Zamlūt (the ancestor of the KAMĀTĪR), and Ṭowāl (the ancestor of the ṬOWĀLIYYŪN), and Māgid (the ancestor of the RĀZĪĀ), and Bashḳar (the ancestor of the BASHĀḲIRA), and Hilāl (the ancestor of the HILĀLIYYŪN), and Ḥalū (the ancestor of the ḤALĀWIYYŪN), and 'Isayl (the ancestor of the 'ISAYLĀT), and Farag (the ancestor of the FARAGĀB), and 'Abdulla Ḳerayn (the ancestor of the 'ABDULLĀB¹).

XI These fifteen were the sons of Ḥammad and [it is written] so in the *Biography* of Ibn Sīd [Sayyid?] el Nās and the work of Ibn 'Abbās upon the origins of the people, and Ibn Ḥaggar verified it with a view to the serious dissensions as to their pedigrees [that might arise] in later days.

XII Now the sons of Muḥammad ibn Rāfa'i, the full-brother of Ḥammad, were Zanfāl and Ḥaggāg and Ḳāsim and Ma'adaḍ and Shabraḳ: these are the sons of Muḥammad.

XIII And Muḥammad ['Āqil] had no children, but Ibn² 'Arafa says what is true, namely that the paternal uncle is to be identified with [?] his brother's son.

XIV Ḥasan el Ma'arak had four sons, Ḥammad and 'Asham and Dasham and Daras.

XV Ḥammad begot Aḥmad 'Azū Rigāl.

XVI 'Asham begot Nāgiḥ and Nāil and Tha'aleb and 'Othmán and 'Amūd.

XVII Dasham begot Bedr and Zayād by [one] mother, and Fāḍil and Ḥaggāg [by another], and Ḥammad their brother on his father's side by a concubine.

XVIII Daras begot Aḥmar and el Ḥamrán.

XIX These are the sons of Ḥasan el Ma'arak.

XX Ḥammad el Ā'lit's [descendants] are the BENI Ā'LĀT in general.

XXI Ḥammad el Ad-ham's descendants are the ZAMALĀT and the ZIBAYLĀT and the AGAL and the ḲURBĀN and the LAḤAWIYYŪN³ and the MEZANIYYŪN (who have nothing to do with the MUZAYNA, who were of old an Arab tribe, but are only MUZAYNA descended from Ad-ham the brother of Rāfa'i).

XXII This then is the pedigree of Rāfa'i and his brothers and they were in league with one another; and God best knows the truth.

XXIII The tribes whose members it is not permissible to buy or

¹ reading عبدلاب for عبضلاب. ² reading بني for ابن.

³ reading المويين for اللدويين.

sell, because they are free, are seven: viz. GUHAYNA and MUZAYNA and ASHGA'A and DASHAM and GHAFÁR¹ and QURAYSH and EL ANŞÁR.

XXIV The tribes that have [no?] pedigrees and whom it is allowable to sell, are seven: viz. the BEGÁ and the BEGÁGĪḤ and GABRA and ḤARATHA and GHIBRA and NAYṢ the ancestor of the Sudanese [*el Sūdān*].

XXV The origin and ancestry of these is non-Arab [*'agam*], of white and black: Ibn el Ṣalāḥ mentions it in the Commentary on el Bokhári: he says this is transcribed from *El Anwār el Nebawia fi Abāi Khayr el Baria*, and he says he found it in the fifth chapter of the *Anwār*, which treats of the chosen prophet of God....

XXVI Now el Sherif Muḥammad el Amín el Hindi has mentioned that the tribes of GUHAYNA here in the Sudan Gezira are seven, and they are registered in his own handwriting, thus:

M	G	R	M	Ḥ	R	R
MESALIMĀ	GA'ĀFIRA	RIKĀBIA	MA'ASHIRA	ḤAMAYLA	RUWĀIḤA	ROWASHDA

C 9 (NOTES)

II For 'Abdulla el 'Araki see D 3, 34.

III "...and named it...": the Arabic is

وسماها طيبة لأنها طابت بطيب الحبيب وطاب ثراها

(See Burton, *Pilgrimage*, I, p. 377, on this subject.)

For "YS" and "ṬH" cp. Hughes, pp. 517, 518. "There are 29 Surahs of the Qur'ān which begin with certain letters of the alphabet. These letters, the learned say, have some profound meaning, known only to the Prophet himself...." "YS" is applied to the 36th chapter of the Qur'ān (see Burton, *loc. cit.* I, p. 330). Cp. also BA, cxcviii.

IV Cp. C 7, II.

V "Fala'alāh Washm" (فلعله وشم) is probably an error.

"The Great Captain" is قـايد الازمة. The *zumām* (زمام) is properly the small string of leather run through a riding camel's nostril and attached to the rein.

VIII In para. xxi "Ḥammad" is given instead of "Aḥmad."

X Though Ḥasan el Ma'arak is spoken of here as "ancestor of the 'ARAKIYYŪN" 'Abdulla el 'Araki himself was not descended from him according to para. v!

¹ reading عقار غفار.

xiii Ibn 'Arafa was a Málíki divine in the fourteenth century (see Huart, p. 351), and perhaps he is referred to here. The Arabic of the dictum quoted is

العمر يعقل عن ابن أخيه

The phrase has reference originally to liability for a share in blood-money, and there is a play on the word "ʿĀkīl."

xv Cp. C 7, iii.

xxiii Cp. BA, XLVIII, etc.

"Dasham" is an error for Aslam.

xxiv Cp. BA, CXXXVII.

xxv Cp. C 7, iv.

The title of this work means "*The prophetic bouquet concerning the ancestry of the best of men.*"

xxvi Is almost certainly a late gloss. The Hindi family reside in the Gezira: they are mentioned in D 1, CXXV.

This MGRMḤRR is merely a meaningless *memoriae technica* ("migram ḥarar").

MANUSCRIPT D 1

Introduction

THIS work, consisting of eighty-five pages of MS., was copied out for me under the direction of Sheikh el Dardíri Muḥammad el Khalífa of Khorsi, the present *Khalífa* of the Tigánia *ṭaríqa* in Kordofán and one of the best known and most respected of the DÓÁLÍB, who are a branch of the RIKÁBÍA "ASHRÁF" of Dongola. It was transcribed from the copy made by el Dardíri in 1884 from the copy taken by his father in 1836 from the oldest copy made in 1738 (see para. CCXVI).

The book falls into three quite distinct portions. The first sixty pages or so are the work of that Sayyid Ghulámulla ibn 'Áld who was ancestor of the RIKÁBÍA and is related to have been a *Sherif* who migrated to the Sudan from el Yemen and settled in Dongola (see D 5 (*d*)). His date was probably the fifteenth century.

The Sherif el Táhír who wrote or copied the original of BA was his great-nephew, but their works were quite independent of one another.

Ghulámulla does not concern himself with the Sudan at all: his compilation is cast in the traditional mould, and in arrangement and subject-matter nearly resembles Abu el Fidá's *Historia Ante-islamica*. It is certainly an abridgement of the history of some mediaeval Arabic encyclopaedist (*e.g.* Ibn el Athír), and it deals with the history of the world from the creation to the time of the 'Abbásids.

Several generations later, Ghulámulla's descendant Muḥammad walad Dólib the Elder, who, as appears from D 3 (No. 187), flourished about 1680 A.D., added a further twenty pages ("Part II"). A portion of the contents of this second part are quotations (or misquotations) from Ibn el Athír—unacknowledged, by the way—the rest is a series of disconnected notes, some on the tribes of Arabia, and some on those of the Sudan. The author was evidently acquainted with the original of BA or extracts from it, as a comparison of paras. LXXXIV *et seq.* with BA shows with sufficient clearness.

His great-grandson the younger Muḥammad walad Dólib, in the eighteenth century, added another briefer, and probably more original series of notes ("Part III"). It is fairly certain from internal evidence

that glosses have been added fairly lavishly both in Part II and in Part III.

A translation of the first part (Ghulámulla's) is not given as it is irrelevant for all practical purposes, but its contents may be summarized as follows before we proceed to the translation of Parts II and III.

It begins:

In the name of God... Now this is a book in which I will collect all that has been verified by the historians and proved by the genealogists, and the fruit of my work shall be that he who has viewed the records of the past and the events of antecedent ages, when he reads of them shall be as it were their contemporary, and when he understands them shall be as it were a spectator of them... And the exposition of pedigrees will show who are exalted and noble by race, and men will learn to know one tribe from another, and by this knowledge shall war become peace and the distant be brought near, and there shall be that observance of the ties of consanguinity ordained by God Almighty....

The author then explains how historical research began in the time of the Khalifa 'Omar and how the Year of the Flight was agreed upon as the basis of Muslim chronology. He then sets to work upon his history, and begins with an account of the creation of the universe, and discusses the planets, the stars, the seasons, etc. Then follow the creation of man, the sojourn in Paradise, the generations that followed Adam, the Flood, and the descendants of Noah.

This leads the author to an account of the ancient tribes of Arabia and the other races of the world, and to the stories of Nimrod, and of Abraham, Job and other prophets, and the foundation of Mekka. Thence we pass to the history of the Israelites, of Persia, of Rome, and of Byzantium, including an account of Christ, and so on to the foundation of Islam.

After a very brief history of the Khalifas and a yet shorter mention of the struggle between the Beni Ommayya and the Beni 'Abbás the work of Sheikh Ghulámulla comes to an abrupt end, and Part II commences, without any preface beyond the single word "*tanbîh*" ("note"), as follows:

I KHUZÁM and the BENI KHUZAYMA are both sub-tribes of SULAYM.

II MAKHZŪM are a sub-tribe of ẖURAYSH and are descended from Makhzŭm son of Yaḡza son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Lŭai son of Ghálib son of Fihri.

III GHATAFÁN are a section of ẖAYS 'AYLÁN and are descended from Ghatafán son of Sa'ad son of ẖays 'Aylán.

IV BENI ẖUṬAYF are a Syrian people, of the BENI ṬAI.

V There is also a different people called BENI KUTAYF, of [the tribe of] MUDHĠIG¹: their ancestor is Kutayf son of Nágia son of Murád [of] the [same] section [as] Farwa son of Musayk the Kutayfi, the Associate of the Prophet.

VI ZENÁTA are a great tribe in the west and are descended from Zánáti Yahya son of Dari son of Bermádaghús son of Dari son of Zagík² son of Mádaghís son of Berr son of Bidyán son of Kana'an son of Hám son of Nūh.

VII The MESSÍRÍA Arabs, *i.e.* those originally so called, are descended from Missir son of Tha'aliba son of Naṣr son of Sa'ad son of Nebhán, [and are] a section of TAI.

VIII The MAHRÍA are a great tribe descended from Mahra son of Haydán son of 'Amr son of el Háfí³ son of Kuḍá'a; and every Mahri traces his pedigree to him, and the Mahría camels of this tribe similarly owe their name to him.

IX HÍMYAR are the sons of Hímyar son of Sabá son of Ya'arub son of Kaḥtán. Now there are three Hímyars among the children of Kaḥtán, viz. the "greater," the "lesser," and the "least." The "least" is Hímyar son of el Ghauth⁴ son of Sa'ad son of 'Auf son of 'Adi son of Málík son of Zayd son of Sadad son of Zura'a. Hímyar the "lesser" is the son of Sabá the "lesser" son of Ka'ab son of Sahal son of Zayd son of 'Amr son of Kays son of Mu'áwia son of Gushm⁵ son of 'Abd Shams son of Wáíl son of el Ghauth son of Hadhár son of Kuṭn son of 'Aríb son of Zuhayr son of Aiman son of el Hamaysa'a⁶ son of el Ferangag.

Hímyar the "greater" was son of Sabá the "greater" son of Yashhub. Now some of the HÍMYAR who are in the west belong to the HÍMYAR of the east.

X The 'AḲALIYYŪN are descended from 'Uḳayl son of Ka'ab son of Rabí'a son of 'Ámir.

XI The MA'ÁKLA are of the sons of Ma'aḳl son of Málík el Báhili and belong to the BÁHILA Arabs.

XII The RIZAYḲÁT are of the sons of Rizayḳ el Thaḳífí and belong to the BENI THAḲÍF, and there is a section of them in the Sudan.

XIII KHAFÁGA are a sub-tribe of BENI 'ÁMIR.

XIV FEZÁRA are descended from Fezára, the father of a sub-tribe of GHATAFÁN. This Fezára was son of Dhubián son of Baghíd son of

¹ reading مذجج for مدحج.

² reading وجيك for زجيك.

³ reading الحافى for الحافى.

⁴ reading القوس for الغوث.

⁵ reading جسر for جشم.

⁶ reading الهيسع for الهيسع.

Rayth¹ son of Ghaṭafán. The BENI EL 'USHARÁ and the BENI SHAMAKH² are a part of them.

XV QUPÁ'A are descended from Ḥimyar, *i.e.* Qudá'a son of Málík son of Murra son of Zayd son of Málík son of Ḥimyar son of Sabá.

XVI KENÁNA are descended from Kenána son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of Elyás son of Muḍr, who was the fourth grandfather of our lord the Prophet.

XVII GUHAYNA is a sub-tribe of QUPÁ'A.

XVIII The KARG are a tribe of RŪM living on the frontiers of Adharbíḡán.

XIX The TARTARS are a race living in the far east in the mountains of Ṭafmáḡ on the borders of Šín. They are neighbours of the TURK, and between them and the lands of Islam which are beyond the river is a distance of more than six months. It was these people of whom the Prophet said that their features were most hideous.

XX The KHULUG... are a tribe tracing their descent from QURAYSH. They do not, however, belong to them, but are rather an Arab people with whom 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb has a common ancestor in el Ḥarīth son of Málík son of el Nuḍr son of Kenána. It may be added that el Ḥarīth was the brother of Fīhr.

XXI QURAYSH are the descendants of Fīhr; and the name of the ancestor of the KHULUG was Qays.

XXII ZAGHÁWA is a tribe of blacks, an offshoot of the ZING, and the derivative noun is Zagháwi.

XXIII BENI HUBL are a sub-tribe of KELB and are the descendants of Hubl son of 'Abdulla son of Kenána son of 'Auf son of 'Udhra³ son of Zayd el Dát son of Rufayda son of Thaur son of Kelb; and they include the descendants of Zuhayr son of Ganáb⁴ son of Hubl, and the descendants of 'Abdulla son of 'Abdulla son of Hubl, and the descendants of 'Obayda son of Hubl.

XXIV HILÁLA are the descendants of Hilál son of 'Ámir son of Ša'aša'a son of Mu'áwia son of Bukr son of Hawázín. Of this tribe was Maymūna daughter of el Ḥarīth, mother of the faithful, and Ḥamayd son of Thaur, the poet and Companion of the Prophet. They also won honourable mention at the battle of Hunayn. The HILÁLIÁ are descended from them, and of their number was Abu Zayd el Hiláli, so famous for bravery and nobility. There are remnants of them in Egypt and in Morocco.

XXV The MESSÍRÍA in reality are descendants of Missir (spelt with

¹ reading مريث for ريث.

² reading شمع for شمع.

³ reading عذرة for عذرة.

⁴ reading جناب for جناب.

an i) son of Tha'aliba son of Naṣr son of Sa'ad son of Nebhán¹, a branch of ṬAI.

XXVI The HUMUR Arabs (spelt with a u after the Ḥ and the M) are descendants of the Master of the Ass, the Black One, the Liar, the false prophet who appeared in el Yemen, of the tribe of 'Aus; and his name was Aihala².

XXVII BULÁLA, who are between Borķū and Bárķirma, are descendants of Belál (Bulál ?) of [the tribe of] el Azd.

XXVIII HAMAR (spelt with an a after the Ḥ and the M) in origin are descendants of el Aḥmar son of Mu'awia son of Selīm Abu Sha'abil el Tamími, and they belong to the BENI TAMÍM.

XXIX The SULAYM Arabs (spelt with vowel-points as in "Zubayr") are descendants of Sulaym son of Maṣṣūr son of 'Ikrima son of Khaṣafa, a sub-tribe of QAYS 'AYLÁN. There are also other Sulaym who are a sub-tribe of Gudhám; and of the former there are branches in the Sudan, and the latter are in the East.

XXX The BEDAYRÍA, that is the original BEDAYRÍA, are descendants of Bedr son of 'Amr son of Gūayya son of Laudhán³ son of Tha'aliba son of 'Adi son of Fezára; and they are a section of FEZÁRA.

XXXI GHATAFÁN are a sub-tribe of QAYS 'AYLÁN, and their father was Ghatafán son of Sa'ad son of Qays 'Aylán.

Now Qays 'Aylán was the father of a tribe and his [real] name was el Náss (spelt with a double s), and he was son of Muḍr and brother of el Yás; and 'Aylán was a horse belonging to Qays, famous among the horses of the Arabs, and Qays used to win races upon it. There was too a man of the tribe of Bagíla called Qays Kubba after a horse called Kubba and also famous. These two men called Qays were neighbours before BAGÍLA settled in the land of Yemen, so that when anyone mentioned Qays he was asked whether he meant Qays 'Aylán or Qays Kubba.

XXXII BAGÍLA (shortened into Bagla) are a sub-tribe of BENI SULAYM and trace their descent to their mother, viz. Bagla daughter of Huná son of Málik son of Fahm. The derivative noun is Bagli.

XXXIII The BENI BAGÁLA are a section of ḌABBA; and Bagála was son of Dhuhál son of Málik son of Bukr son of Sa'ad son of Ḍabba.

XXXIV ḌABBA is an Arab tribe and their father was Ḍabba (son of Udd) the uncle of Tamím son of Murr son of Udd son of Ṭábikha son of el Yás son of Muḍr. And Ḍabba had three sons, Sa'ad and Sa'id and Básil, and Básil was father of the DAYLUM, and Sa'id left

¹ reading بهبان for نهبان.

² reading هبله for ايبله.

³ reading الارذان for لوزان.

no posterity. The children of Ḍabba, excepting the DAYLUM, are included among the BENI SA'AD.

XXXV The DAYLUM are the children of Ḍabba, as I have shown.

XXXVI The BENI ḌUBAYB (spelt with vowel-points as in "Zubayr") are a section of GUDHĀM.

XXXVII GUDHĀM (spelt with vowel-points as in *ghurāb*) are a tribe from el Yemen who settled in the mountains of Ḥismā beyond the Wādī el Ḳurā; and this was the surname of 'Amr son of 'Adī son of el Ḥarith son of Murra son of Udad son of Yashkhub son of 'Arīb son of Zayd son of Kahlān, and Gudhām was brother of Lakhm and 'Āmila and 'Ufayr¹.

XXXVIII The BENI ṢĀHILA are the descendants of Ṣāhila son of Kāhil son of el Ḥarith son of Tamīm son of Sa'ad son of Hudhayl, and they are tribes and are called the KĀHILIYYŪN.

XXXIX The BENI KĀHIL son of 'Udhra son of Sa'ad Hudhayl² are a different tribe.

XL DŪS is a tribe of Arabs.

XLI BAGĪLA is a tribe from el Yemen, from Sabā.

XLII The BENI MUṢṬALIḲ are a section of KHUZĀ'A.

XLIII The KHAṬĀ are a tribe of the Turks.

XLIV The TA'ĀISHA Arabs are the descendants of 'Āish son of el Ḍarb son of el Ḥarith son of Fīhr Gāhili; and this 'Āish was ancestor of 'Awaymir son of Sā'ada el Bedayri.

XLV The ḤAWĀZMA are a sub-tribe of BAGĪLA and are the children of Ḥāzim son of Abu Ḥāzim el Bagfī; but a number of Arab and black tribesmen, attracted by the advantages of fellowship and fraternity with them, [joined them], and the original stock and its accretions became indistinguishable.

XLVI KHUZĀ'A are [descended] from EL AZD³: that is to say Hāritha son of 'Amr Muzaykiā son of 'Āmir begot Rabī'a, *i.e.* Mā-el-Samā, and Rabī'a begot Loḥay and Afsā and 'Oday and Ka'ab, and from these are descended KHUZĀ'A. Now they were called "KHUZĀ'A" because they separated [تخزعوا] from their [own] people and settled at Mekka; and others went to Syria.

XLVII The HABBĀNĪA are the descendants of Habbān son of el Ḳulūṣ son of 'Amr son of Ḳays, a sub-tribe of BĀHILA.

XLVIII BĀHILA are a tribe of ḲAYS 'AYLĀN, and originally Bāhila was the name of a woman of Hamdān⁴ who was [married] to Ma'an

¹ reading عفير for صغير.

³ reading الاسد for الازد.

² reading هذيل for هدير.

⁴ reading همذار for همذار.

son of Á'sir son of Sa'ad son of Ḳays 'Aylán, and Ma'an's descendants were named after her.

XLIX Now if you have studied these genealogical ramifications you must know that in the explanation of pedigrees that follows perhaps one pedigree resembles the form of another, but they are distinguishable from one another, pedigree from pedigree, and tribe from tribe; and the similarity is merely superficial: do not therefore be led astray, for nothing is included in this compilation but what is supported by the authority of trustworthy genealogists, or mentioned by the author of the Dictionary of the Arabic Language, or vouched for by him to the exclusion of any other version. If any genealogies are repeated in a form contradictory to that given previously, [it must be understood that] a variant version is being given.

L The great philosophers are Plato [Iflâtūn] and Aristotle [Aristū] and Ptolemy [Baṭlīmūs] and Galen [Gálínūs].

LII The father of the science of the supernatural was Plato, and it is founded upon inductive reasoning from objects of the senses realized by the help of the perceptive faculties.

LII Aristotle is the father of the natural sciences, such as treat of the heavens and the earth and existence and non-existence and meteorology and fundamental laws and botany and zoology, and they are founded upon the use of the perceptive faculties.

LIII The father of astronomy is Ptolemy, and it is founded upon the perceptive faculties and the laws of things perceptible.

LIV The father of experimental medicine is Galen, and it is founded upon the use of the perceptive faculties.

LV The pedigrees found in the works of reliable historians and genealogists are traced to the stock of Nūḥ, who alone among the children of Ádam survived the deluge for ever.

LVI The children of Nūḥ were Sám and Ḥám and Yáfith. [Wahhab ibn Munebbih says that] Sám son of Nūḥ was father of the Arabs and Persians [*Fáris*] and the Romans [*el Rām*]; [and that] Ḥám was father of the blacks; and Yáfith of the Turks and Yágūg and Mágūg.

LVII Sám begot Arfakhshadh and Ashūdh and Láūdh and Aram.

LVIII From Láūdh son of Ḥám are descended Fáris, and Girgán, and Ṭasm, and 'Amlík, father of the 'AMÁLIK, who were the giants in Syria, who were called the KANA'ANIYYŪN¹; and of them were the Pharaohs of Egypt; and [also] the people of Baḥrayn and 'Omán, and [these latter] were called² GÁSHIM: [of them too were the children of Omaym son of Láūdh. . .].

¹ reading اللعنانيون for الكنعانيون. ² reading يسمون for يستمون.

LIX ṬASM dwelt in el Yemáma as far as Bahrayn; and ṬASM and the 'AMÁLÍḲ and OMAYM¹ and GÁSHIM were Arab peoples, speaking the Arabic tongue [. Now 'Abíl reached Yathreb] before it (*i.e.* the town) was built.

LX And most of the 'AMÁLÍḲ settled in Ṣana'a before it was so named.

LXI Aram son of Sám son of Nūḥ begot 'Awad and 'Ábir and Huwayl. 'Awad begot 'Ábir and 'Ád and 'Abíl.

LXII 'Ábir son of Aram begot THAMMŪD and GIDAYS; and they were Arabs, speaking this Egyptian tongue, and the Arabs used to call these nations and GURHUM "the 'Arab el 'Áriba," and the descendants of Ismá'íl they used to name "the 'Arab el Muta'ariba."

LXIII 'ÁD were in Ḥaḍramaut, and THAMMŪD in the rocky country between el Ḥegáz² and Syria [as far as Wádi el Ḳurá. GIDAYS] joined ṬASM and lived with them in el Yemáma as far as Bahrayn. And the name of el Yemáma at that time was Gau. And GÁSHIM dwelt³ in 'Omán.

LXIV The NEBṬ were descended from Nebṭ son of Másh son of Aram son of Sám.

LXV The PERSIANS [*el Furs*] are the descendants of Fáris son of Tírash son of Máshūr son of Láūdh son of Sám.

LXVI Arfakhshadh son of Sám begot Ḳaynán⁴, and Ḳaynán⁴ begot Shálikh, and Shálikh begot 'Ábir, and 'Ábir begot Fáligh and also Ḳaḥṭán and Yūnán; and Ḳaḥṭán begot Ya'arub [and Yūḳzán,] and Ya'arub begot Yashgub [, and Yashgub begot] Sabá, and Sabá begot Ḥimyar and Kahlán and 'Amr and el Asha'ar and Anmár and Murr.

LXVII 'Amr son of Sabá begot 'Adí, and 'Adí begot Lakhm and Gudhám.

LXVIII [Now Ya'arub and] Yūḳzán settled in el Yemen, and were its earliest inhabitants and the first to be greeted with the words "mayest thou avoid execration."

LXIX Fáligh begot Ar'ū⁵, and Ar'ū⁵ begot [Sárūgh, who begot Náhūr, who begot Tárikh, in Arabic called] Azar, and Azar begot Ibráhím, (upon whom be the blessing of God).

LXX Arfakhshadh begot Nimrūdh; and [Háshim ibn el Kelbi states that] el Sind and el Hind were the children of Tūkir son of Yūḳṭan son of 'Ábir son of Shálikh son of Arfakhshadh son of Sám.

¹ reading ايتمر for اميمر.

² reading الحجاز for الحجاز.

³ reading سكن for كسن.

⁴ reading قينان for قينان.

⁵ reading ارغو for ارغو.

LXXI Gurhum was descended from Yuḳṭān son of 'Ábir; and Ḥaḍramaut was son of Yuḳṭān. Now Yuḳṭān is Ḳaḥṭān [as is said. . .].

LXXII The BERBER are descended from Thamílá¹ son of Márib son of Fárán² son of 'Amr son of 'Amlík son of Láūdh son of Sám son of Nūh.

LXXIII The Romans [*el Rūm*] are the children of Lanṭi³ son of Yūnán son of Láūdh; and here I speak of the early Romans. The Romans of the Empire, who were numerous and powerful and who were contemporaries of the Prophet (upon him be the blessing of God), and of whom he made it known that their empire would last till the end of the world, were the children of Isháḳ son of Ibráhīm the Friend of God (upon whom be the blessing of God); and here I speak of the later Romans. And all of them trace their descent to Sám son of Nūh.

LXXIV Yáfith begot Gámir and Mū'a and Mūrak and Būán and Fūyá and Máshig and Tírash.

LXXV From Gámir, it is said, were descended the kings of Persia [*Fáris*].

LXXVI From Tírash were descended the Turks and the KHAZAR; from Máshig the ASHBÁN; from Mū'a YAGŪG and MÁGŪG; and from Būán the ṢAGHÁLIBA⁴ and BURGÁN and the ASHBÁN, who in ancient days were in the land of the Romans, before the occurrence of the events connected with the children of el 'Aīṣ son of Isháḳ.

LXXVII Ḥám begot Kūsh and Miṣráím and Ḳūṭ and Kana'án.

LXXVIII From Kūsh was descended [Nimrūdh son of Kūsh,—and according to another account he was descended from Sám,—and the remainder of Ḥám's descendants came to live on the coasts as] the NŪBA and the Abyssinians [*Ḥābsha*] and the ZING.

LXXIX Miṣráím [, it is said,] was ancestor of the Copts (*Ḳubṭ*) [and the Berber].

LXXX [It is said that] Ḳūṭ penetrated to el Hind [and el Sind and settled there], and his descendants are there.

LXXXI Kana'án was ancestor of the KANA'ÁNIYYŪN; and some⁵ of them went to Syria. Then the BENI ISRÁÍL fought with them there and expelled them and took possession of Syria. Subsequently the Romans attacked the BENI ISRÁÍL and drove them [excepting a few] from Syria to Mesopotamia [*el Iráḳ*]. Then again the Arabs came and conquered Syria.

¹ reading تمیلا for ثمیلا.

² reading فار for فاران.

³ reading نطی for لنطی.

⁴ reading الصغالبه for الصغالبه.

⁵ reading بعضهم for بعضهم.

LXXXII Now it is related on the authority of 'Urwa ibn Misayk el Murádi that when the revelation concerning Sabá was made to the Prophet, a certain man said "O Prophet of God, what is Sabá? Is it a country or a woman?" The Prophet replied "It is neither a country nor a woman, but a man who begot ten [tribes] of the Arabs, and six of them went to Yemen and four of them to Syria: the latter were LAKHM and GUDHÁM and GHASSÁN and 'ÁMILA; and the former were EL AZD and EL ASH'ARIŪN and ĤIMYAR and KENDA and MUDHĤIG and ANMÁR." Then the man said "O Prophet of God, what is Anmár?" The Prophet answered "Those from whom are descended Khat'am and Bagila."

LXXXIII Sabá was son of Yashkhuḥ son of Ya'arub son of Kaḥṭán, and [his descendants] lived at Márib in the land of el Yemen, and when their villages were laid waste they dispersed into [various] lands: GHASSÁN occupied Syria, EL AZD¹ occupied 'Omán², KHUZÁ'A occupied Teháma, and EL AUS and EL KHAZRAG occupied Yathreb, and the first of them³ was 'Amr ibn 'Ámir, who was ancestor of EL AUS and EL KHAZRAG.

LXXXIV Now the tribes of the Arabs are MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA and KENÁNA and KHUZAYMA and ASLAM and ASHGA'A and GHAFÁR, and whoso does not belong to one of these is not an Arab but only a foreigner.

LXXXV MUZAYNA are to be found on the Nile and in Egypt;

KENÁNA are at Mekka and in el Yemen and thereabouts;

GUHAYNA are in the Sudan;

ASLAM are in India and Mesopotamia [*el 'Irāk*];

ASHGA'A are in the west and Persia [*Fáris*] and Morocco [*Marrá-kesh*]; and

GHAFÁR are in Spain [*el Andalus*] and Persia.

LXXXVI The GUHAYNA who are in the west are the descendants of 'Abdulla el Guhani, son of Anas, the attendant of the Prophet (upon him be the blessing of God!), and also connected with him by birth in that both had a common ancestor in Murra.

LXXXVII This 'Abdulla had two sons namely Dhubián and Sufián.

LXXXVIII Sufián had only one son, who was named Kabsh, and he is the ancestor of everyone who is a Kabbáshi.

LXXXIX Dhubián, the elder son, had ten sons, namely Watíd, Fahíd, Shaṭír, Bashír, 'Ámir, 'Omrán, Maḥass, Afzar, Šárid and Agdham⁴.

¹ reading *الازد* for *الاسد*.

² reading *عماد* for *عمان*.

³ reading *كان الدين قدم* for *كان الذي قدم*.

⁴ reading *اجزم* for *اجزم*.

XC From Watíd are descended the SHUKRÍA, the BUÁDIRÁ and the UMBÁDIRÁ; and from Fahíd the ZAGHÁWA.

XCI Shaṭír's only son was Sulṭán, who had three sons, viz. Rikáb, Ma'ashir and Ḥamayd.

XCII Now there are three persons of the name of Rikáb: firstly Rikáb son of Ubi son of Ka'ab, secondly Rikáb son of Sulṭán son of Suhayl of the stock of 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhani, and thirdly Rikáb son of Ghulámulla, who was a *Sherif* tracing his pedigree to el Ḥusayn the son of 'Ali and Fátima the daughter of the Prophet of God (the blessing of God upon them!). The mother of Rikáb the son of Ghulámulla was the daughter of Rikáb the son of Sulṭán, and his father named him after his maternal grandfather.

XCIII Rikáb the son of Sulṭán was ancestor of the RIKÁBÍA; and they live in Upper Egypt.

XCIV Ma'ashir was ancestor of the MA'ÁSHIRA, and Ḥamayd of the ḤAMAYDÁT, which is a tribe between el Sind and el Hind.

XCV Bashír was ancestor of the BISHÁRÍA, and 'Ámir of the 'AMÁRNA.

XCVI Maḥass was ancestor of the MAḤASS; and he was called Máḥass because he was a heavy sleeper, and whenever his father called to him his mother would say "má ḥassa" [*i.e.* "he has not awakened"]; so they called him Máḥass.

XCVII The descendants of Afzar are FEZÁRA.

XCVIII Šárid was ancestor of the ŠOWÁRDA, and Agdham¹ of the GUDHÁMIYYŪN².

XCIX The tribes descended from el 'Abbás are three, the GA'ALIYYŪN on the Blue Nile, the AWLÁD 'ABD EL RAḤMAN in Dár Šalḥ, and the AWLÁD IBRÁHÍM BASHKAL on the White Nile.

C The tribes of the SHÁŦĪÁ³ fall into four divisions;—one is GA'ALIYYŪN, *i.e.* 'ABBÁSÍA, one is BENI OMMAYYA by descent, and one is a remnant of the Barmecides [*el Barámika*], *i.e.* Turkish.

CI The 'ARAKIYYŪN are descended from GUHAYNA, but among them are the children of el Sherif Aḥmad Muḵbal, who married a wife from among the 'ARAKIYYŪN and begot Dafa'alla the ancestor of their pious *Khalifas*; and the latter's children were Bukr Abu 'Áyesha and 'Abdulla and Ḥammad el Níl.

CII This Ḥammad el Níl's descendants are the 'ÁKLÁB, including el Sheikh el Ṭerayfi.

CIII The tribes of the GA'ÁFIRA fall into three [groups]; among them

¹ reading *اجزمر* for *اجزمر*. ² reading *جزاميين* for *جزاميين*.

³ reading *الشاقية* for *الشاقية*.

are the stock of 'Ámir and 'Omrán in the neighbourhood of Diráw, and they [are... *a word omitted in the text*]: among them again are the Awlád Ga'afir el Šádīk, who are ASHRÁF, and the Awlád Ga'afir el Ţiár who are BENI HÁSHIM; and the DERR, the rulers of Egypt.

CIV The tribes of the RIKÁBĪA are three: the descendants of Rikáb ibn Anas of KURAYSH, the descendants of Rikáb ibn Sultán of GUHAYNA, and the descendants of Rikáb ibn Ghulámulla. The last named are ASHRÁF of the stock of el Ḥusayn (the blessing of God on him) the son of 'Ali and of Fátima the daughter of the Prophet of God (on all of whom be the blessings of God).

CV El Sheikh Ghulámulla had two sons, Rikáb and Rubát.

CVI Rikáb had five sons, 'Abdulla, 'Abd el Nebi, Ḥabíb, 'Agíb, and Zayd el Feríd.

CVII Rubát had one son named Selím.

CVIII Selím had six sons Ruzayn, Dahmash, Muḥammad 'Ōn, 'Abd el Rizák, Hadhlúl, and Muşbáh.

CIX 'Abdulla's sons were Ḥaga and Ḥagág.

CX Ḥaga was ancestor of the DÓÁLÍB, the children of el Sheikh walad Dólib.

CXI Ḥagág was ancestor of el Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Ishayb (the progenitor of the 'ISHAYBÁB), and of el Sheikh walad Ak·ḥal and of a section of the KAWÁHLA at Tekali and of the ḤADÁḤÍD and of the GENÁNA and of the SIMRIÁB and of many households [living] with the SHUKRÍA.

CXII 'Abd el Nebi had two sons, Máshir and Shakára.

CXIII Among the descendants of Máshir was el Sheikh 'Abd el Šádīk ancestor of the ŠÁDÍKÁB; and among the descendants of Shakára was Ḥasan walad Shakára and the 'ABÍDÁB and the NŪRÁB [who lived] at el 'Afát in Dongola and left it and joined the KABÁBÍSH and multiplied with them and became nomads.

CXIV The descendants of Ḥabíb are the ŠABÁBĪA.

CXV The descendants of 'Agíb are the stock of el Sheikh Ḥammad¹ Abu Ḥálma the ancestor of the ḤALÍMÁB.

CXVI The descendants of Zayd el Feríd were the SHABWÁB and the 'AKÁZÁB and the TAMRÁB and the four sons of el Ḥág Mágid.

CXVII Selím, the son of Rikáb's brother, had six sons, as has been mentioned above.

CXVIII The descendants of Ruzayn were the AWLÁD ḤABÍB NESI.

CXIX The descendants of Dahmash were the AWLÁD EL FEKÍ 'ALÍ MANÓFAL at el 'Afát.

¹ reading حميد for احمد.

CXX The descendants of Muḥammad 'Ōn were the four AWLÁD GÁBIR and the KENÁNIA.

CXXI The descendants of 'Abd el Rizák were the AWLÁD EL SHEIKH ḤASAN WALAD BELÍL at Kená¹ and the AWLÁD DÁŪD at Abu Tubr.

CXXII The descendants of Hadhlūl were the AWLÁD MAḤMŪD at Gebel el Haráza.

CXXIII The descendants of Muṣbāḥ were the AWLÁD WALAD DÁŪD with the KABÁBÍSH.

CXXIV These are the branches of the RIKÁBIA who are descended from Ghulámulla and are ASHRÁF.

CXXV *The following are the tribes of ASHRÁF who are in the Sudan:*

The descendants of the aforementioned Ghulámulla.

The MIRGHANÍA, *i.e.* the descendants of 'Othmán el Mírghani.

The AWLÁD EL HINDI in the Gezira.

The AWLÁD ABU SAHNŪN at Atbara: they are descendants of el Ḥasan el Muthenni.

The MAR'IAB EL ḤAMDÁB at Atbara with the nomads: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The AWLÁD EL MAGDHŪB at Atbara with the SHUKRÍA.

The AWLÁD EL SHAGERA at el Qeḍáref.

The AWLÁD EL SHERÍF ISMÁ'ÍL at el Qeḍáref: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The AWLÁD BEDR WALAD² MASKÍN to the west of el Qeḍáref: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The SHIBAYLÁT with the BENI ḤUSAYN Arabs, nomads on the Blue Nile.

The KAMILÁT in the neighbourhood of Atbara: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The AWLÁD BIDAYN in the neighbourhood of el Ḥamda: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The AWLÁD BELLA near Karkóg on the Blue Nile: these are ḤASANÍA.

The AWLÁD MUṢṬAFA at Asláng³ Island.

The AWLÁD 'ABDULLA EL MEKANI at el Táka: these are ḤASANÍA; and some of them are at Kassala and some at Sūákin; and they are of the stock of Abu el Fataḥ.

The AWLÁD ABU RAKHM, near the Rahad, on the Blue Nile: these are ḤASANÍA.

The AWLÁD OBAYD near the Dinder: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

The AWLÁD HAGŪ with the YA'AQŪBÁB: these are ḤASANÍA.

The AWLÁD ḤAMMAD IBN 'ALÍ of the ZAGHÁWA hills in Kordofán: these are ḤASANÍA; and they have migrated to Gebel Abu Sinūn and Tekali and Dárfūr and are known as AWLÁD EL AK-ḤAL. Some of them too are near Erḳud.

The AWLÁD ZAYD EL ABLAG in Dárfūr: these are ḤASANÍA.

The AWLÁD EL SHERÍF HÁSHIM ABU NIMSHA in Dár Borkū: these are ḤASANÍA.

The BENI ḤUSAYN in Dár Sulá: these are ḤUSAYNÍA.

¹ reading كنا for كتار.

² reading ولد for و.

³ reading اسلاج for اسلانج.

CXXVI As regards the tribes of the GAWÁMA'A:—the HOMRÁN section consists of

{ the AWLÁD GÁMA'I
the SERAYHÁT
the TERAYFÍA
the AWLÁD MURG
the FADAYLÍA
the GHANAYMÍA
the GAMRÍA

CXXVII The GIMÍ'ÍA, the cousins of the HOMRÁN, consist of

{ the GEMÁMLA
the GA'AFIRÍA
the AWLÁD BÍKA

CXXVIII All of these [GAWÁMA'A] are descended from Abu Merkha the ancestor of the GA'ALIYYŪN, of the stock of el 'Abbás: and some of them are SHILLUK AWLÁD IBRÁHÍM.

CXXIX GANĀY are 'ANAG, from among the ZING.

CXXX The KABÁBÍSH are a composite tribe, including some SHÁṬĪÁ and GUHAYNA and ĤIMYÁR and ĶURAYSH.

CXXXI The KAWÁHLA are descended from el Zubayr (God bless him) and include some ĶURAYSH and descendants of Khálid ibn el Walíd.

CXXXII The SHENÁBLA are Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Rif*] and of Ĥimyaritic descent.

CXXXIII DÁR ĤÁMÍD are GUHAYNA by descent.

CXXXIV The ĤAWÁZMA¹ include Beduin Arabs from el Ĥegáz and BEDAYRÍA and TAKÁRÍR and scatterlings of other tribes.

CXXXV The MESSÍRÍA and BENI MUĤAMMAD and MÍMA are all of them THA'ALEBA from the BENI THA'ALEB Arabs of el Ĥegáz.

CXXXVI The RIZAYĶÁT are descendants of Gunayd, [and thus] 'ABBÁSÍA.

CXXXVII The ĤUMR are Arabs of Ĥelb in Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and the 'AYÁDÍA Arabs of Ĥíra.

CXXXVIII The HABBÁNÍA are BENI OMMAYYA by descent.

CXXXIX The BEDAYRÍA who are in the Sudan include some 'AB-BÁSÍA and some 'ANAG: they consist of

SHUWAYĤÁT
RÍÁSH
DAHMAH²
AWLÁD MŪSA
AWLÁD ĤELAYB

CXL KENÁNA are Arabs of the East by descent.

CXLI ZAGHÁWA include some BENI TAMÍM Arabs, some MÍMA and some TAKRŪR¹.

CXLII FUNKUR are 'ANAG.

CXLIII TUNGUR are by descent HILÁLA who ruled Dárfūr.

CXLIV MUSABA'ÁT are also descended from the HILÁLA Arabs.

CXLV The BENI GERÁR are FEZÁRA by descent: their ancestor was Hunád.

CXLVI The MEGÁNÍN and AWLÁD AḶOI are GUHAYNA Arabs by descent.

CXLVII FEZÁRA are among the descendants of Hunád from el Ḥegáz.

CXLVIII Of the ḤAMAR, the TAMÍMIA, viz. the stock of el Ḥág Muna'am, are BENI OMMAYYA by descent; and

The GHISHÍMÁT² are GA'ALIYYŪN, i.e. 'ABBÁSÍÁ; and

The BENI BADR are BEDAYRÍÁ; and

The TAYÁFSA³ are 'ANAG; and

The DEKÁKÍM are partly ḤUSAYNÍÁ ASHRÁF and partly BENI OMMAYYA: they also include some FŪR.

CXLIX The DANÁḶLA tribes are autochthonous and are all 'ANAG, excepting such strangers as immigrated to their country, namely the RIKÁBÍÁ AWLÁD GHULÁMULLA, who are ASHRÁF, and the GHARBÁ-WINGI from Borkū, who are 'ABBÁSÍÁ, and the DUFÁRÍÁ, who are BEDAYRÍÁ, and the BEKRÁWÍÁ, who are GA'ALIYYŪN, and the SOWÁ-RÁB, who are ASHRÁF on the side of their ancestress, the daughter of el Sheríf Aḥmad Abu Denána, and the SÁBÁWÍÁ, who are BEDAYRÍÁ of the DUFÁRÍÁ branch. The rest of the DANÁḶLA are 'ANAG and aboriginal autochthons, and there are some remnants of them at the present day who are called the NŪBA.

CL The FŪR are NŪBA with the exception of the royal house which includes Arabs of the BENI HILÁL.

CLI As regards BORKŪ, the royal house includes AWLÁD 'ABD EL RAḤMAN EL MAGDHŪB the 'Abbásid, but the rest of [the people of] Borkū are autochthonous 'ANAG, though they include some Arabs, such as the SALÁMÁT and the MAHRÍÁ, who are descendants of the BENI OMMAYYA.

CLII BORNŪ are Arabs of Ḥimyaritic stock, and include some ḤUSAYNÍÁ ASHRÁF.

CLIII BAKIRM are 'ANAG.

CLIV FELLÁTA include KURAYSH and ANṢÁR and children of the

¹ reading تكرون for تكور. ² reading الغشيمات for الخشيمات.

³ reading تبايسة for تبايسة.

White Gin which deceived the prophet of God Sulaymán (God bless him), and Christian slaves who came to West [Africa] from Aftūriá and conquered it, but were subsequently conquered by Islám and converted, and then multiplied for generation after generation in West [Africa].

CLV The rest of the inhabitants of Kordofán from the banks of the White Nile to Donkola are 'ANAG. The country to the west of it and south of it, and all its mountains, are [peopled by] NŪBA.

CLVI FERTÍT are all ZING by descent.

CLVII The BENI HELBA Arabs in the West are descended from the BENI 'ÁMIR Arabs of the Hegáz.

CLVIII So too the SELÍM Arabs on the White Nile and in the Gezira and at Tekali and in the West are descended from the SELÍM Arabs of the Hegáz.

CLIX The GELLÁBA EL HOWÁRA are from Upper Egypt [*el Ríf*] and descended from remnants of the stock of 'ÁD.

CLX The BAZA'A are descended from the tribes of EL ḤUṢŪR, Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Ríf*], and are connected in lineage with the DERR.

CLXI The SELÍMÍA are ASHRÁF, and likewise the AWLÁD EL MAGMAR at Um Gurfa¹.

CLXII The DÁGU and the inhabitants of KÁGA and KATŪL are 'ANAG.

CLXIII The GHODIÁT are HAMAG.

CLXIV The people of Sennár are BENI OMMAYYA by descent.

CLXV The MESALLAMÍA are BEDAYRÍA by descent.

CLXVI The DWAYḤ Arabs are GUHAYNA by descent.

CLXVII The NŪBA of EL ḤARÁZA and UM DURRAḤ and ABU ḤADÍD are 'ANAG, excepting the AWLÁD MAḤMŪD at el Ḥaráza who are RIKÁBÍA ASHRÁF.

CLXVIII The people of ABU TUBR are partly MÁGIDÍA, and partly RIKÁBÍA ASHRÁF.

CLXIX The NŪBA of ABU SINŪN are 'ANAG by descent.

CLXX The KURTÁN are 'ANAG by descent.

CLXXI The ḤASÁNÍA Arabs on the White Nile are GUHAYNA by descent.

CLXXII The SHANÁḲÍT in the West are a medley of Arabs, containing nomad Arabs and DERR Arabs and Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Ríf*], and there have joined them some ASHRÁF of the [BENI] 'ABBÁS and the ḤASANÍA and the ḤUSAYNÍA; and the lineage of each is known.

CLXXIII The MOGHÁRBA are Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Ríf*], and

¹ reading جرفة for جرف.

their origin is from the Tartar [*Tatar*] peasants who are in the deserts.

CLXXIV The [people of] FEZZÂN [*el Fayzân*¹] are also Arabs of Upper Egypt by descent, Tartars.

CLXXV The MOGHÁRBA AWLÁD ZERRŪḲ EL MOGHRABI are ASHRÁF ḤUSAYNÍA in the West; for the ASHRÁF in the days of the BENI OMMAYYA were scattered eastwards and westwards, and similarly the BENI OMMAYYA in the time of the BENI 'ABBÁS reached the western country [*el moghrab*] and conquered it and took possession of it, and their progeny is represented by numberless tribes in the West at present.

CLXXVI Among the ASHRÁF in the West are the stock of Muḥammad el Thauri; and of his stock are Aḥmad el Warák and Zurrŭḳ el Moghrabi and Abu el Ḥasan el Shádhalí and 'Abd el Raḥím el Bura'i; and they also include the stocks of el Shiblí and of Sheikh el Dasŭḳi. All of the above are ḤASANÍA in Morocco [*el moghrab el akṣá*].

CLXXVII The GAMŪ'ÍA and the GIMf'ÁB are GA'ALIYYŪN, *i.e.* 'ABBÁSIA, and similarly most of the SHÁÍḲÍA are GA'ALIYYŪN.

HERE ENDS BOOK II

BOOK III

CLXXVIII The original autochthonous peoples of the Sudan were the NŪBA and the Abyssinians [*el Ḥabsha*] and the ZING.

CLXXIX The first people who subsequently joined them were the BERBER.

CLXXX Every [tribe] that is derived from the HAMAG belongs to the ZING group, and every [tribe] that is derived from the FUNG belongs to the NŪBA group.

CLXXXI The tribes of the Arabs who are in the Sudan, other than these, are foreigners, and have merely mixed with the tribes mentioned above and multiplied with them. Some of them have retained the characteristics of the Arabs, and the element of NŪBA and ZING that is interspersed among them has adopted the Arab characteristics; and on the other hand there have been some Arabs who have become fused with the NŪBA and the ZING and adopted their characteristics; but in each case they know their origin.

CLXXXII The original [home] of the ZING is a mountain inhabited by blacks on the equator and south [of it]. Beyond them are no

¹ reading الفيزان for الفيوان.

other peoples; and their country stretches from West Africa [*el moghrab*] to the neighbourhood of Abyssinia, and part of it is on the Nile of Egypt.

CLXXXIII SENNÁR was a famous city of Abyssinia, containing tribes of ZING and NŪBA who were subject to Abyssinia. Subsequently, when they became powerful, they broke away from their allegiance and appointed kings of their own and defended themselves against Abyssinia and protected their lands.

CLXXXIV The BERBER are a nation of people whose tribes are innumerable, descended from the 'AMÁLIḲ. It was they of whom the saying is related "All that is abominable consists of seventy portions: of these ninety-nine [per cent. ?] is in the BERBER and the [remaining] one in the human race and the Gin."

CLXXXV Most of their tribes are in the west in the mountains of Sūs, etc., and scattered abroad in the neighbouring regions. They include ZENÁTA¹ and HOWÁRA and ṢANHÁGA and NABRA and KETÁMA and LUÁTA and MADYŪNA and SÁNA.

CLXXXVI Another nation of them lives between the Abyssinians and the ZING, on the shores of the sea of the ZING and the sea of el Yemen; and these people² are blacks and have strange beasts in their country, nor are there to be found there such animals as the giraffe, the rhinoceros, the hunting leopard, the pard and the elephant. They too it is who cut off men's organs and present them as dowries to their women.

CLXXXVII Their island lies off³ the coast of Abyan and is connected under the sea with 'Aden from the direction of the point at which Subayl rises to eastwards of that point: opposite to it lies 'Aden and in front of it is Gebel el Dukhán. This island is Soḳóṭrá⁴, lying off 'Aden and directly opposite to it.

CLXXXVIII The SALÁMÁT Arabs in the west are [descended] from ḲUPÁ'A.

CLXXXIX The people of the Sudan are the NŪBA and the Abyssinians [*el Ḥabsha*], as has been stated.

CXC The [descendants of] DAYLUM son of Básil son of Ḥasba son of Udd son of Ṭábikha son of el Yás son of Muḍr are Arabs.

CXCI GURHUM are a people in el Yemen descended from Gurhum son of Ḳaḥṭán son of 'Ámir son of Shálikh son of Arfakhshadh son of Sám son of Nūḥ; and Ismá'íl the son of Ibráhím, the Friend of

¹ reading زناتة for زنانه.

² reading هو for هم.

³ reading جزيرهم فاطعة for جزيرتهم فاطعة.

⁴ reading سموطري for سقوطري.

God, settled and married among them, and they are his relations by marriage.

CXCII THAMMŪD are the descendants of Thammūd son of 'Ábir son of Aram son of Sám son of Nūh.

CXCIII The SULAYM Arabs are said to be [descended] from ẖays 'Aylán.

CXCIV GHASSÁN are EL AZD. Of them are the BENI GAFNA, the royal family.

CXCV EL AZD are the descendants of Azd son of el Ghauth¹ son of Nabt son of Málík son of Kahlán son of Sabá. They are in Yemen and include all the ANṢÁR.

CXCVI And the children of Asad son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yás son of Muḍr are a mighty tribe descended from Muḍr EL ḤAMARÁ; and also the children of Asad son of Rabi'a son of Nizár son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán are a mighty tribe.

CXCVII The COPTS [*el ẖubṭ*] are the people of Egypt and its ultimate aboriginals: they are descended from ẖubṭ son of Miṣr son of ẖūt son of Ḥám.

CXCVIII The FRANKS [*el Afrang*] are a nation of the Romans [*el Rūm*]. They call the seat of their kingdom Franga, and its king is named "el Fransís."

CXCIX The TURKS [*el Turuk*] are a nation of people descended from Yáfith, and they include the Tartars [*el Tatár*] and Gog and Magog [*Yagūg and Mágūg*]. They are a mighty people:—there is none more numerous excepting the Abyssinians [*el Ḥabsha*]; and there is no more numerous people than the Abyssinians, excepting the Romans [*el Rūm*].

CC The name Christian [*Nuṣṣarī*] is to be traced to Christianity [*el Nuṣṣrāniya*], *i.e.* their religion and the faith they follow.

CCI "The JEWS" [*el Yahūd*] is the name of a tribe, and the name is derived from *hāda* meaning "to repent."

CCII The ROMANS [*el Rūm*] are descended from el Rūm son of Esau ['Iṣū] son of Isaac [Ishák] son of Ibráhīm the Friend of God, and they are named after their ancestor. It is related that Esau had thirty sons, of whom el Rūm was one; but these Romans have been joined by tribes [*lit.* "branches"] that did not belong to them, namely TANŪKH and NIHD and SULAYM and GHASSÁN: these tribes were in Syria [*el Shām*], and when the Muslims drove them out they entered the lands of the Romans and mingled and multiplied with them and were reckoned as Romans by descent; but they are not Romans and the Roman genealogists know the fact.

¹ reading غوث for غوث.

CCIII NIHD are the sons of Nihd son of Zayd son of Líth son of Aslam son of el Háf son of Qudá'a.

CCIV TANŪKH are a tribe from el Yemen. They and the BENI NIMR and the BENI KELB are brethren.

CCV TAKRŪR is the name of a famous city in the Sudan: it lies south and west of the Nile, and its inhabitants are naked blacks. The rule of it is in the hands of the Muslims; and the nobles among these Muslims wear a long shirt, the train [*lit.* "tail"] of which is carried by their servants. Arab merchants travel thither to them with wool and brass and beads, and fetch thence pure gold.

CCVI ABYSSINIA is an enormous country. There was a city under the rule of the Abyssinians called Akhshūm¹, also known as Dhur Taḥná, where the Negus [*Negāshī*] lived; and a number of countries were subject thereto, including the country of Amḥara² (which is still so subject) and the country of Sáwa and the country of Dámūt and the country of Lamán and the country of el Sínhū and the country of the ZING and the country of 'Adel el Amrái and the country of Ḥamásá and the country of Bádimyá and the country of Abu Ḥaráz el Islámi and the country of Zíla'a. Each one of these countries has a king [who is] under the Khaṭi (which means Sultan), under whom there is a total of 99 kings, he himself being the hundredth.

CCVII Now all the Sudan used to be in fear of the king of Abyssinia and court him with flattery, in some cases obeying him and in some [merely] flattering him.

Finally they broke away from their allegiance to him, and each mountain became independent, and his rule was restricted to the mountains of the Abyssinians.

CCVIII Subsequently the HAMAG conquered the banks of the White Nile, and the nations of the ZING were divided into numerous sections, of whom some found leaders among their own number, and others were subjected by the tribes of the Arabs who conquered their land.

CCIX Lastly the dominion of Kordofán fell to the FUNG³ for seven years, then to the GHODIÁT (who are HAMAG by descent) for thirteen years. After the GHODIÁT, the MUSABA'ÁT ruled it for seventeen years: then [the] KUNGÁRA (who are the rulers of Dárfūr) ruled it for thirty-six years.

CCX The Turks took Kordofán from the KUNGÁRA in the year 1233⁴, having one year previously taken the dominion of the White Nile from the *Meks* of the GA'ALIYYŪN and the remnants of the HAMAG.

¹ reading اخشوم for اخشمر.

² reading امجرة for امجرة.

³ reading للونج for للونج.

⁴ 1818 A.D.

CCXI God knows the truth, and He is the first and the last, and to Him do all men return.

CCXII Be it known that this compilation is from the histories [*lit.* "history"] of three men.

CCXIII From the beginning to the mention of the Khalīfas, and on to the mention of 'Īsa, the prophet of God, is by el Sayyid Ghulāmulla.

CCXIV From the first "*tanbīh*," at which point begins the account of KHUZĀM and BENI KHUZAYMA, is by el Sayyid Muḥammad walad Dólib the elder, up to the second "*tanbīh*."

CCXV From the second "*tanbīh*," at which begins the account of the origin of the Sudanese, up to the end of the book, is by el Sayyid Muḥammad walad Dólib the younger, who is buried at Khorisi.

CCXVI This work was copied by my father in his handwriting in 1252¹ from the copy made in 1151²; and I made this copy on the second of Ramaḍán in the year 1302³ after the Flight of the Prophet.

¹ 1836 A.D.

² 1738 A.D.

³ 1884 A.D.

D 1 (NOTES)

Note that where the reference to Wüstenfeld is marked by a letter the tribe in question is Ismā'īlitic in descent; but where the reference is marked by a figure the tribe is Ẓaḥḥānīte.

II Makhzūm to Fīhr correct: see Wüstenfeld, R 17.

III Ghatafān to Ẓays 'Aylān correct: see Wüstenfeld, H 8.

IV This Ẓuṭayf is not in Wüstenfeld. The BENI ṬAI are Ẓaḥḥānīte.

V See Wüstenfeld, 7. This Ẓuṭayf was son of 'Abdulla son of Nāgia... etc.

Farwa was the eighth generation in the direct line from Ẓuṭayf.

VI Cp. Ibn Khaldūn (trans. de Slane, Vol. III, p. 180). He states that genealogists are united in saying that the ZENĀTA are descended from Chana. "Abou Mohammed ibn Hazm écrit, dans son Djemhera: 'quelques uns d'entre eux [*i.e.* Berbers] disent que Chana est le même personnage que Djana fils de Yahya fils de Soulat fils d'Ourçak fils de Dari fils de Zeddjik fils de Madghis fils de Berr.'" Ibn Khaldūn mentions also a variant given by the same author, viz. Chana (or Djana) son of Yahya son of Soulat son of Ourçak son of Dari son of Chacfoun son of Bendouad son of Im̄la son of Madghis son of Herek son of Herçac son of Guerad son of Mazîgh son of Herak son of Herîk son of Bedîan son of Kenan son of Ham.

VII See Wüstenfeld, 6. Nebhān was great-grandson of Ṭai, the founder of the great Ẓaḥḥānīte tribe of ṬAI. The descendants of Nebhān are correctly given, but for مسر Wüstenfeld gives مسخر; and "MESSIRĪA" may thus be a corruption of "MESKHĪRĪA." Cp. paras. xxv and cxxxv and see Part III, Chap. 3, *sub* "ḤAWĀZMA."

VIII Pedigree given correctly, but contrast para. CLI: see Wüstenfeld, 1. The Mahrīa are a branch of ẒUDĀ'A. Cp. D'Arvieux's *Travels* (p. 345): "Mahrah is a Province in which there are neither Palms nor Cultivated Lands: The Inhabitants have no other Effects than Camels... Alsahah reports that the Camel called Almahrari or of Mahrah is so named from Mahrah the son of Hamdan, the Founder of a tribe." See also el Mas'ūdī (Chap. 16): "They (*i.e.* the people of el Mahrah) have a sort of camel called Mahri camel: it goes as fast as the Bejāwī camel, or even faster as some think."

IX Sabā was son of Yashgub (or Yashḥub) son of Ya'arub: see Wüstenfeld, 1.

The "lesser" and the "least" Ḥimyars are not mentioned by Wüstenfeld, but their alleged ancestors are: see Wüstenfeld, 3.

A confusion has arisen between two men called Zayd: one, the son of Sahal son of 'Amr, was the ancestor of Mālīk and 'Adi, etc., as given: the other was son of Sadad son of Zura'a son of Sabā "the lesser," who was grandson of the first Zayd (son of Sahal). Sahal and Zayd have been transposed by the copyist: otherwise all is correct from Sabā "the lesser" to el Gh nth.

"Hadhár" is an obvious slip for Gaydán (حذار for جیدان).

"Son of 'Auf" should be inserted before "son of 'Arīb.

"El Ferangag" should be Ĥimyar (*i.e.* the "greater").

By these "three Ĥimyars" are perhaps not meant persons but sections of the great Ĥimyarite tribe, descended from Kaḥṭān. It will have been seen that both the lesser branches mentioned are descended from Zayd ibn Sahal, who was the fifteenth descendant, in the direct line, of Ĥimyar the "greater."

The copyist sometimes gives "Yashḥub," sometimes "Yashgub," or even "Yashkhub." Wüstenfeld uses "Yashgub" (and so too Ibn el Athīr): Abu el Fidá uses "Yashḥub."

x Pedigree given correctly: see Wüstenfeld, D. 'Ámir was of the tribe of HAWÁZIN.

xi For Báhila see Wüstenfeld, G. "Ma'aql" is no doubt an invention.

xii THAKĪF is a branch of HAWÁZIN: see Wüstenfeld, G. Contrast para. CXXXVI.

xiii Correct: see Wüstenfeld, D. For BENI 'ÁMIR see note to x.

xiv Correct: see Wüstenfeld, H. Contrast para. CXLVII.

xv "Son of 'Amr" is omitted between Málík and Murra: otherwise correct: see Wüstenfeld, i.

xvi Pedigree correct: see Wüstenfeld, N. "Fourth" is a slip for "fourteenth." Cp. para. CXL.

xvii Correct: see Wüstenfeld, i.

xviii The "KARG" are the Georgians: cp. Abu el Fidá (p. 168), and el Mas'ūdi (p. 433).

xix "Šīn" is China. "Tafmág" I cannot trace: it is not in Yaḳūt. "The lands of Islam which are beyond the river" are Transoxiana.

xx Two words here are illegible.

The pedigree from el Khulug to Kenána is correct: see Wüstenfeld, N. But Málík, and not el Ḥarīth his son, is the first common ancestor of el Khulug and 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb (for whom see Wüstenfeld, P).

xxi See Wüstenfeld, O.

This Kays is not mentioned by Wüstenfeld.

xxii "ZING" is used by Arab writers as a generic name for the East African blacks: *e.g.* see el Mas'ūdi (pp. 178, 232, 261, 380) and Abu el Fidá (p. 174). Cp. also note to D 4, xx.

xxiii See Wüstenfeld, z. KELB is a sub-tribe of KUPÁ'A. "Son of Bukr" has been omitted between Kenána and 'Auf: otherwise the pedigree is correct as far as "Ganáb son of Hubl."

'Abdulla and 'Obayd are among the descendants of Hubl in Wüstenfeld, but are not his sons.

xxiv The pedigree is quite correct: see Wüstenfeld, D.

For Maymūna see Wüstenfeld, F: she was one of the Prophet's wives.

The battle of Hunayn took place in 630 A.D.: at it Muḥammad defeated the BENI HAWÁZIN, of whom HILÁLA (or BENI HILÁL) are a section.

For Abu Zayd el Hiláli see MacMichael (*Tribes...*), *passim*, and Part I, Chap. 4.

xxv This is repeated from para. vii above: contrast para. CXXXV.

XXVI Contrast para. cxxxvii, and see note to A 11, LXII. The vituperative remarks on the HUMR were probably added after the Dervish days and as a revenge for some injury done to the Dóálfb by that tribe.

For 'AUS see Wüstenfeld, 7; and for Aihala see Sale (*Prel. Disc.* p. 139). Aihala proclaimed himself prophet the year that Muḥammad died.

XXVII The "BULÁLA" are no doubt meant here. EL AZD are a sub-tribe of KAHLÁN: see Wüstenfeld, 9.

XXVIII For TAMÍM see Wüstenfeld, L. Cp. para. cXLVIII.

XXIX The pedigree is correct: see Wüstenfeld, G. Cp. para. cXCIII.

For GUDHÁM see Wüstenfeld, 5.

XXX See Wüstenfeld, H. The pedigree of Bedr is correct. Cp. para. cXXXIX.

XXXI The pedigree is correct: see Wüstenfeld, G.

For KAYS 'Aylán see Wüstenfeld, D, where KAYS is shown as son of 'Aylán son of Muḍr. Others give KAYS 'Aylán as a single name and son of Muḍr, cp. ABC, xxv *et seq.* Abu el Fidá (*q.v.* p. 194) discusses this question and also mentions the story that 'Aylán was a horse.

KAYS Kubba was son of el Ghauth: see Wüstenfeld, 9.

XXXII Bagla (whose pedigree is correctly given) was of the tribe of EL AZD (see Wüstenfeld, 10), but she married one of the BENI SULAYM (see Wüstenfeld, G).

XXXIII Correct: see Wüstenfeld, J.

XXXIV All correct: see Wüstenfeld, J.

XXXVI Correct: see Wüstenfeld, 5.

XXXVII "Son of Zayd" should be inserted between Udad and "Yash-khub." The rest is correct: see Wüstenfeld, 4.

XXXVIII Correct: see Wüstenfeld, M.

XXXIX Correct: see Wüstenfeld, 1.

XL Not in Wüstenfeld.

XLII See Wüstenfeld, 11.

XLIII The KHAṬÁ are the people of Chinese Turkestan: see Huart, p. 363.

XLIV From 'Áish to Fíhr is correct: see Wüstenfeld, O. Fíhr is the same as Kúraysh. 'Awaymir and Sá'ada are not mentioned by Wüstenfeld.

XLV See Wüstenfeld, 9. There was an Abu Házim of the BAḠÍLA, but his only recorded son was called KAYS, not Házim.

XLVI See Wüstenfeld, 11. Má-el-Samá was the name of 'Ámir and not of Rabi'a, and Rabi'a is the same as Loḥay. Loḥay and Afšá and 'Oday were the sons of Háritha, and their descendants, as stated, are KHUZÁ'A. Ka'ab was grandson of Loḥay.

XLVII These persons are not in Wüstenfeld (*q.v.* G). Cp. para. cXXXVIII.

XLVIII "[Married] to" is literally تحت, *i.e.* "under."

See Wüstenfeld, G and 7. All is correct but that "son of Málik" has been omitted between Ma'an and Á'sir.

XLIX صاحب القاموس فى اللغة العربية is the Arabic of "the author... Language."

LI العلم الالهى منسوب الى افلاطون ومبناه على الاستدلال باحول
المحسوسات المعلومه بمعاونة الحس

LII "and they are founded upon... etc." is "ومبناه على الاخذ من الحس"

LIII ومبناه على الاحساس واحكام المحسوسات is "and it is founded upon...etc."

LIV ومبناه انه ماخوذ من المحسوسات is "and it is founded upon...etc."

LV From the account of the descendants of Noah and the ancient lost tribes of the Arabs, which begins here, to the mention of the conquest of Syria, is quoted, generally *verbatim*, from Ibn el Athîr's *Kāmil*. Several omissions, which sometimes do not affect the sense, but at other times completely alter it, have been made. The words inserted in square brackets in the translation do not occur in D 1, but as they are essential to the general meaning I have added them from the text of Ibn el Athîr. Copies of Ibn el Athîr are fairly common in the Sudan. The originals of the passages borrowed by the author of D 1 are to be found on the thirty-fourth and following pages of the first volume of Ibn el Athîr (ed. Cairo, 1301 A.H., el Azhar Press). Various other Arab authors give widely divergent accounts of this subject: cp. Sale (*Prel. Disc.* section 1).

LVI I.e. Shem, Ham, and Japheth. "Yāgūg and Māgūg" are "Gog and Magog." See *Qurān*, Chap. 18. After "Māgūg" Ibn el Athîr mentions the origin of the Copts, and gives an anecdote, omitted by D 1, about Hām.

LVII Cp. Genesis x. 22: "The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram." After "Aram" some comments are omitted by D 1.

LVIII "Who were" (الذين هم) should be "among whom were" (ومنهم كانت).

"Them" is the 'AMĀLĪḫ (i.e. Amalekites). El Athîr gives والفراعنة بمصر: D 1 gives ومنهم فراعنه مصر.

The children of Omaym should not have been omitted as they are referred to in the next line as though previously mentioned. Two lines of Ibn el Athîr, about the BENI OMAYM and their tragic fate as unbelievers, are omitted, possibly owing to a superstitious fear: cp. note to LXVI.

LIX Yathreb is the old name of Medīna. D 1 appears to have omitted these words merely because 'Abīl had not been mentioned before: in consequence the sense has become nil.

LX Ṣana'a was originally called Ozal (see Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 2).

Some remarks by Ibn el Athîr about the 'AMĀLĪḫ are here omitted by D 1.

LXII The handiest reference to these lost tribes of the Arabs is Sale's *Prel. Disc.* section 1.

There were two of the ancient tribes called GURHUM: see Sale, *Prel. Disc.* pp. 6, 7, 9. Cp. para. cxci.

El 'Āriba are the pure original Arabs: el Muta'ariba the insidious Arabs: see Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 7. Some remarks of Ibn el Athîr are here omitted.

LXIII By الحجر ("the rocky country") is meant Arabia Petraea (see Abu el Fidā, p. 16).

The author of D 1 by omitting the words inserted in brackets has completely altered the sense.

For "Gau" cp. Sale (*Prel. Disc.* p. 4) and Mas'ūdi (ed. B. de M. Vol. III, Chap. XLVII, pp. 276, 288).

LXIV EL NEBṬ are the Nabateans. El Mas'ūdi (p. 77) speaks of Nimrod as son of Māsh and builder of the tower of Babel and king of the NEBṬ. The term NEBṬ seems to designate vaguely the Chaldean element of Mesopotamia. See Palgrave, *C. and E. Arabia*, II, 158 *et seq.*

LXV "Son of Lāūdh" is not in Ibn el Athīr. In Abu el Fidá Fāris appears as son of Lāūdh.

LXVI Ibn el Athīr's remark that Ḳaynān was a sorcerer is omitted by D I; many authors similarly omit his name altogether from the genealogies from superstition: see Abu el Fidá (p. 20) and Ibn el Athīr (Vol. I, p. 35) on this point.

Shālikh = Salah: 'Ābir = Eber: Fāligh = Peleg: see Genesis, chap. x. After "Fāligh" D I has omitted Ibn el Athīr's note to the effect that "in his days was the earth divided."

Ḳaḥṭān is the ancestor of all the Yemenite Arabs, or 'Arab el 'Āriba, whereas Fāligh, as being forefather of Abraham, is ancestor of the whole Ismā'īlitic stock.

The insertion here of Yūnān is a mistake. Ibn el Athīr mentions him later as son of Yāfith. He is the legendary ancestor of the Greeks, who were called Yūnāniyyūn before they were subjected by the Romans. The word is the same etymologically as "Ionian."

"*And Ḳaḥṭān begot...*" The text of Ibn el Athīr runs فولد لقحطان يعرب ويقطان فنزلا اليمن ("and Ḳaḥṭān begot Ya'arub and Yūḳẓān and they two settled in el Yemen"), but the copyist has transferred from the end of the chapter the names of the descendants of Ya'arub to here, with the result that after the two lines dealing with them he blandly continues ويقطان نزلا اليمن ("and Yūḳẓān settled (*dual*) in el Yemen").

For the descendants of Yashgub and Sabā cp. Wüstenfeld, 5.

LXVII Among the BENI LAKHM were the kings of Ḥīra, who were known as the "Mondars" ("MONĀDIRA"): cp. Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 9.

LXVIII "*And were...*" Ibn el Athīr gives كان (*i.e.* the dual is dropped): D I gives هم (*i.e.* the descendants of Ya'arub and Yūḳẓān).

أول من سلم عليه بابيت اللعن—the formula used in addressing the ancient Arab kings was أَيْبَتِ اللّٰعَنَ (see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, Part III, p. 3, and cp. el Mas'ūdi, ed. Sprenger, Chap. III, p. 78, and ed. B. de M. Vol. III, Chap. XLIV, p. 201).

LXIX Ar'ū is the biblical "Reu," Sārūgh "Serug," Nāhūr "Nahor," and Tārikh "Terah." Cp. B I, xxvi.

LXX Nimrūdh, or "Nimrod" (*q.v. supra*, note LXIV), appears in el Mas'ūdi (p. 77) as son of Māsh son of Aram; in el Ṭabari (p. 127) as son of Kana'an; and in Abu el Fidá (p. 20) as son of Kūsh: the last version is mentioned by Ibn el Athīr but omitted by the copyist.

Sind and Hind are intended to represent India. "India" is originally "the land of the Hind," meaning the people of the south and east of the peninsula: generally the people of the north-eastern part were called the

Sind (see el Mas'ūdi, p. 176, note), but Abu el Fidá (p. 174) speaks of the Sind as west of the Hind.

LXXI Yuktán or Kahtán is the biblical Joktan.

LXXII Ibn el Athír gives the tribes of ŞANHÁGA and KETÁMA as exceptions. Cp. para. CLXXXIV.

LXXIII No mention of the Romans occurs in this position in Ibn el Athír, who, after dealing with the Berber, passes on to the sons of Yáfith. He later merely mentions that the Romans are descended from Lanţi son of Yūnán son of Yáfith, but omits the explanatory details given by the copyist. By the "early Romans" (الروم الاول) the copyist means the Romans, the centre of whose power was Rome, and by the "later Romans" (الروم الثانى), the Byzantines.

LXXIV Cp. Genesis, chap. x. 2. Gámir is "Gomer," Máshig "Meshech," and Tírash "Tiras."

LXXVI The KHAZAR are a people on the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus.

ASHBÁN is the Arabic equivalent for "Hispani," i.e. Spaniards: see el Mas'ūdi, p. 369.

For a wonderful account of "Gog and Magog" see el Ṭabari, Chap. VIII.

The "SAGHÁLIBA" are the Slavonians: see el Mas'ūdi, p. 72.

"BURGÁN" is the same as "Bulghár," i.e. Bulgarians. The former term is used by el Mas'ūdi (Chap. xxxv).

El 'Ais is "Esau," and Ishák "Isaac." Some further remarks of Ibn el Athír are here omitted by the copyist. It is here, too, that the mention of the Romans (see note LXXIII) occurs.

LXXVII Cp. Genesis x. 6: "Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan." "Kūt" (قوط) is the reading both in Ibn el Athír and the copyist, but el Mas'ūdi (Chap. XLVII) gives Fūt (as son of Ham)—whence the Biblical Phut. "Kūt" generally denotes the Goths.

The copyist has very slightly paraphrased the text for the next few lines.

LXXXI The series of quotations from Ibn el Athír breaks off at the end of this paragraph.

LXXXII For Šabá and the dispersion of the tribes, see Kūrán, Chap. 34, with Sale's notes, and Abu el Fidá, Bk. IV (p. 114) and Bk. V (p. 182). The whole of the following tradition is given in el Mas'ūdi, Chap. XLII.

By LAKHM here is meant those BENI LAKHM who founded the dynasty of the MONÁDIRA (q.v. note LXVII) which ruled in Híra and Anbár from about 210 to 634 A.D. (See Van Dyck, p. 24.)

The Kendite dynasty ruled in Negd from 450 to 530 A.D. (see Van Dyck, p. 32); but for "KENDA" el Mas'ūdi gives "KENÁNA" (B. de Meynard's edition).

ANMÁR were a section of EL AZD: for them and KHAT'AM (or KHATH'AM) and BAGĠLA see Wüstenfeld, 9.

LXXXIII Márib was the site of the great reservoir. For the impiety of the local tribes, it was broken down by a great flood, which destroyed most of the inhabitants of the vicinity: see Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 8, and text, p. 323.

The Ghassánite dynasty ruled a part of Syria from 37 to 636 A.D.: see Van Dyck, p. 28. Cp. para. cxciv.

AUS and KHAZRAG were great Ḳaḥṭānite tribes, descended from EL AZD: see Abu el Fidá, p. 184. They formed the bulk of the "ANṢĀR." Hence some Sudan tribes like to claim descent from them, and especially from Khazrag. Cp. para. cxcv.

'Amr ibn 'Amir is the 'Amr Muzayḳiá mentioned in para. xlvi.

LXXXIV Cp. BA, XLVIII, XLIX.

LXXXV Cp. BA, LI.

LXXXVI "Anas" [انس] should be "Unays" [انيس] as in BA, LVIII, q.v. for an account of 'Abdulla el Guhani.

The "Dhubián" and "Sufián" mentioned in the next paragraph had no connection with the real 'Abdulla "el Guhani." I incline to think that certain members of the tribe of Ghatafán (a division of the Ismailitic ḲAYS 'AYLÁN) were in the author's mind, because among the direct descendants of Ghatafán occur Dhubián, 'Abs, Fezára, Sufián, Mázin, Šárid, Dahmán, Ḳays and Rayth (see Wüstenfeld, H), all of which names are closely connected in the Sudanese *nishas* with 'Abdulla el Guhani. How the confusion arose is not at all clear. See also note to BA, LVIII.

LXXXIX Cp. BA, LIX *et seq.*

XC See note to BA, LXVII.

XCI Cp. BA, LXII, LXIII.

XCII Cp. para. cxxxv and BA, ccvii, clxxxix; C 6, III, etc.

"Suhayl" should be "Shaṭīr."

The pedigree of Ghulámulla, as given by the owner of D 1, the descendant and successor of its author, is as shown in the inset to the genealogical tree that illustrates D 1. The generations from Muḥammad el Gawád upwards are given correctly.

For the descendants of Ghulámulla see BA, clxxxix, D 3, 222, etc.

XCIV Cp. BA, LXVI.

XCVI This story does not occur elsewhere.

XCVIII Cp. BA, LXXIII.

CI This Dafa'alla's biography is given in D 3 (q.v.).

CII The 'ĀḠILĀB are the descendants of Muḥammad Abu 'Āḳla, the father of 'Abdulla el Ṭerayfi. See D 3, 41 and 42.

CIII What the author really means is that the term GA'ĀFIRA is used in three senses. The first group he mentions are meant apparently to be classed as GUHAYNA, 'Amir and 'Omran being sons of Sulṭán. Cp. ABC, xxxi. In reality the division is probably quite fallacious and the well-known Upper Egyptian tribe of GA'ĀFIRA are intended in every case. For their settlement between Esna and Aswán see Burckhardt, p. 133. There are a certain number of them in all the bigger towns of the Sudan at the present day.

CIV Cp. para. xcii.

CV *et seq.* Cp. para. xcii; BA, clxxxix *et seq.*; D 3, 222, etc.

CXI 'Ali walad 'Ishayb is No. 60 in D 3.

"Households" is بيوت.

CXVIII Ḥabīb Nesi is No. 105 in D 3.

CXXI Abu Tubr is a hill in northern Kordofán. *Tubr* is the name of a common convolvulus.

CXXV The term *Sherif* (pl. *Ashraf*) is used indiscriminately for descendants of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn. "In Arabia the Sharif is the descendant of Ḥasan through his two sons Zaid and Hasan al-Musanna: the Sayyid is the descendant of Hosayn through Zayn al-Abidin. . . ." "This word (*s.c.* Sayyid) in the Northern Hijaz is applied indifferently to the posterity of Hasan and Hosayn" (Burton, *Pilgrimage*..., II, pp. 3 and 7, notes).

For the Mirghanía see D 7, CXCI, note.

The best known of the AWLÁD EL HINDI is "el Sherif" Yūsef el Hindi, a *feki* much respected in the Gezira and among the nomads; see C 9, XXVI.

For the AWLÁD EL MAGDHŪB see D 3, 123. It is they to whom Burckhardt refers when he says (p. 51): "The few Nubians who know how to write, and who serve the governors in the capacity of secretaries, are taught by the Fokara of Damer . . . who are all learned men, and travel occasionally to Cairo"; and again (p. 266) he apparently refers to them, when speaking of Damer, as the "Medja-ydin" religious men or "family of Medjdoule," through whose learning Damer had acquired a great reputation.

For Bedr ibn Um Bárak walad Maskín see D 3, 76.

For the AWLÁD MUṢṬAFA see D 3, 210.

"AWLÁD 'ABDULLA EL MEKANI at el Táka" (عبد الله المكنى بالتاكة) (اولاد عبد الله المكنى بال... بالتاكة) may be an error for "التاكة بال... بالتاكة" ("The sons of 'Abdulla nicknamed el . . . at el Táka").

For the AWLÁD HAGŪ see D 3, 107.

The AWLÁD EL AK-ḤAL are really included among the descendants of Ghulámulla (*i.e.* the first group of ASHRÁF): see D 3, 222.

CXXVIII "Abu Merkha" is "Ṣubuḥ Abu Merkha."

CXXIX The DINKA tribes are mcant.

CXXXI Cp. BA, CXVIII.

CXXXII Contrast BA, CVIII.

CXXXIII Cp. BA, CIX, CX.

CXXXIV Cp. para. XLV, *supra*. The BEDAYRÍA and TAKÁRÍR elements are chiefly represented in the ḤALÁFA section of the HAWÁZMA. See Part III, Chap. 3 (*d*).

CXXXV Contrast VII and XXV, *supra*, and D 2, XXXVIII.

CXXXVI Contrast XII, *supra*.

CXXXVII Contrast XXVI, *supra*.

CXXXVIII Contrast XLVII, *supra*.

CXXXIX Contrast XXX, *supra*.

CXL Cp. XVI, *supra*.

CXLI Cp. XXII, *supra*.

CXLVI Cp. BA, CXI.

CXLVII Cp. XIV, *supra*.

CXLVIII The TAMÍMÍA and the others mentioned are all sections of the ḤAMAR.

CXLIX For the RIKÁBÍA, etc., see index for references.

For Aḥmad Abu Denána see C 8, XXXII (note).

The "NŪBA" here mentioned are those of G. el Ḥarāza and other hills of northern Kordofān.

CL See Part I, Chap. 4.

CLI Cp. paras. CLXXXVIII and VIII.

CLIV Cp. BA, CLIX, etc.

"Aftūriā" (افتوريا) may be an error for "Uruba" (*i.e.* Europe).

CLVI Cp. note to para. XXII.

CLVII Contrast D 2, XXXIX.

CLVIII Contrast D 2, XXXVII.

CLIX See para. LXIII.

CLXI Um Gurfa is a district near to the east of Kāgmār in Kordofān.

CLXII See Part I, Chap. 4, *sub* "BIRKED."

CLXV Contrast D 2, xv; BA, CLXXVIII, etc.

CLXVII See CXXII, *supra*.

CLXVIII See CXXI, *supra*.

CLXIX Abu Sinūn is a hill lying N.W. of el Oḡeid in Kordofān.

CLXXI Contrast D 2, XXXIV, etc.

CLXXIII "MOGHĀRBA" is the usual plural of "Moghrabi" ("Moor"). The Arabic here is *أصلهم من الفلاحين تتر الدين بالبوادي*.

CLXXV A Zurrūk el Moghrabi is mentioned in Ḥāgi Khalfā (Vol. III, p. 418, No. 6222) as a joint author of *Risālat el Ṭuruk*. The MOGHĀRBA of the Blue Nile claim descent from "Aḥmad Zerrūk" and speak of him as a *wali* of the Shādhaliā *ṭarṭha* in Tunis, and a *Shertf*. See Part III, Chap. 4 (b).

CLXXVI Of these ASHRĀF the only ones I have been able to identify are:

1. Zurrūk el Moghrabi, for whom see the preceding note.

2. Abu el Ḥasan el Shādhali, for whom see note to para. LI of AB. He died in 1258.

3. El Shibli: viz. Bedr el Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdulla el Damashķi el Terābulusi. He was a Ḥanafite and died in A.D. 1367-8. He wrote *Akām el Margān*, *Mahdsin el Wasdīl*, etc. (See Ḥāgi Khalfā's *Lexicon*, Vol. I, p. 386, No. 1088, and Vol. V, pp. 453 and 413.)

4. Ibrāhīm el Dasūķi was a Ṣūfī Imām of Egypt. He was born in 1240 and died in 1277 A.D. (see Na'ūm Bey, Part I, pp. 130 ff.).

Aḥmad el Warāķ, Muḥammad el Thauri, and 'Abd el Raḥīm el Bura'i I cannot identify either from Yāķūṭ (*Irshād el Arṭb*) or Ḥāgi Khalfā.

CLXXVIII The Arabic of paras. CLXXVIII and CLXXIX is as follows:

أصل السودان اهل الوطن النوبة والحبشة والزنج ثم اول داخل عليهم
البربر

This is taken probably from Ibn Khaldūn (Bk. 2, p. 105), and the remark about the BERBER may be a misunderstanding of Ibn Khaldūn's quotation from Ibn Sa'id to the effect that next to the Zing are the "Berbera."

CLXXX The FUNG regard themselves as BENI OMMAYYA slightly leavened by negroes. The HAMAG are considered as GA'ALIŪN (*i.e.* 'ABBĀSĪA) leavened by negroes. Where they make a distinction as between BENI OMMAYYA and BENI 'ABBĀS our author, looking rather to the black element, distinguishes only between ZING and NŪBA.

CLXXXIII Menelik II in 1891 wrote to the European powers "En indiquant aujourd'hui les limites actuelles de mon Empire, je tâcherai . . . de rétablir les anciennes frontières de l'Éthiopie, jusqu'à Khartoum et jusqu'au lac Nyanza. . ." (see *Le Soudan Egyptien*, by Grégoire Sarkissian, Paris, 1913, p. 92). Cp. also Ludolfus (*Hist. of Ethiopia*, trans. Gent, 1684, Bk. 1, Chap. xvi): "... Sennar or Fund, governed by its peculiar king, formerly a tributary to the Abessines, but now absolute." See also note to MS. D 7, 1.

CLXXXV Several of the Arabic historians (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn and el Mas'ūdī, Chap. XLVI) give the subdivisions of the BERBER in North Africa. Some of the names here are corrupt: ZENĀTA, HOWĀRA, ṢANHĀGA, KETĀMA, and LUĀTA are well known. "MADYŪNA" (مديونة) is perhaps "MAṢMŪDA" (مصمودة). "NABRA" (نبرة) is certainly an error for "NAFZA" (نفزة). See Part II, Appendix to Chap. 1.

CLXXXVI The people of the modern Berbera are alluded to.

CLXXXVII The Arabic here is at fault: it reads as follows:

وجزيرهم راطعة من حد ساحل ابين ملتحة في البحر بعدن من نحو
مطالع سبيل الي ما يشرق عنها وفيها حاذي منها عدن وقابله جبل الدخان
وهي جزيرة سعوطري مما يقطع بعدن ثابتا علي السمة

"Suhayl" is Canopus.

Yāqūt (*Kitāb mu'agam el Buldān*, sub "Abīn") quotes el Ṭabari as saying "Aden and Abyan were the two sons of 'Adnān ibn Udad," and of the position of Abyan says: وهو مخالف بالبين منه عدن.

De Herbelot (p. 329) speaks of Aden as "Aden Abyan."

"Gebel el Dukhān" is the volcanic Gebel Tair (Bruce, Vol. II, p. 232).

CLXXXVIII Cp. para. CLI.

CXC See Wüstenfeld, J. "Ḥasba" (حسبة) is a copyist's error for "Ḍabba" (ضبة).

CXCI, CXCII See para. LXII.

CXCII See para. XXIX.

CXCIV See para. LXXXIII, and Wüstenfeld, 11 and 12.

CXCV See paras. LXXXII, LXXXIII and Wüstenfeld, 9. "Zayd" is omitted between Mālik and Kahlān.

CXCVII Contrast para. LXXIX.

CXCVIII This is practically the same as Abu el Fidā's "... El Afrang who are many nations and the seat of whose kingdom is originally Franga (or Fransa), which borders on the northern frontier of the Andalusian peninsula; and their king is called 'el Fransīs'" (see Abu el Fidā, p. 170).

CXCIX Contrast para. LXXVI.

CCI The 3rd pers. sing. pres. tense of *hdda* is *yahūdu*.

CCII "The Byzantine Greeks" would perhaps better express the meaning of *el Rūm* here.

CCIII Correct: see Wüstenfeld, 1.

CCIV See Wüstenfeld, 2.

CCVI "Akshūm" is Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Following the rise of the Muhammadan power in the seventh century the frontiers

of Abyssinia were forced further westward, and as a result the capital was shifted to Gondar.

Of the provinces mentioned Amhara is well known, "Sáwa" is Shoa (or Xoa), "Dámūt" is Damota (or Great Damot), "'Adel el Amrái" is Adel, "Ḥamásá" is Hamazen, "Bádimyá" is probably the "Bagemder" of Ludolfus (p. 14), and "Zíla'a" is probably Zeila on the northern coast of Somaliland.

CCIX For the following see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, Chap. 1) and Part I, Chap. 4.

The date 1233 should be 1236.

CCXIII Ghulámulla is the ancestor of the RIKÁBIA. Mentions of him are very frequent: see BA, CLXXIX, CLXXXI and D 3, 189 and D 5 (d).

For this Muḥammad walad Dólib see D 3, 187.

MANUSCRIPT D 2

Introduction

MUHAMMAD AḤMAD 'OMAR, 'omda of the second *khuṭ* of el Kámlín district and by race one of the FÜNG, wrote out the MS. here translated for me. He based it on documents in his possession, but it is obviously a *précis* rather than a copy, and some of the statements concerning the tribes, however true they may be, may have been added from his own knowledge or recollection and not have occurred in the MS.

I The coming of the BENI OMMAYYA to the Sudan was as follows:

Sulaymán son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwán entered the Sudan and Abyssinia and dwelt in them for a space; and afterwards he migrated to the mountains of the FÜNG and married the daughter of the king Sendál el 'Ág; and they gained the ascendancy over those mountains for a [long] time, and there he begot his sons Ans and Dáūd. Dáūd was surnamed "Oudūn" and Ans "Unsa"; and Unsa begot his son 'Omára Dunḡas, who was the first of the kings of the FÜNG.

II History of the Kings of the FÜNG at Sennár.

910, 1236, 1505.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------|----|------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | From | 910 ¹ | to | 940 | King 'Omára Dunḡas himself. |
| 2. | | 940 | " | 950 | " 'Abd el Ḳádir, his son. |
| 3. | | 950 | " | 962 | " Náíl, his brother. |
| 4. | | 962 | " | 970 | " 'Omára Abu Sakákín. |
| 5. | | 970 | " | 985 | " Dekín, son of Náíl. |
| | | 985 | " | 997 | " Ṭabl. |
| | | 997 ² | " | 1007 | " Unsa. |
| | | 1007 | " | 1013 | " 'Abd el Ḳádir II. |
| 9. | | 1013 | " | 1020 | " Adlán, son of Áya. |
| 10. | | 1020 | " | 1032 | " Bádi, known as Sídl el Ḳūm. |
| 11. | | 1032 | " | 1052 | " Rubát, his son. |
| 12. | | 1052 | " | 1088 | " Bádi Abu Duḡn. |
| 13. | | 1088 | " | 1100 | " Ounsa II. |
| 14. | | 1100 | " | 1127 | " Bádi el Aḡmar, his son. |
| 15. | | 1127 | " | 1130 | " Ounsa III. |
| 16. | | 1130 | " | 1136 | " Nūl, son of Bádi Nūl. |
| 17. | | 1136 | " | 1175 | " Bádi Abu Shelūkh. |
| 18. | | 1175 | " | 1182 | " Nāṣir. |

1505 A.D.

² reading ٩٩٧ for ٩٨٧.

19. From 1182 to 1191 King Ismá'íl.
20. „ 1191 „ 1203 „ 'Adlán II.
21. 1203 — „ Ṭabl.
22. 1203 — „ Bádi V.
23. 1204 — „ Ḥasab Rabbihi.
24. From 1204 to 1205 „ Nowár.
25. „ 1205 „ 1236¹ „ Bádi VI, son of Ṭabl.

Total 26 (*sic*)

[This list] is undisputable.

III [Thus] the FÜNG ruled, and after them there came into power the HAMAG, their viziers, until [in] 1236 A.H., on the 9th of Ramaḍán, Ismá'íl Pasha, the Egyptian Khedive, son of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, the Viceroy, came into power.

IV

The Tribes of the Arabs.

The Arabs form the bulk of the population of the Sudan. They came to it by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, and gradually gained the power over it and settled on its lands and founded in it a number of kingdoms.

V The SHÁḲÍA. Among them are the 'ADLÁNÁB and the SOWÁRÁB and the ḤANNAKÁB and the 'OMÁRÁB.

VI The DWAYḤÍA. They are of the stock of 'Abd el Raḥman wad Ḥág, who came from Mekka.

VII The 'ŌNÍA and the MANÁŞĪR. Their place is the neighbourhood of Abu Ḥammad and among them are the WAHHÁBÁB and the KEBÁNA and the SULAYMÁNÍA and the KAGŪBÁB and the KHUBARÁ and the RUBĀṬÁB, and among them are the BEDRÍA and the FERÁNĪB and the ḌA'ÍFÁB and the MÍRAFÁB, who live at Berber, and among them are the ŞÍÁM and the MUŞṬAFIÁB and the LABÍÁB and the RAḤMÁB.

VIII The GA'ALIYYŪN. The most famous of the tribes of the Arabs in the Sudan. Among them are the 'OMARÁB and the MAGÁDHĪB² and the 'ABÁBSA and the RÁSḲÍA and the SA'ADÁB and the 'AWAPÍA and the HAMAG, the viziers of the FÜNG, and the NIF'ÁB and the NÁFA'ÁB and the MUKÁBARÁB and the INḲERRIÁB³. Their locality is between Abu Ḥammad and el Khartoum and el Dámer and the desert of Ḳerri.

IX The GIMÍ'ÁB. Between Ḳerri and el Sheikh el Ṭaib.

X The 'ÁBDULLÁB. Their place is el Halfáya, and they are a branch of the ḲAWÁSMA. They are called 'ÁBDULLÁB after their ancestor 'Abdulla Gemá'a.

¹ 1821 A.D.

² reading مجاذيب for محاذيب.

³ reading انقرباب for انقروباب.

XI Now the GAMŪ'Ū and the SURŪRĀB and the GIMĪ'ĀB and the GA'ALIYYŪN and the MĪRAFĀB¹ and the RUBĀṬĀB and the SHĀĪṬĪA are all descended from the same ancestor, viz. Abu Merkha, who was ultimately descended from el 'Abbās.

XII The ḤASANĀT. Their place is round el Ḳeṭayna.

XIII The DEGHAYM and KENĀNA are the sons of 'Omar, and live at Gema'ān near Abbā Island.

XIV The SELĪM and the RUFĀ'IYYŪN are GUHAYNA by descent.

XV The MESALLAMĪA are GUHAYNA by descent, and their place is in the Gezīra.

XVI The MEDANIYYŪN. Their place is at Medani.

XVII The 'ARAKIYYŪN. Their place is Abu Ḥarāz and 'Abūd.

XVIII The KHAWĀLDA are round 'Abūd, and they are GUHAYNA by descent.

XIX The KAWĀHLA are round 'Abūd and Wad Medani, and they trace descent to Zubayr ibn el 'Awwām, and among them are the ḤASANĀT and the SHENĀBLA.

XX The YA'AḲŪBĀB² are said to trace their descent to the GA'ALIYYŪN.

XXI The 'AḲALIYYŪN. Their place is between the Dinder and the Blue Nile.

XXII The ḤAMMADA are between the Dinder and the Rahad.

XXIII The KAWĀSMA reside north of Sennār.

XXIV The KAMĀTĪR. Their place is Karkóg.

XXV The LAḤAWIYYŪN are mostly nomads and live on the east of the White Nile between el Kāwa and el Gebelayn.

XXVI The BENI ḤUSAYN are spoken of as "AWLĀD ABU RŌF," and most of their nomads are from Gebel Saḡadi and Móya to Khor el Dulayb.

XXVII The MARKŪM are a large tribe.

XXVIII The 'ULĀṬIYYŪN are mostly nomads: and all the six tribes are descended from GUHAYNA.

XXIX The FŪNG are they who founded the ancient kingdom of Sennār with the 'ĀBDULLĀB, and they were the greatest power in the Sudan, and their descent is from the BENI OMMAYYA.

XXX The HAMAG were the viziers of the FŪNG, and their descent is from the GA'ALIYYŪN.

XXXI The SHUKRĪA are GUHAYNA by descent.

XXXII The BAṬĀḤĪN are GA'ALIYYŪN by descent.

XXXIII The ḌUBĀNĪA are GUHAYNA by descent.

¹ reading مريفاب for ميرفاب.

² reading يعقوباب for يقوباب.

XXXIV The ḤASÁNĪA are KAWÁHLA by descent.

XXXV The HOWÁRA are ḤUḤŪR by descent.

XXXVI The GĪMA'A are composed of various tribes, and most of them are GA'ALIYYŪN.

XXXVII The TA'ÁISHA and the HABBÁNĪA and the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD and SELĪM are the descendants of Ḥammád son of Gunayd, [and live] round el Kalaka.

XXXVIII The ḤAWÁZMA and the ḤUMR and the MESSÍRĪA and the RIZAYKÁT are the descendants of 'Aṭīa, the brother of the Ḥammád mentioned above, and all of them are GUHAYNA.

XXXIX The BENI HĒLBA are GUHAYNA by descent.

XL The most important of the sources from which pedigrees are traced are the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI 'ABBÁS and GUHAYNA, as was pointed out by the two sheikhs Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn el Athír in their respective works.

XLI The 'AWÁMRA are all descendants of 'Ámir son of Ṣa'aṣa'a son of Dhubián son of Ḥuṣfa son of Ghílá son of Muḍr son of Nizár¹ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnán son of Ud son of Udad [etc.] up to the prophet el Sayyid Ismá'il son of our lord Ibráhīm, the Friend of God, upon both of whom be the blessings of God.

XLII Now Ismá'il son of Ibráhīm was ancestor of the Arabs, and Ishák son of Ibráhīm was ancestor of the non-Arabs [*el 'agam*]; and God knows best. The mother of the Arabs was Hágár the Copt [*el Kūbtīa*], and the mother of the non-Arabs was Sára the Israelite [*el Isrdālla*].

D 2 (NOTES)

i Cp. BA, CCXIII; A II, LIII, etc.

"Oudūn" is أودون and "Unsa" is أنسة. In the following paragraph we have "Unsa" in some places and "Ounsa" (أونسة) in others.

ii "1505" is the Christian year corresponding to 910 A.H.

v "'Omáráb" is an error.

xi "Abu Merkha" is "Ṣubuḥ Abu Merkha."

xvi See D 3, 93 note.

xxvii The MARGHŪMÁB are meant.

xxviii By "The six tribes" is meant the last six tribes mentioned.

xxx Cp. D 7, XLIX and para. VIII above.

¹ reading نزار for نذار.

MANUSCRIPT D 3

Introduction

THE remarkable work known as the *Ṭabaḳāt wad Ḍayfulla* ("Ḍayfulla's Series") was written, as we gather from biography No. 154, in 1805.

The author, "Wad Ḍayfulla," was Muḥammad el Nūr walad Ḍayfulla walad Muḥammad of the FADLIŪN section of the GA'ALIŪN. He lived at Ḥalfāyat el Mulūk, and died in 1809 (see D 7, CLXXXV and ABC, XI).

The whole book would normally cover something over two hundred medium-sized pages of closely written Arabic MS. The particular copy from which the following extracts were taken is the property of el Amīn walad Muḥammad walad Ṭāha walad el Sheikh Khógalī, the *Khalīfa* of his great-grandfather, Sheikh Khógalī, whose tomb is near Khartoum North and whose biography is included in the text (No. 154).

The family of Wad Ḍayfulla, who are now known as the ḌAYFULLĀB, still live at Ḥalfāyat el Mulūk close to the KHÓGALĀB, and though the latter are MAḤASS and the former was a Ga'ali, there has been considerable intermarriage between the two groups during the last few generations.

It is practically certain that the KHÓGALĀB copy was taken direct from the original, which is believed to be held by the *Khalīfa* of the ḌAYFULLĀB, and both internal evidence and the inherent probabilities of the case suggest that the copy is a reasonably exact and accurate one.

Other copies are known to exist; *e.g.* one belonged to the late Zubayr Pasha, one is owned by Sheikh Aḥmad el Sunna of Wad Medani, one by the BARRIĀB who live south of Wad Medani, and one by the *Khalīfa* of Sheikh Idrīs Arbāb of 'Aylafūn.

The subject-matter of the book is the biographies of the holy-men of the Sudan for about 300 years, beginning from about the first decade of the sixteenth century—in other words, during the period of the FUNG kingdom. The domed *kubbas* of most of these holy-men have survived to the present, and a fair number of additional *kubbas* have been built subsequently to commemorate the *fekis* of subsequent generations.

The author does not concern himself with lengthy genealogies of dubious authenticity, but casual details of the inter-relationship of various families are very rife, and are the more worthy of confidence in that they are purely incidental to the main purpose and mutually corroborative.

The biographies contain, as a rule, details of the place of birth, characteristics, education, career and death of each holy-man, with special mention of his manifestations of profitable and miraculous powers, his teachers, those taught by him, and any remarks made concerning him by other holy-men. In fact the method is very much that of el Mas'ūdi's panegyrics.

But though the form is to some extent stereotyped and modelled on more classical prototypes, the style of writing is distinctly original.

The Arabic is Sudanese colloquial and presents a very interesting study. No dictionary would alone enable one to deduce the meaning of all the words and phrases: one has to read them aloud and imagine a Sudanese is speaking.

The narrative as a rule is vivid and fresh: the tale is seldom spun out tediously, and there are occasional gleams of humour. In fact it is in the descriptive narrative of action that Wad Dayfulla shines, and the biographies numbered 52, 60, 63, 66, 74, 143, 153 and 207 are particularly picturesque and realistic.

The grammar is bad, the spelling indifferent, and the style loose; but there is art galore, and even a jumble of personal pronouns referring indiscriminately to two or three different people cannot obscure the fact.

The value of the book is not merely that it tells one for whom the majority of the *kubbas* that stud the Sudan were built, but that one gains some insight into the ways of living and thinking and speaking of the people of the land in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of their beliefs and customs, their superstitions and practical ideas, are revealed; and the fact that the author is not aiming at any such effect must obviously enhance the value of the information gained.

Where any test of the accuracy of dates and statements of fact is possible by cross-checking, it is surprising how seldom Wad Dayfulla is found nodding. There are no attempts either to record conversations or to specify dates in the lives of the more remote generations of *fekis*. When our author knows a date he inserts it: when he does not he omits it. He leaves the impression of a kind-hearted but perspicacious old man of careful and thorough habits, devoting his unusual gifts of memory and narration to the cause of religion, and

at the same time taking a real pleasure in regaling his contemporaries and posterity with the records of the holy-men of the past.

It is not unlikely that he drew many of his facts from the library of that Ḥasan 'Abd el Raḥman Bān el Nuḳá mentioned in D 7, cxc. Ḥasan's father was a pupil of an ancestor of Wad Ḍayfulla (see biography No. 89).

As regards the plan followed in the translation, it must be explained that only portions of the text have been selected. There are in the original many pages containing uninteresting records of movements from village to village, list of pupils, and remarks made by one holy-man as to the excellence of another. In addition, the text is frequently so blurred and blotched or torn that it is impossible to be sure of the meaning of the whole of a passage. I have therefore only translated word for word such portions as are reasonably clear and as describe some incident of interest from the historical or sociological point of view, and have noted in brief paraphrase such points as seem worthy of mention in the remainder.

Word for word translation is shown in inverted commas, paraphrase in smaller type.

N.B. 1. Such facts as are given in the English text of any biography may be taken to occur similarly in the Arabic of the same biography, and where relevant information concerning some holy-man occurs in the untranslated part of the Arabic text of the biography of someone else, it is always included in the notes to the biography of the former.

2. Dates of birth and death are not infrequently given in the course of the Arabic text. Where this is the case the dates are placed, in the English text, immediately after the name of the subject of the biography, whatever may have been their position in the Arabic MS.

3. The English equivalents of Arabic dates, notices of textual emendations, and references to the numbers allotted to the English biographies or to the genealogical trees, are placed in the textual footnotes of the translation.

4. The genealogical trees which form an Appendix to the work are compiled from the scattered remarks that occur at random in the course of the book.

I The first page consists of a fragment of three and a half lines, viz. "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. The Sheikh, the learned *feki*, the sage Muḥammad Ḍayfulla, my father and lord, said 'Praise be to God, the Mightiest of the most mighty...'"

II The second page, which is in part torn, gives a brief account, on back and front, of the story of Iblīs, Noah, the prophet Idrīs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses and Aaron.

III The third page, also fragmentary, commences with mentions of Jesus and Mary and the Jews. Praises of ḲURAYSH follow, and quotations

from the *Qurán*. On the back of this page, after an invocation to God, commences the historical portion of the work, as follows:

IV "Know that the FUNG possessed and conquered the land of the NŪBA early in the tenth century, in the year 910¹. And [then] the town of Sennár was founded by King 'Omára Dunḡas. The town of Arbagi was founded thirty years previously by Ḥegázi ibn Ma'ín.

V And in these countries neither schools for learning nor *Qurán* were in vogue; and it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man on the selfsame day without any period of probation (*'idda*), until Sheikh...(*word missing*)... el *Ḳuṣayer* el 'Araki² came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the period of probation and dwelt on the White [Nile] and built himself a castle, which is now known as 'the castle of Maḥmūd' (*Ḳuṣr Maḥmūd*).

VI And early in the second half of the tenth century the Sultan 'Omára Abu Sakaykín appointed Sheikh 'Agíb el Mángilak, and in the early days of [the latter's] rule Sheikh Ibráḥim el Bŭlád came from Egypt to the SHÁṬḲÍA country and there taught law [*Khálil*] and apostleship [*risála*]; and learning spread throughout the Gezira.

VII Then after a short time came Sheikh Táḡ el Dín el Bahári³ from Baghdád and introduced Sŭfiism into the FUNG court.

VIII Then came el Telemsáni el Moghrabi; and he inspired Sheikh Muḥammad⁴ ibn 'fṣa Sowár el Dhahab, and instructed him in dogma, and taught him what pertains to the sphere of faith, and the interpretation of the *Qurán*, and its correct recital, and the methods of reading it and its syntax.

IX And the doctrine of the Unity of God and the art of reciting the *Qurán* spread throughout the Gezira, for 'Abdulla el Aghbash⁵, and Nuṣr father⁶ of the *feki* Abu Sinayna⁷ at Arbagi, were his pupils in *Quránic* teaching.

X Then arose Sheikh Idrís⁸, who was not inspired by any other sheikh. Some say he was instructed by the Prophet, and others that a man from the west [*el moghrab*], called 'Abd el Káfi, whom he met by the way, deputed him.

XI Shortly afterwards arose Sheikh Ḥasan⁹ walad Ḥasŭna by the will of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God.

XII Then came Sheikh Muḥammad ibn...(*word missing*)...[to] the Berber country and introduced there the tenets of el Sháfa'i; and these tenets spread in the Gezira.

¹ 1504 A.D.

⁴ No. 191.

⁷ No. 51.

² No. 157.

⁵ No. 31.

⁸ No. 141.

³ No. 67.

⁶ reading *والد* for *ولد*.

⁹ No. 132.

XIII Then came the MASHÁFKHA, and the town of el Ḥalfáya was founded...." (*Page ends.*)

One or more pages are missing here. The next page extant begins with the education and rise of Sheikh Idrís¹ wad Arbáb of 'Aylafūn (*q.v.*), and from here onwards the book is complete and no pages are missing: the key-words that should connect one page with the next and that have so far failed to do so, from here onwards connect every page.

Here follow in turn extracts from the biographies of all the holy-men mentioned by the *Ṭabaḳát*. In the Arabic the names are arranged in a rough alphabetical order, and as not only are there lapses from this system but the order, when observed, is that of the Arabic alphabet, I have rearranged the order in which the biographies are given to suit the English alphabet.

A

1. "'ABD EL BĀKĪ WALAD KUWAYS, el Kahli."

Born and buried at el Shará'ana.... "He was one of the forty pupils of Sheikh Dafa'alla²."

2. "'ABD EL BĀKĪ EL WĀLĪ."

"He was one of the four contemporaries by whose lives the world profited, namely Sheikh Bedr³ ibn el Sheikh Um Bárak in the east, Sheikh Muḥammad⁴ ibn el Ṭerayfi and Sheikh Khógalí⁵ in the north, [and fourthly himself 'Abd el Bāḳi]."... His "Sheikh" was el Mesallami⁶.... "He died at Móya, a well-known hill in the south, in the days of King Bádi walad Nūl."

3. "'ABD EL DĀFA'Ī."

He lived in the south and was a pupil of Sheikh Ya'aḳūb⁷ ibn el Sheikh Bán el Nuḳá. "They were five in number who were pupils of Sheikh Ya'aḳūb, viz. Mūsa⁸ and Marzūḳ⁹ his two sons, and Hagū¹⁰ son of his sister Batūl, and 'Abd el Ráziḳ¹¹, and 'Abd el Dāfa'ī."

4. "'ABD EL DĀFA'Ī EL ḲANDĪL ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥammad, el Gamū'ī" (b. 1100 A.H.¹²; d. 1180 A.H.¹³).

He was born at el Ḥalfáya and was a follower of Sheikh Khógalí [ibn 'Abd el Raḥman].... He was taught by the *feki* Shukrulla el 'Ūdi¹⁴ (his "Sheikh") and the *feki* Belál¹⁵ and Abu el Ḥasan¹⁶.... He created a record by teaching for 58 years and performed the pilgrimage.... His death occurred at Sennár but his body was taken to el Ḥalfáya for burial.

¹ No. 141.

² No. 84.

³ No. 76.

⁴ No. 177.

⁵ No. 154.

⁶ No. 172.

⁷ No. 254.

⁸ No. 209.

⁹ No. 159.

¹⁰ No. 107.

¹¹ No. 27.

¹² 1689 A.D.

¹³ 1767 A.D.

¹⁴ No. 240.

¹⁵ No. 79.

¹⁶ No. 47.

5. "'ABD EL ḤALÍM IBN SULTÁN ibn 'Abd el Raḥman ibn el feki Muḥammad Baḥr, el Moghrabi el Fási."

His grandfather came to the Sudan with a merchant from Egypt... He himself was born at el Ḥalfáya, and his mother's name was Sīāka... He was taught by Sheikhs Ṣughayerūn¹ and Idrīs².

6. "'ABD EL QĀDIR EL BAKKĀI ibn el Ḥág Fáid."

He was born at Shendi, and had a brother named Ḥammūda... He was a disciple of Sheikh Muḥammad el Meḍowī³ ibn el Miṣri... He was buried at Abu Ḥaráz.

7. "'ABD EL QĀDIR IBN EL SHEIKH IDRÍS."

He was the youngest son of his father⁴, and was born at Abyaḍ Dfiri... His mother was Ṭáhira bint walad Abu 'Akrab, a Maḥassia... He had a son, Idrīs.

8. "'ABD EL KERÍM IBN 'AGÍB ibn Korūma, el Kahli."

He learnt Ṣūfism from the *feki* Náfa'i el Fezári, who died at el Bashákira, and who was taught it by Mukhtár⁵ walad Abu 'Anáya, el Gáma'i [i.e. of the GAWÁMA'A tribe], who was taught it by Ṭáha⁷ walad 'Omára, who was taught it by Sheikh Dafa'alla⁸ ibn el Sháfá'i, who was taught it by el Ḥág 'Abdulla⁹ el Ḥalanḳi, the disciple of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁰...

The *feki* Muḥammad ibn Medani was one of his pupils. He went on the pilgrimage but was never heard of again.

9. "'ABD EL LATÍF EL KHAṬÍB ibn el Khaṭíb 'Omára¹¹."

He was born at Sennár and in time succeeded his father as preacher... He was profoundly learned, and performed the pilgrimage... His death, at the hands of el Malik Ṣubr, was avenged upon the latter by King Bádi.

10. ¹² "'ABD EL MÁGID IBN ḤAMMAD EL AGHBASH" (d. 1121 A.H.¹³).

He was taught by his father Hammad¹⁴, and, in his turn, taught the *feki* Mekki walad Serág el Magdhūb, and the *feki* Walad Abu 'Aṣida, and the *feki* Samīḥ el Tamírabi, and the latter's two sons Sa'ad and Ḥammad.

11. ¹⁵ "'ABD EL MAḤMŪD EL NÓFALÁBI."

An 'Araki of the stock of Maḥmūd¹⁶ "Rágil el Qūṣr"... He was born at el Qūbia and attained very great fame... He was a contemporary of Sheikh Khógali¹⁷, whose daughter he married:... He was a party to a famous "*cause célèbre*," described as follows:

'Abd el Maḥmūd had married a Ga'ali woman called Ḥusna and by her had two daughters: she then demanded a divorce from him, "and he said to her 'Settle your dowry upon my daughters'; and when she had done so he divorced her. Then she went to the *feki* Ḥammad¹⁸ and offered herself to him, forgoing her right to a dowry; and he married her. And she said to him 'I have been unjustly treated by 'Abd el Maḥmūd: he robbed me of my stipulated right,

¹ No. 241.

² No. 141.

³ No. 165.

⁴ Tree 4.

⁵ No. 141.

⁶ No. 206.

⁷ No. 248.

⁸ No. 83.

⁹ No. 33.

¹⁰ No. 84.

¹¹ No. 219.

¹² Tree 2.

¹³ 1710 A.D.

¹⁴ No. 118.

¹⁵ Tree 7.

¹⁶ No. 157.

¹⁷ No. 154.

¹⁸ No. 124.

and I want you to get it back for me from him.' And the *feki* Ḥammad believed her story and complained against 'Abd el Maḥmūd to the troops encamped at Abu Zarība; but they said to him 'We will not interfere in your affairs.' Then the *feki* Ḥammad wrote to him a letter on a tablet and the contents were as follows: 'From Ḥammad ibn Mariam to 'Abd el Maṭrūd. God Almighty said "Give the women their dowry freely," and you have disobeyed the book of God and robbed the woman of her dowry. You are no 'Abd el Maḥmūd [*lit.* "Slave of Him that is praised"], you are 'Abd el Maṭrūd [*lit.* "Slave of the expelled one"]!—that is the devil. This letter he gave to a Fezāri *fakīr*; and ['Abd el Maḥmūd] said to him 'You are my disciple [*ḥowārī*] and I have educated you, and do you bring me a letter like this?' And God caused that *fakīr* to die the very same day. [Meanwhile] the *feki* Ḥammad was staying in his village, which is at Omdurmān, when fire broke out and consumed all his rooms and surrounded the room in which he was on every side. And the people said to him 'Come out'; but he replied 'I won't! Shall I leave my books?' Then Aḥmad ibn 'Ali el 'Ōnābi went in after him and brought him out, bed and all. Then they rebuilt the rooms with stone but the fire blazed up in the stone. And indeed we have seen written in the handwriting of the *feki* Ḥammad the following: 'After I escaped from the fire all and sundry believed in him and were amazed at him, and,' he added, 'el Ḥusna has done all this: she said he robbed her of her dowry,—may God call her to account!'"

12. "'ABD EL NŪR IBN OBAYD."

He was a follower of Sheikh Muḥammad¹ walad Da'ūd el Luḡr, and was buried at Abu Ḥarāz.

"'ABD EL RAḤīm IBN EL SHEIKH SULAYMĀN EL ZAMLĪ" (*vide sub* "Wadād," No. 251).

13. ²"'ABD EL RAḤīm³ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA⁴ EL 'ARAKI."...

He was known as "Ibn el Khaṭwa."... He was born in the Ḥegāz.

14. ⁵"'ABD EL RAḤMAN 'ABU FĀḲ' ibn Medani⁶ walad Um Gadayn."

He was born and buried at Nūri in the SHĀlḲĪA country, but spent part of his life at el Abwāb.

15. ⁷"'ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN ASĪD" (d. 1127 A.H.⁸).

His mother was Sitt el Dār the daughter of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman⁹ ibn Ḥammadtu, and his father Asīd, a ShāḲī of the AWLĀD UM SĀLĪM section.... He was born at Nūri.... He was taught law [*Khalīl*] by his

¹ No. 186.

² Tree 9.

³ reading عبد الرحمن for عبد الرحيم.

⁴ No. 34.

⁵ Tree 10.

⁶ No. 164.

⁷ Tree 10.

⁸ 1715 A.D.

⁹ No. 21.

maternal uncle and "Sheikh," Muḥammad¹ walad Um Gadayn, and was instructed in the Qurán by Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman² ibn el Aghbash... In 1107 A.H. [1695 A.D.] he left the SHÁÍḲÍA country with his mother's relatives, the AWLÁD UM GADAYN³, for el Abwáb... Among his followers were the noble *feki* Walad Baḥr, Sheikh ibn Medani, Málík⁴ ibn 'Abd el Raḥman, Ḥammad⁵ ibn el Magdhūb, and Muḥammad ibn Bakhít el Muḥammadábi.

16. 6 "ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN BELÁL" (d. 1155⁷ A.H.).

He was the fifth successor of Sheikh Ṣughayerūn⁸... His instructors were his father⁹ and his maternal uncle the *feki* Abu el Ḥasan¹⁰; and among his pupils were the *feki* Kumr el Dín and his brother el Zayn, the three sons of the *feki* Ḥammad el Tūd [Tór?], the *feki* Serḥán¹¹ walad Teráf, the *feki* Sanhūri¹² walad Madthir, and others.

17. 13 "ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN GÁBIR"¹⁴.

He was one of the most famous *savants* of the Sudan... He was taught by his brother Ibráḥím el Búlád and by Sídí Muḥammad el Banūfari... "He taught the science of law [*lit. Khalīl*] from beginning to end forty times, and he had under him three mosques, in the SHÁÍḲÍA country, at Korti, and among the DUFÁR respectively: in each of these he used to teach (*lit. 'read'*) for four months..." Among his pupils were such famous men as 'Abdulla¹⁵ el 'Araki, 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁶ ibn Masíkh el Nuwayri, Ya'aqūb¹⁷ ibn el Sheikh Bán el Nuqá, el Mesallami¹⁸ walad Abu Wanaysa, Luḳáni el Ḥág¹⁹ (maternal uncle of Ḥasan Ḥasūna), and 'Ísa²⁰, the father of Muḥammad ibn 'Ísa Sowár el Dhabab... "The four sons of Gábir were like the four elements, each one of them having his peculiar excellence. The most learned of them was Ibráḥím, the most virtuous 'Abd el Raḥman, the most pious Ismá'íl, and the most zealous 'Abd el Raḥím²¹; and their sister Fátima, the mother of the son²² of Serḥán, was like unto them in learning and religion. And their mother was named Šáfia..." They were buried at Tarnag in the SHÁÍḲÍA country.

18. "ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN ḤÁG EL DWAYHI."

He was born in the SHÁÍḲÍA country and was a pupil of 'Abd el Raḥman²³ ibn Asíd.

19. 24 "ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN EL ḤÁG KHÓGALI"²⁵.

"He devoted himself entirely to the service of God: no one ever saw him eat or drink or laugh or tell a tale or talk of what concerned him or what concerned him not or uncover his head."

¹ No. 203.

⁴ No. 158.

⁷ 1742 A.D.

¹⁰ No. 47.

¹³ Tree 1.

¹⁶ No. 23.

¹⁹ No. 156.

²² No. 241.

² No. 20.

⁵ No. 123.

⁸ No. 241.

¹¹ No. 234.

¹⁴ No. 96.

¹⁷ No. 254.

²⁰ No. 144.

²³ No. 15.

³ Nos. 14, 164, 203.

⁶ Tree 1.

⁹ No. 79.

¹² No. 227.

¹⁵ No. 34.

¹⁸ No. 172.

²¹ reading عبد الرحمن for عبد الرحيم.

²⁴ Tree 7.

²⁵ No. 154.

20. ¹“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN ḤAMMAD EL AGHBASH².”

He was taught by his father and ‘Īsa walad Kanū³.

21. ⁴“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN ḤAMMADTU EL KHAṬĪB.”

He was taught by Sheikh Ismā‘īl ibn Gábir and visited Sheikh el Banūfari. . . . His sons by one wife were Medani el Nátik⁵ and the *feki* Sheikh el Āsir⁶; and, secondly, by Um Gadayn, Muḥammad and Medani; and, thirdly, Málík⁷ and Abu Duḡn.

22. ⁸“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN IBRÁHĪM WALAD ABU MALÁḤ.”

He was born at Dcbbat ‘Antár, and was named by his mother after her maternal uncle ‘Abd el Raḥman⁹ ibn Masíkh el Nuwayri. . . . As a boy he was taught by Muḥammad¹⁰ ibn ‘Īsa Sowár el Dhahab. Subsequently he visited Egypt and took lessons from Sheikh el Islám ‘Alī el Ag-hūri. . . . He was the father of Sheikh Khógalī¹¹.

23. ¹²“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN MASÍKH, EL NUWAYRI.”

He was a close companion of Sheikh ‘Abdulla el ‘Arakī¹³, and “one of the forty disciples of Walad Gábir.” . . . “He was, too, one of the four whom Sheikh ‘Agīb appointed [*walā*] by order of King Dekín ‘Síd el ‘Āda.” . . . He was buried at el Fuḡara behind Arbagi.

24. ¹⁴“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN MEDANI.”

He was known as “Anūnfrán.” . . . He was taught by the *feki* Muḥammad¹⁵ ibn Ibráhm, and held in great respect by the DANÁKLA and SHÁKĪTA. . . . He was murdered by his cousins out of envy.

25. ¹⁶“‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN EL SHEIKH ŠÁLIḤ¹⁷ BĀN EL NUḲÁ” (b. 1121 or 1122¹⁸).

He was taught by the *fekis* Dayfulla¹⁹, and ‘Abd el Hádi (a disciple of Muḥammad ibn Medani), and ‘Abd el Báki ibn Faḡa, the disciple of el Khaṭīb ‘Abd el Laṭíf²⁰ of el ‘Egayga, and Ismā‘īl ibn el feki el Zayn, and others. . . . Among his pupils were ‘Abdulla²¹ ibn Šábūn and ‘Alī el Sháfa‘i²² and Feraḡ ibn Taktūk²³. . . .

He used to have visions.

26. “‘ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN ṬERÁF.”

A Mesallami by origin, born at el Huḡna on the Atbara. . . . He and his family migrated thence to Soba on the Blue Nile. . . . He was a friend and follower of Sheikh Idrís²⁴ wad el Arbáb, who “taught him medicine; and he instructed the people accordingly. And he used to cure devils by A. B. T. Th. G. H. Kh. etc.”

He was buried close to Soba, in the desert.

¹ Tree 2.² No. 118.³ No. 143.⁴ Tree 10.⁵ No. 163.⁶ No. 236.⁷ No. 158.⁸ Tree 7.⁹ No. 23.¹⁰ No. 191.¹¹ No. 154.¹² Tree 7.¹³ No. 34.¹⁴ Tree 10.¹⁵ No. 252 ?¹⁶ Tree 8.¹⁷ No. 226.¹⁸ 1708-9 A.D.¹⁹ No. 88.²⁰ No. 9.²¹ No. 38.²² No. 63.²³ No. 95.²⁴ No. 141.

27. "'ABD EL RÁZIḤ ABU ḲURŪN" (d. 1070 A.H.¹).

He was by race a Rufá'i... He was a follower of Sheikh Ya'aqub² ibn el Sheikh Bān el Nuká, who sent him to teach at el Abwáb, and a contemporary of Sheikh Idrís³ wad el Arbáb and Sheikh Ḥasan⁴ Ḥasūna and Sheikh Şughayerūn⁵ and Sheikh Maskín⁶ el Khafí.... He had twelve sons....

He worked several miracles, of which the following is an example. "And there came to him a slave girl, the wife of King 'Adlán, and said to him 'My lord, my children have died; I prithee beseech God to recompense me for them with others.' He said to her 'I grant it, I grant it' five times, and she bore five children; and they became the ancestors of the 'ADLÁNAB.'"...

He died at Muays and was buried at Meshra el Aḥmar, "and his tomb is plain to see and should be visited with becoming humility and gravity... and the news of his death reached Sheikh Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna...."

28. "'ABD EL ŞADIḤ IBN ḤUSAYN WALAD ABU SULAYMÁN, EL HOWÁRI."

He was born, died and was buried at Um Dóm.... The *feki* el Zayn⁷ taught him law [*Khalíl*] and Sheikh el Meḍowi⁸ apostleship [*risāla*].

29. "'ABD EL WAHHÁB IBN EL FEKI ḤAMMAD⁹ EL NEGÍD, EL GAMŪ'I."

He was *Imdm* of the mosque at Asláng, and was buried on the hill to the west of it.... "And when the *feki* Ḥammad¹⁰ went forth with Sheikh 'Agíb the Great to war against the king of the FUNG he said 'After me my son Bekri shall read in the mosque, and after him this boy 'Abd el Wahháb.'"

30. "'ABD EL WAHHÁB WALAD ABU ḲURBI."

Born at Asláng Island, and buried west of it.

31. ¹¹"'ABDULLA EL AGHBASH, EL BEDAYRI EL DAHMASHI."

He was born at Berber and taught by Muḥammad¹² Sowár el Dhahab and Walad Gábir¹³.... He propagated [*lit.* "lit the fire of"] the Ḳurán at Berber.

32. "'ABDULLA IBN EL 'AGŪZ."

A pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad el Mesallami.

33. "'ABDULLA IBN 'ALÍ EL ḤALANḲI."

He was born at Táka and finally buried there.... He was taught by Sheikh Dafa'lla¹⁴ and, in his turn, taught Sheraf el Dín¹⁵ walad Barri, and

¹ 1659 A.D., reading سبعين for سبعة.

³ No. 141.

⁶ v. sub No. 250.

⁹ No. 126.

¹² No. 191.

¹⁵ No. 237.

⁴ No. 132.

⁷ No. 258.

¹⁰ No. 126.

¹³ No. 17?

² No. 254.

⁵ No. 241.

⁸ No. 165.

¹¹ Tree 2.

¹⁴ No. 84.

Dafa'alla¹ ibn el Sháfa'i of the 'ARAKIYN... He lived for some time at Abu Ḥaráz.

34. ²"'ABDULLA IBN DAFÁ'ALLA EL 'ARAKI.

He was born at Abyad Dfiri. His mother was Hadía bint 'Atíf of the GIM'AB... 'Abd el Raḥman³ el Nuwayri accompanied him when he went to the SHÁFIYA country to visit 'Abd el Raḥman⁴ [ibn Gábir]... "In his days came Sheikh Táḡ el Dín⁵ el Bahári from Baghdád."...

Among his pupils were his two brothers Abu Idrís⁶ and Ḥammad el Níl, Muḥammad⁷ walad Dáūd el Lukr and Sheikh Sheraf el Dín⁸... He performed the pilgrimage 24 times... His sons were Manófalí and 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Shanab and 'Abd el Raḥim⁹ ibn el Khaṭwa and others... He was buried at Abu Ḥaráz.

35. ¹⁰"'ABDULLA IBN ḤAMMAD IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL MAGÍD¹¹."

A nephew of Muṣṭafa ['Abd el Magíd].

36. "'ABDULLA WALAD ḤASÓBA EL MOGHRABI."

His father came as a stranger to the land and settled at Sóba and attached himself to Sheikh Idrís¹² [wad el Arbáb]. 'Abdulla himself was born at Sóba, and migrated later to Um Leban on the White Nile, where he died and was buried... His sons were Táḡūr¹³ el Naḥási, Muḥammad el Bekri, and el Hág.

37. "'ABDULLA IBN MŪSA 'EL MUSHAMMIR."

A Begáwi by race; born at Uin Ḥurfa... Sheikh Idrís¹⁴ nicknamed him "el Mushammir" ["One who tucks up his clothes"].

38. "'ABDULLA IBN ŠÁBŪN."

He was by birth a slave [*mamlūk*], the property of a woman of el Ḳalay'a... Though offered a wife he refused and died unmarried.

40. "'ABDULLA EL SHERÍF."

He was nicknamed "Tuwayl el Ḥalfáya." He was born in Fás...

He was a follower of Aḥmad ibn Násir, and died at Sennár.

41. ¹⁵"'ABDULLA 'EL ṬERAYFI."

His father was Sheikh Muḥammad Abu 'Ákla¹⁶ el Káshif... He was a pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁷... He went on the pilgrimage but died on the road... His sons were named Aḥmad¹⁸ and Muḥammad¹⁹...

"He was called 'Ṭerayfi' from the beauty of his features [*aṭraf*], namely his face and his forearms and his feet."

42. ²⁰"'ABU 'ÁKLA."

His real name was Muḥammad... 'Ákla was his daughter and hence he was called "father of 'Ákla."... He was a follower of his father's brother Sheikh Abu Idrís²¹... His sons were 'Abdulla "el Ṭerayfi²²," Shams el Dín, Abu Idris, and Ḥammad Abu Ḳurn.

¹ No. 83.

² Tree 9.

³ No. 23.

⁴ No. 17.

⁵ No. 67.

⁶ No. 48.

⁷ No. 186.

⁸ No. 238.

⁹ No. 13.

¹⁰ Tree 2.

¹¹ No. 10.

¹² No. 141.

¹³ reading تاجور for تاجور, No. 246.

¹⁴ No. 141.

¹⁵ Tree 9.

¹⁶ No. 42.

¹⁷ No. 84.

¹⁸ No. 56.

¹⁹ No. 177.

²⁰ Tree 9.

²¹ No. 48.

²² No. 41.

43. "‘ABU ‘ĀḲLA’ IBN EL SHEIKH ḤAMMAD."

His grandfather [*gidhu*] was Sheikh Dafa'alla... Among his followers was Sheikh Ismā'il¹ ibn Mekki el Dakalāshi... "And when he died, God bless him, there arose from his tomb a scent sweeter than pinewood and the camphor tree. And his sons were Ḥammad el (Ḥasīb?) and Sheikh Ḳismulla; and all the stock of Sheikh Dafa'alla is descended from these two."

44. "ABU BUKR."

"The holy-man of Ḥagar el 'Asal, a Takagābi by origin. He it was that guided Sheikh Ḥasan² ibn Ḥasūna and revealed to him the mysteries."

45. "ABU BUKR WALAD TUAYR."

A pupil and follower of Sheikh el Zayn³.

46. ⁴"ABU DELAYḲ."

"He was paternal uncle of Sheikh Bedowi⁵ and a follower of Sheikh Selmán el Ṭowālī⁶. He was entirely devoted to religion and went clothed in patches and rags [*dulkān*]. He was called 'Abu DelayḲ' ('Father of Rags') and also 'Dhanab el 'Aḳrab' ('Scorpion's Tail') because he will not suffer deeds of darkness, but is swift to strike [such as do them].

He guided and instructed [the people], and among his followers was his brother's son Sheikh Bedowi⁷. His children were Ḥusayn and 'Āyesha; and when he was nigh unto death, the people said to him 'Who is to be the *Khalīfa* after you?' And he said 'Āyesha my daughter.' And Sheikh Bedowi married her and begat by her el Nuḳr and Sheikh Meḍowi⁸ and 'Abdulla and Ṭāg el Dīn. He died, and was buried at el Nigfa and his tomb is plain to see."

47. ⁹"ABU EL ḤASAN IBN ṢĀLIḤ, EL 'ŪDī" (b. 1070¹⁰ A.H.; d. 1133¹¹ A.H.).

His mother was Ḥósha, the daughter of Sheikh el Zayn¹².

48. ¹³"ABU IDRÍS."

His full name was Sheikh Muḥammad ibn el Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁴ ibn Muḳbal el 'Araki... He was *Sheikh el Islām* and very famous.... He was buried with his brother Sheikh 'Abdulla¹⁵.

49. ¹⁶"ABU EL ḲĀSIM 'EL GUNAYD."

The son of Sheikh 'Ali el Nīl¹⁷.

50. "ABU EL ḲĀSIM EL WADIÁNÁBI, EL MESALLAMI."

A pupil of Sheikh Idrís.

¹ No. 145.

² No. 132.

³ No. 258.

⁴ Tree 12.

⁵ No. 74.

⁶ No. 230.

⁷ No. 74.

⁸ No. 167.

⁹ Tree 1.

¹⁰ 1659 A.D.

¹¹ 1720 A.D.

¹² No. 258.

¹³ Tree 9.

¹⁴ No. 84, reading دفع الله for دفع.

¹⁵ No. 34.

¹⁶ Tree 1.

¹⁷ No. 62.

51. "ABU SINAYNA."

His full name was Muḥammad ibn Nuṣr, el Tergami el Ga'ali. He was born at el Buwayḍ.

"His father Nuṣr was instructed in the Qurán and its teachings by Sheikh Muḥammad¹ ibn 'Ísa; and it was the latter who advised him to marry the mother of 'Abu Sinayna.' And it was thus: Sheikh Muḥammad saw her when she was young and said to him 'You shall marry this girl and she shall bear to you a pious son.' [Nuṣr] replied '[Then] she will bear [one like] you yourself.' And thrice or four times [Sheikh Muḥammad] said 'She shall do so.' And it came to pass that her people journeyed from Dongola to el Buwayḍ in the region of el Abwáb, and [Nuṣr] went after her and married her, and there was born to him 'Abu Sinayna.'...Subsequently ['Abu Sinayna'] settled at Arbagi and taught the people there."...

He was buried at Arbagi.

52. "ABU SURÜR, EL FADLÍ."

He was born at el Ḥalfáya....His mother was Kanūna bint el Hág 'Ali of the FADLÍ tribe....He was taught law [*Khallí*] by Sheikh el Zayn² and the articles of faith [*el 'akáid*] by the *feki* 'Ali³ walad Barri. ...After teaching awhile at el Ḥalfáya he went to Dárfür and taught there....He was finally murdered in Dár Şalfū, "and the cause of his death was that while he was asleep his concubines killed him by smashing his skull with stones; may God be their enemy!"

53. "ABU ZAYD⁴ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL QÁDIR."

He was a follower of Sheikh el Zayn⁵....He travelled to Dárfür and Borkū in the days when Sultan Ya'aqūb reigned in the latter....He died in Dárfür....His sons were Şubāḥ and 'Abd el Qádir and 'Ali and Hegázi⁶.

54. "ABŪDÍ."

A disciple of el Mesallami⁸....His sons were Muḥammad⁹, Aḥmad, el Mesallami, 'Abd el Ḥafíz and Ibráhím¹⁰, all of them *fekis*....He died at el Ferár.

55. "EL 'AGAMÍ IBN ḤASŪNA."

His real name was Muḥammad....His mother was Fátima bint Waḥshía whose father was a Mesallami Kabayṣi and whose mother was a Şáridía Khamaysía¹²....He went on the pilgrimage and died in the Hegáz.

56. "AḤMAD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA EL TERAYFI."

A follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla Aḥmad, in whose charge Sheikh 'Abdulla left his sons when starting for the pilgrimage....He died in *sannat el gidri* ("small-pox year"), as did some sixteen of his relatives also.

¹ No. 191.

² No. 258.

³ No. 58.

⁴ reading ابو زيد for ابزید.

⁵ No. 258.

⁶ No. 133.

⁷ Tree 11.

⁸ No. 172.

⁹ No. 179.

¹⁰ No. 135.

¹¹ Tree 5.

¹² reading حميسية for خميسية.

¹³ Tree 9.

57. "'ALI WALAD ABU DUḤN."

His father was a Dongoláwi... His mother's name was Siáka... His burial-place was el Ruays near el Ḥalfáya... Sheikh Idrís¹ visited his tomb.

58. ² "'ALI IBN BARRI" (b. 1010 to 1013 A.H.; d. 1073³ A.H.).

His mother was Umháni bint el Wali 'Ali ibn Qandl el Šaridi... Various laudations of him are quoted, including one by the *feki* Šughayerūn⁴ el Shaḳaláwi, who said "I knew Sheikh Idrís⁵ and Walad Ḥasūna⁶ and 'Abd el Ráziḳ⁷ and Básbár⁸, but I found none of them as quick in his answers as this boy, 'Ali ibn Barri."...

Among his pupils was the *feki* Arbáb el Khashan⁹... His "sheikh" was Básbár; and the famous case of Básbár and the Ḥammadía woman is related in the biographies of both master and pupil... 'Ali also had a dispute with Mismár el Ḥalashi of Ḳerri about a cow and foretold the resultant deposition of Mismár by the King of Sennár, in favour of 'Ali ibn 'Othmán. "And they have been deposed [from their power] until this present day. His son Khidr held the sheikhship after el 'Agayl for six months and was then deposed; and Mismár the son of Walad¹⁰ 'Agíb [ruled] for two months after Sheikh 'Abdulla, and was then deposed."

59. "'ALI WALAD DHIÁB, EL ḲURAYSHÁBI."

He was born at Asláng Island and taught by *fekis* Belál¹¹ and Abu el Ḥasan¹²... He visited Sennár, and finally died at Ḳóz walad Barakát where he had started a school... Muḥammad el Nūr Šubr and other descendants of Ḥammad¹³ ibn Mariam were among his pupils.

"'ALI IBN ḤAMMŪDA" (*vide sub* "Baḳádi," No. 68).

60. "'ALI WALAD 'ISHAYB."

"He was born at Dongola. He was taught by Sheikh Muḥammad el Banūfari in Egypt and excelled in learning. Then he settled in the south, and Sheikh 'Agíb the Great built him a mosque, and the king of the FUNG granted him many lands on the east bank and in the Gezira [*el Hūoi*] and in the rainlands, and he acted as a judge and did justice therein and gave judgements according to the accepted standards and to the [more] valid arguments in the dispute.

And he was the companion of Sheikh Ibráhīm el Būlád ibn Gábir in the quest after learning in Egypt; and it is said that each of the two prayed a prayer against the other and obtained his desire therein: Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Ishayb prayed against Sheikh Ibráhīm el Būlád saying 'May God shorten your life [that you may die] in your youth'; and the whole incident¹⁴ is explained in *The*

¹ No. 141.² Tree 3.³ 1662 A.D.⁴ No. 242.⁵ No. 141.⁶ No. 132.⁷ No. 27.⁸ No. 73.⁹ No. 65.¹⁰ reading ولدولد for ولدولده.¹¹ No. 89.¹² No. 47.¹³ No. 124.¹⁴ reading المسألة for المسألة.

Biographies (?). And Sheikh el Būlād said to him 'May God make your learning useless.' And verily [the period of] el Būlād's teaching was seven years [only] and in it he taught 40 persons, and then he died; and as for Sheikh 'Alī we have never heard of his having engaged in teaching of any importance, but only that he judged cases. And he was buried at el 'Aydai, and his tomb is plain to see; and all the 'ISHAYBĀB are his descendants."

61. "'ALĪ EL LABADĪ."

A Moghrabi by origin, born at Sennār.... "His father was one of God's chosen"... His sister was given in marriage to 'Abd el Ḥafīz el Khaṭīb, the father of el Khaṭīb 'Omāra¹.... His sons were Ahlulla, Ghāb 'Ain, and Mekki.... A miracle related of him is that he dipped his stick ('*ukdā*) into a jar (*zeer*) full of water, pronouncing these words "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful A. B. T. Th. G. H. Kh.," and immediately the water was turned into yellow clarified butter (*samm*).... He was buried at Sennār.

62. ²"'ALĪ 'EL NĪL' IBN EL SHEIKH MUḤAMMAD³ EL HAMĪM."

He was the third successor (*Khalīfa*) of Sheikh Ṭāg el Dīn⁴ in the country of the FUNG.... He was a follower of his father in religious matters.... He was called "el Nīl" ("the Nile") because of the floods of knowledge that he poured in the dry wastes of the people's minds,—the sobriquet being given him by Sheikh Dafa'lla⁵.... His father, whose "Sheikh" was Ṭāg el Dīn el Bahāri, lived at Mundara; and it was there 'Alī was buried.... On his deathbed he appointed Sheikh "el Gunayd⁶" his successor.... He lived in the reign of King Rubāt of Sennār.

63. "*El feḵṭr* 'ALĪ WALAD EL SHĀFA'I."

A pupil of *feḵi* 'Omāra⁷, and a follower of Sheikh Dafa'lla⁸.... He composed religious poetry, "and if he heard his poetry recited by anyone else he used to weep and fly in the air: this was witnessed several times." He was buried at Sennār.

64. ⁹"'ARAKI IBN EL SHEIKH IDRĪS¹⁰."

His father named him after Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹¹.... He died of small-pox.

65. "ARBĀB IBN 'ALĪ IBN 'ŌN" (d. 1102¹² A.H.).

He was called "el Khashan el Khashūna"... Among his pupils were el Ḥāg Khōgālī¹³, the *feḵi* Ḥammad¹⁴ ibn Mariam and Sheikh Feraḥ¹⁵ walad Taktūk.... He died at Sennār.

66. "'AWŪḌA IBN 'OMAR, 'SHAKĀL EL KĀRIḤ."

He was a pupil of Mūsa Ferīd, the disciple [*ḥawḍr*] of Sheikh Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna....

¹ No. 219.

² Tree 1.

³ No. 190.

⁴ No. 67.

⁵ No. 84.

⁶ No. 49.

⁷ No. 219.

⁸ No. 84.

⁹ Tree 4.

¹⁰ No. 141.

¹¹ No. 34.

¹² 1690 A.D.

¹³ No. 154.

¹⁴ No. 124.

¹⁵ No. 95

Several miracles are recorded of him:

(1) "Sheikh Muḥammad¹ ibn 'Īsa was nigh unto death, and his wife, the daughter of el Malik Ḥasan walad Kashásh² the king of Dongola, and mother of Ḥiláli³ his son, said to him 'Your elder sons you have guided [in the right way]; but who is to look after my son?' And he said to her 'You must [apply to] el Ḥaḍari.' Then she came and brought her bracelets and anklets and said to him (*i.e.* el Ḥaḍari) 'I want you to make my son to sit in the seat of his father.' He replied [to her son] 'Son of my Sheikh, sit on my prayer-mat': so he sat there. Then [el Ḥaḍari] arose and ran round the room [*khalwa*] and came and knelt before him and took hold of his hand and kissed it, saying 'I have made you to sit in the seat of your father.' And indeed Ḥiláli attained⁴ great eminence among the FÜNG and the Arabs and acted as a judge and a teacher of all kinds of knowledge."...

(2) "There came to him a certain man called Ibn 'Abád, who was addicted to evildoing⁵, and said to him 'I have a flourishing water-wheel and give you a quarter [share] in it.' And he replied 'What do you want from me?' The man answered 'I want the grace⁶ of God.' [ʿAwūḍa] said 'I give you a quarter of God's grace.' Then the man repented and asked pardon of God. Afterwards he came again and said 'I have made it up to a half'; and [ʿAwūḍa] said 'And I grant you half of the grace of God.' And the man improved more and more; and finally he came and said 'I give you the whole water-wheel'; and [ʿAwūḍa] said to him 'I give you the whole of God's grace'; and the man fell down in a faint [and remained so] for some days, but finally he became a paragon and one of the saints [*auliyá*] of God."...

(3) "Mismár walad 'Araybi in his journey to Dongola in the year 1070⁷ wrought havoc among the men of rank and dignity⁸; and the people appealed to him [ʿAwūḍa] for help, and he said to them 'His destruction will be at the hands of the short pale bald man; and as for me, I am your security that the Sheikh of Kerri shall not enter Dongola: if he comes, [and if] ʿAwūḍa is alive, strain some beer for him and he will drink it; and if he be dead pour it over his tomb.' I say that most of these events connected with the Sheikh [ʿAwūḍa] are fully corroborated, and are compatible with the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and the Unanimities⁹."

He went on the pilgrimage, and met Sheikh 'Alī el Ag'hūri *en route*.

¹ No. 191.

² reading كشكش for كشاش.

³ No. 134.

⁴ reading حظي for حظي.

⁵ reading حوارج for حوارج.

⁶ reading الليل for الليل.

⁷ 1659 A.D.

reading اجواه for اجواه.

⁹ reading اجماع for اجماع.

B

67. "'EL BAHÁRI,' i.e. Tág el Dín, el Baghdádi."

"His actual name was Muḥammad. 'El Bahári' was a surname due to the saying 'a shining [*báhir*] moon has passed,' and he was so called from the light of his countenance,—sweet is the odour of his story. He was the *Sheikh*, the *Imám*, the divine *Ḳuṭb*, the immortal *Ghauth*, the successor of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳádir el Gílání. He was born at Baghdád, and went on the pilgrimage, and thence to the Sudan by leave of the Prophet of God... and of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳádir el Gílání. He came with Dáūd ibn 'Abd el Gelfí, the father of el Hág Sa'id, the ancestor of the people of el 'Aydag¹, early in the second half of the tenth century, at the beginning of the rule of Sheikh 'Agíb; and he dwelt with Dáūd at Wád el Sha'ír behind Um 'Azárn."...

He married in the Gezíra and lived there for seven years.... "He was the instructor of five famous men, viz. Sheikh Muḥammad el Hamím², and Sheikh Bán el Nuḳá 'el Ḍarír³, and Hegázi the founder of Arbagi and its mosque, and Shá'a el Dín walad Tuaym the ancestor of the SHUKRÍA, and Sheikh 'Agíb the Great."

It is said he taught 40 persons including the *feki* Ḥammad el Negíd⁴ the head of Asláng mosque, and the *feki* Raḥma⁵ the ancestor of the ḤALÁWÍN, and the 'omda Walad Abu Šádiḳ, and Bán el Nuḳá "el Ḍarír⁶" ["the blind"]... It is also said he journeyed to Teḳali and there instructed 'Abdulla el Gamál, the ancestor of Sheikh Ḥammad⁷ walad el Turábi.

68. "'BAḲÁDÍ.'"

His real name was 'Ali ibn Ḥammūda, el Kahli el Aswadi. He was born at el Shará'ana and was a pupil of Ḥámíd Abu Mūna.

69. "BAḲDŪSH IBN SURŪR, el Gamū'i."

A pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad⁸ walad 'Ísa.... He was appointed by Sheikh 'Agíb the Great.

70. "BÁN EL NUḲÁ' WALAD EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RÁZIḲ."

His father called him "Bán el Nuḳá" after his grandfather¹⁰.... "He died at about the age of 40, or rather more."

71. "BÁN EL NUḲÁ' IBN ḤAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH IDRÍS, el Faḍlí."

His actual name was Muḥammad.... His mother was a Sudanese.... "He was called 'Bán el Nuḳá' because his mother said 'My purity [*nuḳát*] (that is innocence) has been revealed [*bán*].' He was a staff of support to King Náíl."... He was acquainted with Sheikhs Tág

¹ written الْعَبْدِي.

² No. 190.

³ No. 71.

⁴ No. 126.

⁵ No. 221.

⁶ No. 71.

⁷ No. 125.

⁸ No. 191.

⁹ Tree 8.

¹⁰ No. 71.

¹¹ Tree 8.

el Dīn el Bahārī¹ and Muḥammad el Hindi... He died and was buried at el Wa'ar.

72. ²“BARAKĀT ḤAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH IDRĪS.”

He was a follower of el Imām 'Alī ibn Abu Ṭālib and of his own grandfather Sheikh Idriś³... Among his disciples were the *fekis* Meḍowī⁴ ibn Medani and Muḥammad ibn Yūsef... He had ten sons, including Meḍowī⁵, Arbáb, 'Araki, 'Abd el Raḥman and Ḥammad.

73. “BÁSBÁR 'EL SHUKRĪ.”

By birth he was a Ga'ali 'Ōni... He was named Básbár by his mother. ... He was born at el Mekayna and was a follower of Sheikh Sherāf el Dīn⁶...

Among his pupils were the two Awlād Barri⁷, Ḥamayd el Šārīdī⁸ and the Awlād⁹ el Ḥāg Fāld...

“It is related that Sheikh Básbár married a woman of the AḤÁMDA [‘a Ḥammadía'] and divorced her. Then there came to her a son of her father's brother, a Ḥammadi, a disciple [*howár*] of Sheikh 'Abd el Ráziq Abu Ḳurūn, and married her, in spite of [Básbár's] warning to him. And [the Ḥammadi] said to his 'Sheikh' ['Abd el Ráziq] 'You must protect me from him'; and [the Sheikh] replied 'Do not go near the river.' [Now these AḤÁMDA] were riverain folk. And it is said that that man never went near the river for years; until finally his wife became pregnant and bore a child. Then he went close to the river for the shaving-ceremony of his child; and the moment he put his foot into the water a crocodile seized it and bit him that he died. Then [the crocodile] cast him upon the river bank. Then Básbár, who was [sitting] under the acacia trees, cried out 'He got him, he got him, did my boy 'Alī.' Now 'Alī at that time was a small boy, [still] with a tuft on his head.'...”

Básbár's sons were el Bedowī and Medani and 'Abd el Ḳádir Abu Ḳurūn.

74. ¹⁰“BEDOWI WALAD ABU DELAYK” (d. 1118¹¹ A.H.).

It is said that his father was named 'Abdulla, and that his mother's name was Gawádi, and that he was by origin a Kahli... “Sheikh Khógali¹² once said ‘The fire of 'Abd el Ḳádir, after [the death of] Sheikh Idriś¹³, was with Sheikh Bedowī.’...”

Several traditions and remarks concerning him and a number of verses are quoted. One story is as follows: the scene is at Wad Ḥasūna. “And I was in doubt whether to light the fire on the higher plateau or whether to go down to the river and do so at Sellama. Then I saw the Prophet of God... and he said to me ‘Dwell in the red country with the red people’; and ‘the red country’ is the hill of el Nigfa,

¹ No. 67.

² Tree 4.

³ No. 141.

⁴ No. 168.

⁵ No. 166.

⁶ No. 238.

⁷ Nos. 58 and 136.

⁸ No. 129.

⁹ No. 6.

¹⁰ Tree 12.

¹¹ 1706 A.D.

¹² No. 154.

¹³ No. 141.

and 'the red people' are the BAṬĀHÍN. So I built a retreat [*khakwa*] and in front of it a porch [*rdkūba*]. [And it happened that] a man of the MARGHŪMÁN¹ had slain a son of Sheikh Na'īm el Baṭḥānī² and by chance came to me; so I put him inside the retreat and sat myself in the porch. [Then the avengers] came and entered [the retreat] after him and slew him and said to me 'Sheikh Na'īm farts warnings, and you are making trouble for yourself.' [Then] they set fire to the retreat, but it would not take hold. And I said 'These are no people [for me], I won't live with them.' And again I saw the Prophet of God, and as I was sitting before him I perceived many black ants making for him from the four quarters; and I said, 'My lord, the Prophet of God, what are those ants [doing]?' And he said 'They are come to you [for protection]; stay where you are; let no one interfere with [*lit.* come to] them.' [And so] here am I [*lit.* you see me³], O Sherif, in this place, eating my food [*lit.* my blessing] and awaiting my end....

And when he drew nigh unto death he said 'O ye women of the KAWÁHLA, I will be your [strong] rock⁴ on the day of the resurrection'; and he died in the year 1118⁵; and in that same year el Samīḥ made war on Shendi."

75. "BEDR IBN EL SHEIKH SELMÁN IBN YÁŚIR."

"He embraced the tenets of Šūfiism like his father, and was a follower of his father Sheikh Selmán, and instructed the people. His clothes were always of wool [*sūf*], and he was held in high esteem by the kings, and by the tribes of the Arabs from Berber to Upper Egypt....

His sons were el Amín and Sheikh Muḥammad and Abu Šālīḥ, and 'Ali the son of the Bisharía woman."...

He was buried with his father.

76. "BEDR IBN EL SHEIKH UM BÁRAK IBN EL SHEIKH MASKÍN, EL KHAFÍ."

All the MASKÍNÁB, except a very few, are descended from him.

77. "BEKRI IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA⁶ IBN ḤASÓBA."

His *kubba* is at Sóba Bekri, but he died and was buried at Um Leban on the White Nile "with his father Sheikh 'Abdulla."

78. "BEKRI WALAD EL FEKI IDRÍS."

He was born at Gedíd, where his *kubba* now stands.... "He had the prophetic gift and was a friend of my grandfather the *feki* Muḥammad walad Dayfulla."

¹ reading مرغوماب for مرغوماب.

² No. 213.

³ reading تراني for تراني.

⁴ reading جبلنا for جبلنا.

⁵ 1706 A.D.

⁶ reading عبد الرحمن for عبد الله.

79. ¹“BELÁL IBN EL FEKÍ MUḤAMMAD² EL AZRAḤ IBN EL SHEIKH EL ZAYN³.”

He was taught by his father, and in his turn taught the *feki* Muḥammad⁴ ibn 'Abd el Raḥman, and Sa'ad and Ḥammád the sons of the *feki* Samīḥ el 'Armání, and the *feki* Shammar⁵ walad 'Adlán, and Meḍowí⁶ ibn el Sheikh Barakát of the MAḤASS, and others.

80. ⁷“BERR 'ABD EL MA'ABÜD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAḤMAN⁸ EL NUWAYRI.”

He was a follower of his mother's father Sheikh Muḥammad⁹ walad Maḥmūd el 'Araki.

81. “BERR WALAD NA'ÍM¹⁰ 'ABD EL SHERAKA.”

A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹¹... Born and buried at el Kerrada.

82. “BURT EL MESALLAMI.”

He was the disciple [*howār*] of Sheikh Selmán¹² el Ṭowáli and, together with Abu Delayḵ¹³, learnt from him the tenets of Šūfism.... “He had supernatural powers [of prophecy], and said to Sheikh Šáliḥ¹⁴ walad Bán el Nuḳá ‘You shall be a great man: the saints shall come to you, the saints shall come to you; and they shall make you be seated [in their presence], and you shall light the fire of 'Abd el Kádir.’ And his tomb is in the open country between Walad Ḥasūna and Walad Abu Delayḵ, and over it is a *ḵubba*.”

D

83. “DAFA'ALLA IBN 'ALÍ¹⁵ 'EL SHÁFA'Í.”

Born at Arbagi... He was taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla el Ḥalankí¹⁶.

84. ¹⁷“DAFA'ALLA IBN EL SHEIKH MUḤAMMAD¹⁸ ABU IDRÍS¹⁹”
(b. 1003²⁰ A.H.; d. 1094²¹).

The best man of his epoch... His mother was Fátima Um Ḥasón²² bint el Hág Saláma el Dubábi... He was born at Dubáb behind Um 'Azám and was taught by his father... Sheikh Šughayerün²³, Belal el Shayb ibn el Ṭálib, el Hág Khógali²⁴, and Muḥammad²⁵ ibn el Ṭerayfi all spoke in praise of him... 'Abdulla²⁶ el 'Araki was his father's brother... He settled at Abu Ḥaráz... He founded a number of mosques in the Gezira and endowed them with land and slaves... During all his life he never went to Sennár: if King Bádi walad Rubát wished to speak to him he (the king) used to go to Abu Ḥaráz on purpose...

¹ Tree 1.

² No. 204.

³ No. 258.

⁴ No. 175.

⁵ No. 235.

⁶ No. 166.

⁷ Tree 7.

⁸ No. 23.

⁹ No. 192.

¹⁰ No. 212.

¹¹ No. 84.

¹² No. 230.

¹³ No. 46.

¹⁴ No. 226.

¹⁵ No. 63.

¹⁶ No. 33.

¹⁷ Tree 9.

¹⁸ No. 48.

¹⁹ reading ابو ادريس for ابو دريس.

²⁰ 1594 A.D.

²¹ 1683 A.D.

²² reading حسون for حسين.

²³ No. 241.

²⁴ No. 154.

²⁵ No. 177.

²⁶ No. 34.

He died, aged 91, in 1094¹ A.H. "and in 1095² commenced *Um Laḥm*."

85. ³"DAFA'ALLA IBN MUḤAMMAD, el Kahli el Hadhali" (d. 1121⁴ A.H.).

His mother was Rīa bint Mūsa walad Hatūna, "and she called him Dafa'alla after Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki⁵ because the latter was the 'Sheikh' of her father."... He was born and resided at el Ḥalfāya, and was taught law [*Khallīl*] by Muḥammad⁶ el Azrak ibn el Sheikh el Zayn, and was the companion in Sūfism of Bedowi walad Abu Delayk. ... He was often called "Walad Rīa."... "When on his deathbed and surrounded by his relatives he said 'Be of good cheer, O ye women of the HATŪNĀB⁷ (?), I will be your [strong] rock on the day of the resurrection'; just as Sheikh Bedowi⁸ walad Abu Delayk said 'Be of good cheer, O ye women of the KAWĀHLA, I will be your [strong] rock on the day of the resurrection.'" He died in 1121⁹ A.H.

86. ¹⁰"DAFA'ALLA IBN MUḤBAL, 'EL 'ARAKI."

"He came from the west country, from near Bir Serrār, and was accompanied by the *feki* Muḥammad walad Fakrūn, the father of the MASHĀĪKHA, the people of Ankāwi; but I do not know if they were relations or merely brethren in Islam. He settled at Gerf el Gimī'āb and married Hadīa bint 'Āṭif in the GIMĪ'ĀB country and by her begot his five famous sons, the just ones, Ḥammad 'el Nīl' and 'Abdulla¹¹ and Abu Idrīs¹² and Abu Bukr Abu 'Āyesha and el Magdhūb. He was known as 'el 'Araki' because of his descent from the well-known tribe of 'ARAK."

87. "DĀŪD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN DĀŪD IBN ḤAMDĀN."

He was born and buried at Kuthra, and educated at el Ḥalfāya by Dafa'alla¹³ "walad Rīa."...

"The great men of his epoch trusted him greatly, and especially Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak."

88. ¹⁴"DAYFULLA IBN 'ALĪ IBN 'ABD EL GHANĪ IBN DAYFULLA, el Faḍli" (d. 1095 A.H.¹⁵).

He was born at el Ḥalfāya... Sheikh el Zayn¹⁶ taught him law [*Khallīl*] and apostleship [*risāla*]; Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁷ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idrīs taught him the tenets of Sūfism [*taṣūf*]; and the *feki* Ḥamayd¹⁸ el Šārīdi taught him the doctrine of Unity [*taṭwīd*] and grammar [*naḥw*]. ... He was a great teacher at el Ḥalfāya, and died in the year *Um Laḥm*¹⁹.

¹ 1683 A.D.

² 1684 A.D.

³ Tree 6.

⁴ 1709 A.D.

⁵ No. 84.

⁶ No. 204.

⁷ reading هتونابيات for هتونابيات.

⁸ No. 74.

⁹ 1709 A.D.

¹⁰ Tree 9.

¹¹ No. 34.

¹² No. 48, reading ابو داريس for ابو ادريس.

¹³ No. 85.

¹⁴ Tree 6.

¹⁵ 1684 A.D.

¹⁶ No. 258.

¹⁷ No. 84.

¹⁸ reading حميد for احمد, No. 129.

¹⁹ 1684 A.D.

89. ¹“ḌAYFULLA IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN ḌAYFULLA²” (d. 1182 A.H.³).

His father named him after his grandfather⁴. . . . He was taught by the *feki*s Belál⁵ and Abu el Ḥasan⁶ and Idrís ibn Bella el Kenáni and Sheikh Khógali⁷. . . . The last named was his “Sheikh” and taught him Ṣūfism. . . . “Everyone agreed that he was the most learned man of his age in religious subjects, and there is a saying ‘After the *feki* Ibráhím⁸ el Ḥág [was] the *feki* Abu el Ḥasan, and after the *feki* Abu el Ḥasan [was] the *feki* Ḍayfulla.’” . . .

Among his pupils were the *feki* Ismá’íl, Sheikh of el Kóz, and Sheikh ‘Abd el Rahmán⁹ Bán el Nuḳá, ‘Abd el Rahmán ibn Arbáb and others. . . .

He began teaching in 1130¹⁰ A.H. and continued till his death in 1182¹¹ A.H.

90. ¹²“‘DÓLÍB NESI.’”

“His name was Muḥammad el Ḍarír ibn Idrís ibn Dólib, and the meaning of ‘Nesi’ in the language of the DANÁGLA is ‘son’s son.’ He was a man of extraordinary energy and used to enter the square retreats [*khalwát*] for the performance of religious ceremonies [*dhikr*] and devotion [*‘ibáda*]. Now the place where there are 40 retreats is Gebel Burši, and each of them is a forty-days’-retreat; and el Burši is a hill between the SHÁFÍA country and Dongola. The people of Dongola say ‘O God, bless us with the devotion of Dólib Nesi and the generosity of Ḥabíb Nesi¹³ and the learning of Walad ‘Ísa.’ His sons were Sheikh Muḥammad el Níri¹⁴ (for whom see under M) and the *feki* Idrís, a reader of the Kúrán and its judgments, and Mekki and Medani,—all of them good men.

He was buried at el Debba and all the DÓÁLÍB are his descendants.”

91. “ḌOW EL BAYT IBN AḤMAD EL SHÁFA’Í.”

He was born at Berber and trained by Sheikh ‘Ísa¹⁵ ibn Kanū and Muḥammad¹⁶ walad Sháfa’i. . . . He resided among the ZAYDÁB at Gerf ‘Agíb.

92. “ḌOWAYN AḤAYMER.”

His mother was the daughter of el Khaṭīb ‘Omára¹⁷. . . . He was born at Sennár and began life as a merchant. He was a pupil of Sheikh Khógali¹⁸.

93. “DUSHAYN, ‘KÁPI EL ‘ADÁLA’ [‘The Just Judge’].”

He was born at Arbági and was a Sháfa’ite. . . . “He was one of the four judges appointed by Sheikh ‘Agíb by order of King Dekín when he came from the east. He ordered Sheikh ‘Agíb to appoint the judges, and [‘Agíb] appointed Sheikh ‘Abdulla el ‘Araki¹⁹,

¹ Tree 6.

² reading ضيف الله for ضيف.

³ 1768 A.D.

⁴ No. 88.

⁵ No. 79.

⁶ No. 47.

⁷ No. 154.

⁸ No. 139.

⁹ No. 25.

¹⁰ 1718 A.D.

¹¹ 1768 A.D.

¹² Tree 1.

¹³ No. 105.

¹⁴ No. 187.

¹⁵ No. 143.

¹⁶ No. 180.

¹⁷ No. 219.

¹⁸ No. 154.

¹⁹ No. 34.

and Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman¹ ibn Masikh el Nuwayri, and the *feki* Baḳdūsh² for the GAMU'IA country, and el Kāḍi Dushayn for Arbāgi and the Shāfa'ites in general."...

He died and his tomb is at el Dākhila....

The following couplet is quoted of him:

ابن دشين قاضي العدالة الها بيميل بالضلالة
نسله نعيم السلالة الاوقدوا نار الرسالة

F

94. "FERAḤ IBN EL FEKI ARBÁB³."

He and his brother Busāṭi taught the doctrine of Unity [*taḥwīd*] after their father's death... He had a son named Arbáb.

95. "FERAḤ WALAD TAKTÜK, el Baṭḥāni."

A pupil of the *feki* Arbáb⁴... He was the author of a poem beginning "Where are the days of the sons of Gábir," and of the saying:

الموت اليا ب الموت يبشر بالموت

("Death! He that defies death may yet assure himself that he shall die.")

G

96. ⁵"GÁBIR and GABRULLA."

The sons of 'Ōn ibn Selīm ibn Rubāṭ ibn Ghulāmulla, el Rikābi... Gábir was the father of the four famous men, the AWLÁD GÁBIR⁶, and their mother was named Šāfia... The descendants of Gabrulla, the brother of Gábir, are the AWLÁD UM SHEIKH of Hilālía mosque.

97. "GÁD EL NEBĪ and GUBÁRA."

"They came from el Yemen and their home was in Ḥaḍramaut..." Gád el Nebi settled at Delíl.

98. "GÁDULLA."

The disciple [*ḥawār*] of the *feki* Ḥammad ibn Mariam.

99. "GÁDULLA or ḤÁDULLA."

Gádulla el Shukayri died at Sennár.

100. "GAMÍL IBN MUḤAMMAD."

He was taught by Sheikh el Zayn⁷, and learnt Šūfiism [*el tašūf*] from Ḥasan⁸ walad Ḥasūna.

101. ⁹"GHÁNIM ABU SHIMÁL, el Gáma'i el Kordofáli."

He was a pupil of 'Alī¹⁰ ibn Barri and the *feki* Arbáb¹¹... "He came [*ḥadam*] from Dár Kurun with his wives and his children and settled at Gebayl Auli on the White Nile"... "He married 'Áyesha el Faḳíra, the daughter of the pious Walad Kādál, and by her begot Busāṭi ibn el Faḳíra."

¹ No. 23.

² No. 69.

³ No. 65.

⁴ No. 65.

⁵ Tree 1.

⁶ No. 17, etc.

⁷ No. 258.

⁸ No. 132.

⁹ Tree 11.

¹⁰ No. 58.

¹¹ No. 65.

102. "GÓDATULLA and GÓDA."

"They were both learned men of Kordofál... The former was one of the BENI MUḤAMMAD and lived at Zalaṭa in the north [*dār el riḥ*] and was taught by el Ḳadál¹ ibn el Farāḍi."... Góda and Edóma were by origin of the BENI 'OMRÁN and were taught by Sheikh el Zayn².

"GUBÁRA" (see *sub* "Gád el Nebi").

103. "EL GUNAYD or HUNAYD."

He was the son of Sheikh Muḥammad... (*lacuna*)... ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Rázik³... He embraced Ṣūfiism and died at el Ḥalfáya.

104. "EL GUNAYD WALAD TÁHA⁴ IBN 'OMÁRA."

He embraced Ṣūfiism, and was a follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla⁵ walad el Sháfa'i... He died in the Ḥegáz.

H

105. "ḤABÍB NESI, el Rikábi."

"He dwelt in Dongola Ḳashábi and was one of the great holy-men [*awliya*] of the RIKÁBÍA, and many miracles were vouchsafed to him." The people of Dongola in his day used to say "O God, bless us."... (etc. as in No. 90).

"ḤÁDULLA" (see *sub* "Gádulla," No. 99).

106. "HAGÁ IBN 'ABD EL LAṬÍF IBN EL SHEIKH ḤAMMAD⁷ WALAD ZURRŪḲ."

He was born at Shanbát... Many miracles, to which Sheikh Khógali⁸ testified, were vouchsafed to him: *e.g.* when he was being buried and the sun was about to set, it suddenly went back to the east again to give more time for the burial.

107. "HAGŪ IBN BATŪL EL GHUBSHA¹⁰."

His father was a Ḥamrání named Ḥammád... He was educated by his mother's brother Sheikh Ya'aḳūb¹¹... He was buried at Um Ma-wákiḥ.

108. "HAGYŪ IBN EL FEKÍ SÁLIM IBN EL MÁ'ÍDÍ."

He was a pupil of 'Abd el Raḥman¹² ibn Belál, and, after the death of 'Abd el Raḥman, of the *fekí* Ḍayfulla¹³.

109. "'ḤALÁWÍ,' el Ḥagágábi el 'Ámri."

His real name was Muḥammad ibn Gemál el Dín... He was born at el Kámnín, and was a pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad¹⁴ ibn 'Isa Sowár el Dhahab... He visited Egypt, and died and was buried at el Ḳóz.

110. "ḤAMD EL SÍD IBN BELLA."

He was born at el Ḥalfáya... His sons were the *fekis* Muḥammad and Ḥammad, and 'Abd el Raḥman.

¹ No. 147.

² No. 258.

³ No. 27?

⁴ No. 248.

⁵ No. 83.

⁶ Tree 1.

⁷ No. 127.

⁸ No. 154.

⁹ Tree 8.

¹⁰ reading القبشة for الغبشة.

¹¹ No. 254.

¹² No. 16.

¹³ No. 89.

¹⁴ No. 191.

111. ¹“ḤAMDÂN IBN YA'AQŪB².”

He was called “el Baṭrân,” and was born at el Ḥumr... He died in the year *el Wada'a* (“the year of tranquillity”).

112. “ḤĀMID EL LAYN IBN EL FEKI SULAYMÂN IBN EL SHEIKH ḤĀMID³.”

He was taught by Sheikh el Zayn⁴ and was a great collector of books. ... He was the first to introduce from Egypt the commentary of 'Abd el Bâki on *Khalil*... He was a friend of the author's father.

113. “ḤĀMID IBN 'OMAR, el Bâdiri.”

He was known as “Abu el 'Aṣâ” [“Father of the Stick”], because he always carried a stick... He was born at Saḳâdi and embraced Ṣūfism... He was a follower of Muḥammad el Maṣṣūr... His sons were Ḥammad, Ibrâhîm, Sulaymân and Sheikh 'Alî... He was buried at el Gebayl.

114. ⁵“ḤAMMAD IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL MĀGID⁶.”

He succeeded his father... Among his pupils was the *feki* Ḥammad⁷ walad el Magdhûb⁸.

115. “ḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD EL RAḤÎM, el Mashayrifî.”

He was known as “Ḥatîk el Maḥassi.”... He was born at el Khartoum and taught law [*Khalîl*] by Muḥammad “el Azraq⁹” ibn el Sheikh el Zayn... He was buried at Abu Naḡla.

116. ¹⁰“ḤAMMAD ABU KURŪN IBN EL SHEIKH MUḤAMMAD¹¹ EL HAMÎM.”

117. “ḤAMMAD IBN ABU ZAYD, EL HADRI el Buṣaylâbi.”

He was born at Arbâgi and educated by the *feki* Muḥammad walad Ḥegâzi... He was buried at Arbâgi.

118. ¹²“ḤAMMAD IBN EL AGHBASH.”

He was a pupil of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman¹³ ibn Ḥammadtû... His father was Sheikh 'Abdulla¹⁴ el Aghbash... He was born and buried at Berber... His sons were 'Abd el Mâgîd¹⁵, 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁶, 'Abdulla, 'Alî, Ḥusayn and Abu Kerayn.

119. ¹⁷“ḤAMMAD 'EL AṢḌĀ' IBN EL SHEIKH DAFĀ'ALLA¹⁸.”

He succeeded his father and taught law [*Khalîl*] and apostleship... Muḥammad walad el Terayfi¹⁹ was his spiritual guide. “Sheikh el Gunayd²⁰ walad Ṭâha told me that Sheikh Dafa'alla said to Sheikh Muḥammad walad Dafa'alla²¹ ibn el Shâfa'i 'Take advantage of the days of Sheikh Dafa'alla²² [while] you are young'; and [again] he said to Sheikh Muḥammad 'You were instructed by

¹ Tree 8.² No. 254.³ No. 113.⁴ No. 258.⁵ Tree 2.⁶ No. 10.⁷ No. 123.⁸ reading المجذوب for المحذوب.⁹ No. 204.¹⁰ Tree 1.¹¹ No. 190.¹² Tree 2.¹³ No. 21.¹⁴ No. 31.¹⁵ No. 10.¹⁶ No. 20.¹⁷ Tree 9.¹⁸ No. 84.¹⁹ No. 177.²⁰ No. 104.²¹ reading ولد دفع الله for ولد فع الله, No. 83.²² No. 84.

my son Ḥammad¹; and to Dafa'alla walad el Sháfa'i² he said 'You were taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla³.'

120. "ḤAMMAD IBN ḤAMAYDÁN, el Ga'ali."

A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla⁴... He taught at el Ḥalfáya, and among those whom he instructed were "my grandfather [*gid*] the *feki* Muḥammad ibn el feki Ḍayfulla⁵, and the *feki* Idris ibn el Izayriḳ."

121. ⁶"ḤAMMAD IBN ḤASAN 'ABU ḤALÍMA' IBN EL FEKI⁷, el Rikábi."

A friend of Sheikh Idris⁸ and a pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad⁹ ibn 'Ísa Sowár el Dhabab... He was held in great respect by Sheikh 'Agib the Great.

122. ¹⁰"ḤAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH IDRÍS¹¹."

He succeeded his father as *Khalifa*.

123. "ḤAMMAD IBN EL MAGDHÜB¹²" (b. 1105¹³ A.H.; d. 1190¹⁴).

He was a pupil of the *feki* Ḥammad¹⁵ ibn 'Abd el Mágid and a follower of Sheikh 'Ali el Diráwi, the disciple of Sídí Aḥmad ibn el Násir el Shádhali... He died, aged 85, in 1190, and his tomb is at el Dámer... He performed the pilgrimage... He had a son, Aḥmad, born in 1159¹⁶ A.H.

124. ¹⁷"ḤAMMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ALI, el Mashayḳhi" (b. 1055¹⁸; d. 1142¹⁹).

"He was commonly known as Ḥammad 'ibn Mariam,' his mother being Mariam. The latter's mother was a Maḥassía Mashayrifía, a daughter of Walad Qadál²⁰ 'el Wali'; and her father was Walad Kishayb²¹, one of the holy-men [*awliya*] of Abu Nagila whose tombs are visited, a Mesallami by origin."

Ḥammad was born on Tūti Island in 1055²² A.H.... He was a pupil of the *feki* Arbáb²³ Khashan, but quarrelled with him.... He died in 1142²⁴ A.H. aged 87.... His sons were Muḥammad el Nūr, Muḥammad el Maḳbūl and Muḥammad el Shafīḥ....

There are some five pages of anecdote, praise and poetry on this man. "El Sayyid walad Dólīb said of him

ما امثله الا بعمر بن الخطاب

(i.e. "I can compare him to no one but 'Omar ibn el Khattáb.")

125. ²⁵"ḤAMMAD EL NAḤLÁN IBN MUḤAMMAD, el Bedayri" (d. 1116²⁶ A.H.).

¹ No. 119.

² No. 83.

³ No. 34.

⁴ No. 84.

⁵ No. 88.

⁶ Tree 1.

⁷ No. 149.

⁸ No. 141.

⁹ No. 191.

¹⁰ Tree 4.

¹¹ No. 141.

¹² reading *المجذوب* for *المجذوب*.

¹³ 1693 A.D.

¹⁴ 1776 A.D.

¹⁵ No. 114.

¹⁶ 1746 A.D.

¹⁷ Tree 11.

¹⁸ 1646 A.D.

¹⁹ 1730 A.D.

²⁰ No. 147.

²¹ No. 208?

²² 1646 A.D.

²³ No. 65.

²⁴ 1730 A.D.

²⁵ Tree 9.

²⁶ 1704 A.D.

"He was known as 'Ibn el Turábi.' His mother's name was Qála. He studied law [*Khalīl*] under the *feki* Muḥammad¹ ibn el Tanḳár at Muays and excelled therein, having taken the course ten times [*lit.* 'took ten sealings']. Then he embraced Sūfism and devoted himself entirely to God and renounced the world, following the teaching of Sheikh Dafa'alla²; and [the latter] guided him....

And when he was nigh unto death he said to the people 'The world has lost its *fakīr* and its commander and they will never repair the loss.' Those who benefit from his teaching are the rulers of the present generation....

He died, God bless him, in the year 1116 after the Flight of the Prophet."...

126. "ḤAMMAD EL NEGÍP, el 'Awaḍábi el Gamū'i."

He was a follower of Táḡ el Dín el Bahári³ and was born at Asláng Island.... "He was a man of power and rank at the court of Sheikh 'Agíb and went to war with him, and was killed at Karkóg⁴ in the battle against the FUNG; and Sheikh 'Agíb built for him the mosque which is still standing, and devoted lands to its endowment."... He had a son, 'Abd el Wahháb⁵.

127. "ḤAMMAD WALAD ZURRŪK."

He and the *feki* Gád⁶ el Nebi⁷ came [together?] from Ḥādrāmut.... His sons were 'Abd el Salám, 'Abd el Laṭíf and two others.... 'Abd el Salám begot Abu Delayḳ, and 'Abd el Laṭíf begot Hagá⁸....

"'Abd el Salám was known as 'Sawáḳ el Raká' ['the Jug-Driver'], for when they [his women?] went down to the river to fill his jug, he would drive them both along with a stick....

And Abu Delayḳ was called 'Yalám el Asad' ['the Lion's Roar'], because, while he was studying as a pupil of Sheikh Maskín el Khāfi and had gone out one day to collect firewood, a lion killed his donkey."

128. "ḤAMMADNULLA WALAD MALÁK."

He was born at Khartoum, and was a follower of Sheikh Khógali⁹.... His sons were Muḥammad and Muḥammadayn.

129. "ḤAMAYD EL ŠÁRIDĪ."

"And ŠÁRID is a [sub]-tribe of GUDHÁM." He was born at el Kubr, and was a follower of Básbár¹⁰. "My paternal ancestor, the *feki* Ḍayfulla el Faḍli¹¹, was taught by him the doctrine of Unity [*tawḥīd*] and Arabic."

¹ No. 202.

² No. 84.

³ No. 67.

⁴ reading كرجوج for كرجوج.

⁵ No. 29.

⁶ reading جاد for جار.

⁷ No. 97.

⁸ No. 106.

⁹ No. 154.

¹⁰ No. 73.

¹¹ No. 88.

130. ¹“ḤAMMŪDA IBN EL TANẖĀR, ‘Gíáb el ‘Agwa’ [‘the Bringer of Dates’].”

His mother was Āmna bint Serḥán², and he was a follower of Sheikh Idrís³. The reason of his nickname, “Gíáb el ‘Agwa,” was as follows: “His mother’s brother, Sheikh Muḥammad⁴ ibn Serḥán fell sick, and it was said to him, ‘The remedy for you is dates’; and as there was a dearth of them in the country, Ḥammūda, God bless him, brought some from Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and they cured the malady.

He wrote a useful commentary in the form of marginal notes on Khalíl, copied from that of his mother’s brother and the AWLÁD GÁBIR⁵.”

131. ⁶“ḤASAN WALAD BELÍL, el Rikábi.”

He dwelt at Dongola el ‘Afāṭ and was a follower of Ḥabíb Nesi⁷... He performed a number of miracles... He had a son, Qurayshi.

132. ⁸“ḤASAN IBN ḤASŪNA IBN EL ḤÁG MŪSA” (d. 1075⁹ A.H.).

“[Mūsa] came from Morocco [*el moghrab*], from el Gezirat el Khadrá, from the land of Andalus, and married one of the MESAL-LAMÍA and begot Ḥasūna; and he said ‘I have put my seed in the source when I am sprung.’ And Ḥasūna married the daughter of his mother’s sister, Fátima bint Waḥshía, the sister of el Ḥág Lukáni¹⁰, [Waḥshía’s] mother being a Šaridía Khamaysía; and by Fátima Ḥasūna had four children, Sheikh Ḥasan and el ‘Agami¹¹ and Sowár and el Ḥága Nafisa. These four sons of Fátima all died childless. Sheikh [Ḥasan] was born at the island of Kagoi [Kagóg], and his story breathes a sweet odour.”...

Several pages follow, all concerning visions and wonders, dreams and miracles and manifestations of God’s favour to Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna... After completing his religious education he performed the pilgrimage and travelled for some twelve years in the Ḥegáz, Egypt and Syria in company with various other persons, including Abu Ḥamayda and Aḥmad Tūd the Dongoláwi... He finally returned to the Sudan, “and then, when his herds had become numerous, he went up to el Durūrba and Kanṭūr el Ḥomár [‘Donkey’s Dam’] and dug his reservoir [*ḥafír*] of Um Kanátír [‘Mother of Dams’]. He amassed slaves and mounted them on horseback and said ‘I will guard my flocks with them’; and the tradition among the people is [that he had] 500 slaves, each one of whom bore a sword with scabbard-tip and plate and pin of silver: they consisted of a commander and troops [under him]; and [they also carried] clubs. And they used to trade in their swift horses to Teḳali and Dár Borḳū (?)¹² and Dárfūr and Sennár and [the country

¹ Tree 1.

² No. 233.

³ No. 141.

⁴ No. 241.

⁵ No. 17, etc.

⁶ Tree 1.

⁷ No. 105.

⁸ Tree 5.

⁹ 1664 A.D.

¹⁰ No. 156.

¹¹ No. 55.

¹² reading برقو for بريق.

of] the AWLÁD 'AGÍB. And his slaves became [whole] villages; and so many¹ were the visits paid to him that they made an enclosure for the firstborn [of the flocks and herds offered to him]. The enclosure which Sheikh Ḥasan built for his house was as large as that of the King of Sennár...."

The following is one of the miracles related: "A girl died and her mother came to him [Ḥasan] and said, 'My lord, my daughter has died, and the property of her father is ill-gotten; I prithee shroud her for me.' And Sheikh Ḥasan went to her and looked upon her and said 'Your daughter is well: she has not died. Arise!' And lo! her breath returned to her, and she arose and lived...."

A second miracle relates how a man was drowned and remained three days in the river: then came Ḥasan Ḥasūna and said "Arise!" and the drowned man returned to life, was married, and begot a son.... Yet again, a man brought Ḥasan two dead birds, and Ḥasan took them from him, "and placed the sleeve of his shirt upon his head, and the birds flew away."... He was held in high honour by the FUNG king Bádi walad Rubát who, on an occasion of their meeting, granted every request of Sheikh Ḥasan.

"Now his sister, the daughter of Ḥasūna, was named Fáṭima, and one of the SHUKRÍA married her, and when he wished to transfer her [to his home] he brought for her a camel with its howdah [*uṭfa*] and gave her four handmaidens [*ferkhát*, *lit.* 'chickens'] and a herd of camels and a herd of cattle and a herd of sheep....

And when he drew nigh unto death he summoned his brothers, the sons of Ḥasūna, 'Abd el Fattáh and 'Abd el Kádír and Mánid and said to them 'My successor is Belal el Shayb the son of 'Abd el Fattáh'; and [then] he shaved [Belal's] head with his finger, using no razor; and he bequeathed a third of his wealth to five poor men [*fukarā*] and each of them thereby received 36 head of slaves; and their masters² drove off the weak and the strong [together], some of them going down to Sennár and others going to Rás el Fíl."...

Among Sheikh Ḥasan's followers were his brother el 'Agami³, and el Kufi, and el Hág 'Abd el Salám el Begáwi, and the *feki* Muḥammad⁴ walad Surūr, "and from among the Danágla, Sheikh Mūsa Feríd⁵ and Sheikh Munowwar and Aḥmad Tūd....

He reared a crocodile in the reservoir, and it did much harm, so he shot it with a rifle, and the charge exploded backwards and caused his death. He died in the year 1075⁶ A.H.; and in his death he rose as a Star of Religion."

¹ reading كثرة for كثرت.

³ No. 55.

⁵ reading فريد for قريد.

² reading سيادهم for سادهم.

⁴ No. 210.

⁶ 1664 A.D.

133. "ḤEGÁZI."

He was son of Abu Zayd¹ ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir... "He died in the prison of Násir, of hunger and thirst."

134. "ḤILÁLI IBN EL SHEIKH MUḤAMMAD² IBN 'ĪSA SOWÁR EL DHAHAB."

His mother was the daughter of *Mek* Ḥasan walad Kashásh, the *malik* ["king"] of Dongola.

"ḤUNAYD" (see *sub* "el Gunayd").

I

135. ³"IBRÁHÍM IBN 'ABŪDÍ 'EL FARADÍ."

His mother was the sister of el Mesallami⁴ and daughter of Abu Wanaysa... He was taught first by el Mesallami, his "Sheikh," and then by 'Abd el Raḥman⁵ walad Ḥammadtu...

"He compiled the marginal commentary known as *el Faradīa* on the study of what is obligatory [*el Farāḍ*], and was nicknamed 'el Faradī' because he was a great authority on obligation."... He married the daughter of his maternal uncle el Mesallami but subsequently divorced her.

136. ⁶"IBRÁHÍM WALAD BARRI."

He was born at Nasri Island, and his mother was Umhání bint 'Alí walad Qandíl, a holy-man of the ŠOWÁRDA... He read law [*Khalíl*] under Sheikh Šughayerūn⁷ and learnt what pertains to the sphere of faith [*'ilm el kalām*] from the *feki* Ḥusayn Abu Sha'ar the disciple of Muḥammad⁸ ibn 'Īsa Sowár el Dhahab... He was the companion⁹, in Šufiism, of Sheikh Muḥammad¹⁰ walad Dáūd... He performed the pilgrimage, and died, aged 120 years, in *Sannat el Wada'a* ("the year of tranquillity").

137. "IBRÁHÍM IBN NUŠR."

"A learned man of Sennár, and its legal adviser [*mufti*]."... He was a pupil of el Qadál¹¹ walad el Faradī.

138. "IBRÁHÍM EL SA'ŪDÍ."

He was a Šáfa'ite, and the preacher [*Khaṭīb*] of Sennár.

139. ¹²"IBRÁHÍM IBN EL SHEIKH ŠUGHAYERŪN¹³."

140. "IBRÁHÍM IBN UM RABÍ'A."

He was a Takagábi, born at Baḥr el 'Asal, and a pupil of 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁴ ibn Gábir.

141. ¹⁵"IDRÍS IBN ARBÁB."

[The earlier part of this biography, the first given, is missing. The first intelligible statements concerning Sheikh Idrís make mention of a

¹ No. 53.² No. 191.³ Tree 11.⁴ No. 172.⁵ No. 21.⁶ Tree 3.⁷ No. 241.⁸ No. 191.⁹ reading  for .¹⁰ No. 186.¹¹ No. 147.¹² Tree 1.¹³ No. 241.¹⁴ No. 17.¹⁵ Tree 4.

certain Moghrabi, Sheikh Mūsa el Qaylūbi, and the date 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.), and of an exchange of presents between Idrīs and Sheikh Şughayerūn¹.]

"Sheikh Khógali² said 'The first to light the fire of Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir was Sheikh Idrīs.' "...

He was a most eminent teacher and a pillar of religion. One of his disciples [*howár*] was Sheikh 'Īsa el Tálīb.

He foretold many important events. "For example, his prophecy to Sheikh 'Agīb when [the latter] applied to him for a prediction regarding the war with the FUNG: Sheikh [Agīb] said 'The FUNG have oppressed us' [*lit.* 'changed the customs upon us']: [Idrīs] replied 'Do not make war upon them for they will kill you and subject your seed afterwards until the day of Resurrection.' And it happened as he had said. Again, his prophecy to King Bádi Abu Rubát when he was Master of the Household [*Sid Kūm*] to King 'Adlān walad Áya and [they] proposed making war on Sheikh 'Agīb. Now this Bádi was a disciple [*howár*] of Sheikh Idrīs and enquired of him concerning the matter and [the Sheikh] replied 'Ye shall kill Sheikh 'Agīb and be victorious, and thou shalt return to Sennár as king, and the kingdom shall be in the hands of thy descendants after thee.' And it happened as he had said, and five [of Bádi's descendants] ruled, Rubát, and Bádi his son, and Ounsa walad Náşir, and Bádi his son, and Ounsa his son; and the period of their rule was 110 years.

Again, his prophecy that the kingdom of the FUNG would come to an end: and the reason that it did so was that they fought among themselves and divided themselves into two parties, each of which fought the other until their kingdom was lost."

142. "'ĪSA WALAD ABU SAKAYKÍN."

He was born at Abyaḍ Dirí....Both a Maḥassi and a Mesallami married his mother in turn and claimed 'Īsa as their son....

His *ḡubba* is on the road between 'Aylafūn and Gebel el Maylakit.

143. "'ĪSA WALAD KANŪ."

A most holy man, the disciple and pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad³ ibn 'Īsa Sowár el Dhahab....He was born at Dongola el 'Agūz ("Old Dongola"), and was by birth a Ḥadāri....He instructed 'Abd el Raḥman⁴ ibn el Aghbash and the *feki* Dow el Bayt⁵ in the art of Qurānic reading [*tagwid*]....One of the miracles related of him is that "he was in prison, and the house in which he was imprisoned caught fire; but when the fire reached him, it died out: and in the corner of the house was a hen; and she ran hurriedly to drag her eggs to him, and he was

¹ No. 241.

² No. 154.

³ No. 191.

⁴ No. 20.

⁵ No. 91.

heard to say 'I am 'Ísa to my hen' [*i.e.* 'the hen knows that I am the great 'Ísa Kanū']."

144. "'ÍSA IBN ṢĀLIḤ, el Bedayri."

He was the father of Sheikh Muḥammad¹ Sowár el Dhahab, and a pupil of 'Abd el Raḥman² ibn Gábir.

145. "ISMÁ'IL ṢĀ...(*torn*)...IBN EL SHEIKH MEKKI³ EL DAḤA-LÁSHI."

His mother was Khayra, a Saḥarnáwla, who was given to Sheikh Mekki as a present by the Sultan of Teḥali and bore to him el Nūr and Ismá'il.

146. "'IZZ EL DfN WALAD NAF'Á."

He was born at el Manákil, and was a follower of Sheikh Dafa'lla, and later of Muḥammad walad Medani and Muḥammad walad 'Awayḍa.

K

147. 4 "EL ḲADÁL ' MUḤAMMAD."

He was the son of Ibráhīm ibn 'Abūdi "el Faraḍi" by the daughter of el Mesallami⁵ walad Abu Wanaysa, and was surnamed "el Ḳadál" because he was an upright man... His father taught him law [*Khaṭl*] and apostleship... He was born on the White Nile, and went to Kordofán to visit his pupil Gódatulla⁶, and was given a present of 50 camels by the king of the KUNGÁRA. He lived in the reign of Ounsa walad Náṣir, and died at Um Ṭaḥa after a residence there of four months, and was buried with "el Faraḍi" and el Mesallami... He is fabled on one occasion to have flown to the Gezira [*el Huoi*] on his bedstead.

148. 7 "ḲAḲUMR IBN EL ḤĀG IBRÁHĪM⁸ IBN BARRI IBN 'ADÍLA IBN TIMYA."

He was taught by his father's brother the *feki* 'Alī⁹, and was a contemporary of Bāsbar¹⁰.

149. 11 "ḲASH IBN SIDR IBN 'ABD EL NEBI IBN 'AGÍB IBN RIKÁB IBN GHULÁMULLA."

He begot Ḥasan, the father of the *feki* Ḥammad¹² and of Ḥalíma, and Ḥusayn, the father of 'Alī; and 'Alī married Ḥalíma and by her begot the *feki* 'Othmán "Síd el Ruaykiba" and another... His son Ḥasan was nicknamed "Abu Ḥalíma" ["Father of Ḥalíma"] after his daughter Ḥalíma... As he lived among the MOGHÁRBA he was buried among them.

150. "KERRÁR IBN EL SHEIKH SELMÁN¹³ EL ṬOWÁLI."

151. "KHALÍL IBN 'ALÍ, el Šarīdi el Khamaysi."

He was born at Kagoi Island and was a contemporary of Sheikh Ḥasan¹⁴ walad Ḥasūna.

¹ No. 191.

² No. 17.

³ No. 169.

⁴ Tree 11.

⁵ No. 172.

⁶ No. 102.

⁷ Tree 3.

⁸ No. 136.

⁹ No. 58.

¹⁰ No. 73.

¹¹ Tree 1.

¹² No. 121.

¹³ No. 230.

¹⁴ No. 132.

152. "KHALÍL IBN BISHÁRA, el Dwayhi."

He was known as "Abu Sayf 'Ūd" or "Sayf el 'Ūd." . . . He was born at Shanbát and was a pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad¹ walād el Ṭerayfi. . . . He dwelt and died at Ṭalḥa.

153. "KHALÍL IBN EL RŪMÍ."

He was a Dongoláwi Gábri by race, and migrated southwards to Surkum where he dwelt, living a holy life, for some years. Then he went, at el Ḥág 'Omára's request, to Dádūn and built mosques. Several wonders and miracles are related of him; such as the following:

"There came to him a man, saying 'A slave-woman of mine ran away a year ago: pray God to return her to me.' [Khalíl] said 'Fetch a jar of servants' beer and a gelded cock'; and the man fetched two jars of servants' beer and two gelded cocks: then they strained the beer and drank it, that is he [*sc.* Khalíl] and his DANÁGLA who were with him. Then came the man and said to him 'Where is my slave-woman?' He replied 'Go among the trees and say "O Bakhita²!" three times.' And the woman appeared, carrying a waterskin with the ropes of it [trailing] over her face; and she said 'My master, what has brought you here? This is the river Atbara.' Her master answered her 'This is Sennár.' Then he drove her with him and came [to Khalíl] and [Khalíl] from afar off said to him 'Be off with you³.'" . . .

Again, "when the troops all revolted against the king of the FUNG at Ḳerri and Sennár and el Ís, and the soldiers had surrounded him on every side, and had killed all who were with him, so that none were left but thirty horsemen, and when [the king] had hidden from them in the courtyard of Kimayr bint el Mek, his sister, Kimayr went to Sheikh Khalíl and said to him 'My lord, my brother is losing his kingdom and we fear his destruction at the hands of his slaves.' And he said to her 'Your brother is the wrongdoer and the mischief-maker.' She replied 'Let him come to you, and he will repent at your hands of his wrongdoing and mischief-making.' He said 'Bring him to me.' And she went to the king and brought him muffled and disguised in woman's raiment; and when he came before the Sheikh he said 'I repent of what you prohibit.' [The Sheikh] replied 'The FUNG have taken your crown [*lit.* "turban of the king"] from you, but here is my turban for you, and I guarantee to you the kingdom of your father until you die; but if you go forth to battle, take me with you and I will bring [or, "and take with you"] el Ḥág 'Omára [*sc.* to your aid].' And in the morning he went forth against those armies with his thirty horsemen, and took with him the Sheikh and el Ḥág 'Omára, as the Sheikh had commanded him, and he routed

¹ No. 177.² reading بخية for بخية.³ reading امش for امش.

them by the blessing of the Sheikh, and slew them with most dire slaughter, and remained king until he died. Now the king mentioned was Bádi el Aḥmar ibn Ounsa walad el Malik Náṣir."

154. ¹"KHÓGALI IBN 'ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN IBRÁHÍM" (d. 1155² A.H.).

"His mother's name was Dowwá bint Khógali; and his father 'Abd el Raḥman was a Maḥassi Kabáni, and his mother a Maḥassía Mushayrifía. His grandfather Ibráhím was one of the disciples of the AWLÁD³ GÁBIR and a follower of Muḥammad ibn el Sheikh Ibráhím el Búlád, as I have seen it written. Sheikh Khógali was born on Tūti Island, and was first taught to write by 'Áyesha el Faḳíra bint walad Qadál. He learnt what pertains to the sphere of faith [*'ilm el kalám*] and Šūfiism⁴ from the *feki* Arbáb⁵, and studied law [*Khalíl*] under Sheikh el Zayn⁶ walad Šughayerūn... He went on the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and followed the teaching of Sheikh Aḥmad el Tabankatáwī el Felláti, the divine saint [*ḥuṣṣ*] who resided at Medína."

His life and character are then treated of from three aspects (*nuṣar*). Firstly are given records of things said by him, and of him by various eminent holy-men; secondly a description of his character and personal appearance; thirdly miracles performed by him. The following are quotations from parts two and three respectively.

(1) "It was characteristic of him that he held to the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and followed [the precepts and example of] the Shádhaliá Sayyids as to word and deed. And he used to wear gorgeous raiments, such as a green robe of Bašra, and upon his head a red fez [*tarbūsh*], and [round it] as a turban rich muslin stuffs. For footwear he wore shoes [*sarmūga*]; and he fumigated himself with India-wood [*el 'ūd el hindī*], and perfumed himself, and put Abyssinian civet on his beard and on his clothes. All this he did in imitation of Sheikh Abu el Ḥasan el Shádhali, for all blessings come from God Almighty and he was thankful to Him for the same. And it was remarked to him that the Qádiría only wear cotton shirts and scanty clothes, and he replied 'My clothes proclaim to the world "We are in no need of you," but their clothes say "We are in need of you."'

It was also characteristic of him that he never rose up to salute any of the great ones of the earth, neither the AWLÁD 'AGIB, the rulers of his country, nor the kings of GA'AL, nor any of the nobility,

¹ Tree 7.

³ No. 17, etc.

⁵ No. 65.

² 1742 A.D.

⁴ reading المصوق for التصوف.

⁶ No. 258.

excepting only two men, the successor [*Khalīfa*] of Sheikh Idrīs and the successor of Sheikh Ṣughayerūn.

El Sha'arāwī says that such superiority, namely [that shown by] his not rising up, has not occurred among any [other] sheikhs, not even in the case of Sheikh 'Abd el Kādir, for the latter, if the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfa came to see him, used to rise up. [The only exception is furnished by] Sheikh Muḥammad el Ḥanafī el Shādhali in Egypt, who used not to rise up for any one, neither for Pashas nor for Sanjaks."...

(2) It is related that a sandbank formed off Tūti Island and greatly impeded the working of the water-wheels of the MAḤASS. The latter appealed to Khógalī, pointing out that they would have to migrate elsewhere, since they were shut off from the water at low Nile; so Khógalī mounted his donkey and went to the bank and dipped his staff in the river and said "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful! O Sheikh Aḥmad ibn el Nāṣiri!"—and the sandbank disappeared: "and this miracle has lasted until our own day, this year of 1219¹. Now his staff was of iron." He was, in addition, a great healer of the sick. "I and the King of Death," said he, on one occasion, "have contended together for the life of the daughter of 'Ebayd, and he has left her to me."...

His final exploit is related thus: "When the Sultan Bukr, Sultan of [the] KUNGÁRA, heard of some abusive remarks of King Bádi he swore that he would enter Sennár, and tear up its trees, and dam its river [so that] cavalry might ride over its bed. Then he made his preparations and set forth till he reached the outskirts of the country on the east side; and he was at el Mefáza when he saw Sheikh Khógalī; and the Sheikh had in his hand a staff and rapped him with it on the finger-tips². And his hand swelled up and became paralysed [*lit.* 'died'], and this was the cause of his death, for the Sultan of the FUNG had besought the mediation of Sheikh Khógalī, and said to him 'The Sultan of [the] FÜR is coming against us.'—Then the Sultan Bukr, the Sultan of [the] KUNGÁRA, enquired of the river folk saying 'There came to me a dark man wearing a green robe and rapped me with a staff,' and described him to them as he had seen him; and they replied 'That was Sheikh Khógalī.'"...

Elsewhere we find the following:

"As regards his original faith, the foundation thereof was Kādirism, but in his methods of daily readings of the Qurán [*awrād*] and in his rules of personal conduct he was a Shādhali, and indeed his 'Sheikh' was a pupil of Sheikh Muḥammad el Nāṣir the Shādhali."...We

¹ 1805 A.D.

² reading اضلعه for اضلاله.

are also told the date of his death: "He died, God bless him, on the forenoon of Sunday the 18th of Gamád el Tháni in the year fifty-five¹; and his son the *feki* Aḥmad succeeded him by his father's direction, and was a pious servant [of God] and followed in his father's footsteps in all purity of heart; and the period of his holding office [as *Khalífa*] was six years."

155. ²"KURNI IBN EL FEKI MUḤAMMAD³ ABU SABÍB IBN EL FEKI 'ALÍ IBN BARRI."

He was a follower of el Hág 'Abdulla⁴ el Ḥalanḳi.

L

156. ⁵"LUḲÁNI."

The brother of the mother of Sheikh Ḥasan⁶ ibn Ḥasūna and a pupil of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman⁷ ibn Gábir. He was one of the 40 disciples all of whom attained the rank of *Ḳuṭb*.

M

157. ⁸"MAḤMŪD EL 'ARAKI, 'RÁGIL EL ḲUṢAYER."

"He was born on the White [Nile], and went for instruction to Egypt and was the pupil of el Nášir el Luḳáni and Shams el Dín el Luḳáni; and he was the first to order the people to observe the period of probation [after divorce]. Before his time a woman could be divorced by her husband and married by another, all in one day or on successive days. He settled on Gezírat el Huoi on the banks of the White Nile and built himself a mansion, which is now known as Ḳuṣayer Maḥmūd...

Now his coming was before that of the AWLÁD GÁBIR⁹: the latter studied under el Banūfari, and el Banūfari under 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag-hūri, and Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag-hūri was a follower of Shams el Dín and Nášir el Dín, the two Luḳánis. His coming was in the time of the FUNG, and Sheikh Khógalí¹⁰ said that from el Khartoum to el Ís there were seventeen schools, all of which were destroyed by SHILLUK and *Um Laḥm*..."

He died and was buried at el Ḳuṣayer.

158. ¹¹"MÁLÍK IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAḤMAN¹² WALAD ḤAM-MADTU."

He lived at el Zóra, and built a mosque wherein law [*Khalíl*] was taught... His son was 'Abd el Raḥman, the father of the *feki* Ḳarbáwi and Málík... "Among his pupils were the *fekis* Aḥmad and 'Abdulla,

¹ 1743 A.D.

² Tree 3.

³ No. 178.

⁴ No. 33.

⁵ Tree 5.

⁶ No. 132.

⁷ No. 17.

⁸ Tree 7.

⁹ No. 17, etc.

¹⁰ No. 154.

¹¹ Tree 10.

¹² No. 21.

the sons of the *feki* Ḥammad¹ ibn el Magdhūb, and the *feki* Khógalí, the *Khalífa* of the GHUBUSH, and the *feki* Muḥammad ibn Ḥámíd el Mitkenábi, and Táhír the grandchild [*sabt*] of Ḥammad² ibn Mariám, and 'Abdulla walad Mekka the grandchild of Sheikh Muḥammad³ ibn el Ṭerayfí."

159. ⁴"MARZŪK IBN EL SHEIKH YA'AKŪB⁵."

He succeeded his brother Mūsa⁶... He was buried with his father and his brother at el Ḥumr.

160. ⁷"MÁZRI IBN EL TANĶÁR."

He was a pupil of his mother's brother, el Hág Muḥammad⁸ ibn Serḥán, and a follower of Sheikh Idrís⁹.

161. ¹⁰"MEDANI 'EL HĀGGAR' IBN 'OMAR IBN SERḤÁN."

He was the nephew of Sheikh Şughayerūn¹¹ and was taught by him, and so proficient did he become that he was nicknamed "el Haggar" ["the Rock"]... When Şughayerūn died, [his successor] Sheikh el Zayn¹² invited him to assist him with the teaching in the mosque until Ibráhím¹³ was grown up... He was buried at el Kóz, and his tomb is known as *kubbat el Haggar*... His sons were Kuṭbi and Nūrayn, the former father of the *feki* Ibráhím, and the latter of Muḥammad "ibn el Rayda." "[This Muḥammad's] mother was Burra bint el Sheikh el Zayn and the mother of his father Nūrayn was Rábi'a bint el Sheikh Şughayerūn; and he was taught by the *feki* 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁴ ibn Asíd; and when he died he was buried at el Kóz in front of the *kubba* of his grandfather Medani."...

162. ¹⁵"MEDANI IBN MUḤAMMAD¹⁶ IBN MEDANI EL NÁṬIḶ."

He was taught by his father, and also by his grandfathers (*i.e.* grandfather and great-great-uncles), the Awlād Um Gadayn, Muḥammad¹⁷ and Medani¹⁸... Among his pupils was the *feki* Ḥammad¹⁹ ibn el Magdhūb... He was buried at Nūri with his fathers... "And the *feki* Sheikh ibn Medani said 'The MEDANIYYŪN are the gold and we the silver.'"... He taught the Qurán to Básbár²⁰.

163. ²¹"MEDANI EL NÁṬIḶ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAḤMAN²² WALAD ḤAMMADTU."

He was called "el Tiár" ["the Aviator"]... The reason why he was called also "el NáṭiḶ" ["the Oracle"] was that after his death a quarrel arose as to his successor, and a *feki* appealed to him at his tomb, "and he replied to him [*ndtikahu*] from the tomb 'The *Khalífa* is Sheikh': now Sheikh²³ was his full-brother."... After considerable wranglings Sheikh was duly appointed and was known thereafter as "Sót

¹ No. 123.

² No. 124.

³ No. 177.

⁴ Tree 8.

⁵ No. 254.

⁶ No. 209.

⁷ Tree 1.

⁸ No. 241.

⁹ No. 141.

¹⁰ Tree 1.

¹¹ No. 241.

¹² No. 258.

¹³ No. 139.

¹⁴ No. 15.

¹⁵ Tree 10.

¹⁶ No. 194.

¹⁷ No. 203.

¹⁸ No. 164.

¹⁹ No. 123.

²⁰ No. 73.

²¹ Tree 10.

²² No. 21.

²³ No. 236.

Medani" ["the Voice of Medani"]... His son was Muḥammad... Among his pupils was Bāsbār¹.

164. ²"MEDANI WALAD UM GADAYN."

He was the son of 'Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman³ ibn Ḥammad⁴. "Now Medani⁴ el Nāṭiḡ died during the lifetime of his father Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman, so he [walad Um Gadayn] was called Medani after him in the hope that he would be like his brother, and indeed God fulfilled this hope."...

His sons were 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Fāk⁵, 'Abd el Raḥīm, Sheikh ibn Medani and Ḥammad⁶ ibn Medani of Dongola... He had great influence with the kings of Dongola and the SHĀṬĪĀ.

165. ⁷"EL MEDOWI" (d. 1095 A.H.⁸).

His full name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad el Kadāwi⁷ ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad⁸ el Mişri... He was taught by his grandfather el Mişri... He visited Sennār and stayed there with the *feki* 'Omāra⁹, who introduced him to King Ounsa ibn Nāşir before all the court. On this occasion the king at once dismissed his court and rose up to greet him... While at Sennār he was frequently received by the king and loaded with presents... He died at Kōz Ragab in the year *Um Laḥm*.

166. ¹⁰"MEDOWI IBN BARAKĀT ibn Ḥammad¹¹ ibn el Sheikh Idrīs."

He was a pupil of the *fekis* Belāl¹² and Abu el Ḥasan¹³, and highly spoken of by Sheikhs Khōgālī¹⁴ and Šālīḡ¹⁵ Bān el Nuḡā... He "lit the fire of the Qurān" at three places, viz. el 'Ayl Fung, Gedīd and Elti... He had a son, the *feki* Muḥammad.

167. ¹⁶"MEDOWI IBN EL SHEIKH BEDOWI¹⁷."

He succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his son Sheikh Nāşir el Dīn.

168. "MEDOWI IBN MEDANI ibn 'Abd el Dāīm ibn 'Īsa, el Anşāri el Khazragi."

He was born at Kutráng, and was a follower of el Qadāl¹⁸ ibn el Faraḡi... He was taught by Sheikhs Barakāt¹⁹ ibn Ḥammad and Sheraf el Dīn²⁰ walad Barri.

169. "MEKKI EL DAQALÁSHI."

He lived between el Sheḡayḡ and 'Id el Gima'a and was a pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla²¹.

170. "MEKKI EL NAḤŪ, el Rubátābi."

He was a pupil and disciple of Sheikh Muḥammad²² el Mişri. Among his pupils were Sheikh Mūsa²³ walad Ya'aḡūb "Abu Qussa," el Sherif 'Abd el Raḥman, and the *fekis* Ḥāmid el Layn²⁴ and Ḥamayd²⁵ el Šarīdi...

¹ No. 73.

² Tree 10.

³ No. 21.

⁴ No. 163.

⁵ No. 14.

⁶ 1684 A.D.

⁷ reading اكدوي for الكدوي.

⁸ No. 195.

⁹ No. 219.

¹⁰ Tree 4.

¹¹ No. 122.

¹² No. 79.

¹³ No. 47.

¹⁴ No. 154.

¹⁵ No. 226.

¹⁶ Tree 12.

¹⁷ No. 74.

¹⁸ No. 147.

¹⁹ No. 72.

²⁰ No. 237.

²¹ No. 84.

²² No. 195.

²³ No. 209.

²⁴ No. 112.

²⁵ No. 129

"His large commentary on the *Senūssia* consisted of 40 pamphlets [*kurāsī*], and his smaller commentary of 10 pamphlets. He also wrote a commentary on articles of faith concerning apostleship [*'aḳīdat el risāla*] and, it is said, a commentary on apostleship [*risāla*], but of this I am not sure."

171. ¹"EL MESALLAMI."

He was a disciple of el Ḳadāl Muḥammad², his "Sheikh" and paternal uncle, and was taught by him. His companion in Ṣūfism was Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Arakī³ the son of Sheikh Abu Idris.... He was buried at el Ḳubā with his "Sheikh" el Ḳadāl and his grandfather el Mesallami⁴.

172. ⁵"EL MESALLAMI WAD ABU WANAYSA."

"[Abu Wanaysa's] father was 'Alī el Faḳīr, and Wanaysa was his daughter.... El Mesallami was a follower of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman⁶ ibn Gābir and lived on the White Nile, and was finally buried between that river and el Kharṭū'a.... Among his contemporaries as pupils of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman were Sheikhs Ya'aḳūb⁷ ibn el Sheikh Bān el Nuḳā and 'Abdulla⁸ el 'Arakī and 'Abd el Raḥman⁹ el Nuwayri and el Ḥāg Luḳānī¹⁰ and 'Īsa¹¹, the father of Muḥammad walad 'Īsa "Sowār el Dhahab."

"EL MİŞRİ" (*vide sub* "Muḥammad 'el Mīşrī," No. 195).

173. "MUḤAMMAD IBN EL 'ABBĀSĪ."

He was a pupil of Muḥammad¹² ibn 'Īsa "Sowār el Dhahab." His son was the *feki* Mūsa.

174. "MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD EL DĀFA'Ī¹³."

A follower of Sheikh Khóḡalī¹⁴.... He was the successor of Sheikh Muḥammad¹⁵ walad Dāūd el Luḳr. He was buried at Ḥilla 'Agīb.

175. ¹⁶"MUḤAMMAD IBN EL FEKĪ 'ABD EL RAḤMAN IBN EL AGH-BASH."

He was taught by the *fekis* Belāl¹⁷ and Abu el Ḥasan¹⁸ and Busāṭī and Feraḥ¹⁹ walad Arbáb, and succeeded his father.... "He united learning and good works."

176. ²⁰"MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABDULLA²¹ IBN ḤAMMAD."

He was called "el 'Ālim" ["The Learned"] and "Ṣāḥib el Ḥāshia" ["The Commentator"].... He was taught by his paternal uncle the *feki* 'Abd el Māḡid²² and by the *feki* Muḥammad el Azrak²³, and followed in his life the precepts of Sheikh Bedowī²⁴ walad Abu Delayḳ.... He died at Berber.

177. ²⁵"MUḤAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA²⁶ EL ṬERAYFĪ."

When Sheikh Dafa'alla²⁷ el 'Arakī died, Muḥammad's paternal uncle

¹ Tree 11.

² No. 147.

³ No. 84.

⁴ No. 172.

⁵ Tree 11.

⁶ No. 17.

⁷ No. 254.

⁸ No. 34.

⁹ No. 23.

¹⁰ No. 156.

¹¹ No. 144.

¹² No. 191.

¹³ No. 4.

¹⁴ No. 154.

¹⁵ No. 186.

¹⁶ Tree 2.

¹⁷ No. 79.

¹⁸ No. 47.

¹⁹ No. 94.

²⁰ Tree 2.

²¹ No. 35.

²² No. 10.

²³ No. 204.

²⁴ No. 74.

²⁵ Tree 9.

²⁶ No. 41.

²⁷ No. 84.

Shams el Dín married him to his daughter 'Ankólíba.... He had a son, Yüsef¹.... He was buried at Abu Ḥaráz.

"MUḤAMMAD 'ABU 'ĀḲLA'" (*vide sub* "Abu 'Āḳla," No. 42).

178. ²"MUḤAMMAD ABU SABÍB ibn Tīm̄ya, el Šáridi."

"Sheikh Ḥasan³ appointed him to succeed his father⁴, and the reason for this was that the Sheikh's sons were in disagreement, some of them wanting 'Araki and some this Muḥammad. Then the question was put to their father's brother el Ḥág Ibráhīm⁵ as to who was to be the *Khalífa*, and he said 'I will not say to one of the sons of 'Alī⁶ "Come forward" and to the other "Remain behind." Will they go to Sheikh Ḥasan?"

So they⁷ set out to see him, but 'Araki and his brethren reached the Sheikh first; and [the latter] condescended to them and slaughtered a sheep for them: then came this Muḥammad and his brethren, and [the Sheikh] condescended to them and said 'Fetch the matting for the successor [*Khalífa*] of Walad Barri⁸.'..."

179. ⁹"MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABŪDÍ¹⁰ 'Wakámir (?)."

A pupil of his father.... A description of his clothes follows.

180. "MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ADLÁN, el Sháfa'i el Hóshábi."

He was a pupil of 'Abdulla el Moghrabi, a learned man of Medína.... Subsequently he went to Tanḳási in the Sháfíya country and taught there. ...He also did missionary work in Bornū and Hausaland [*Afnū*].

Among his pupils were Ismá'il ibn el feki el Zayn el Sherifábi, Muḥammad walad Feraḥ, Muḥammad walad Sulaymán and Sa'ad walad Gódulla.

"MUḤAMMAD 'EL 'AGAMÍ' IBN ḤASŪNA" (*vide sub* "el 'Agami," No. 55).

181. "MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ALÍ IBN ḲARM EL KÍMÁNÍ, el Mişri el Sháfa'i."

He entered the Sudan in the early days of the FUNG rule and took up his residence at Arbagi, Sennár and Berber, in turn. He died and was buried at Berber. "He was one of God's own miracles, for all the Sheikhs were taught by him knowledge and the laws of obligation [*el ferid*], as for instance Sheikh 'Abdulla¹¹ el 'Araki and el Ḳáḍi Dushayn¹² el Sháfa'i and Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥmán¹³ walad Ḥammadtu and Sheikh Ibráhīm el Farāḍi¹⁴... and Sheikh Muḥammad¹⁵ el Mişri."... His sons were el Shakák and Sháfa'i and Mekki and Medani.

¹ No. 256.

² Tree 3.

³ No. 132.

⁴ No. 58.

⁵ No. 136.

⁶ No. 58.

⁷ reading سافرا for سافر.

⁸ No. 58.

⁹ Tree 11.

¹⁰ No. 54.

¹¹ No. 34.

¹² No. 93.

¹³ No. 21.

¹⁴ No. 135.

¹⁵ No. 195.

182. "MUHAMMAD IBN ANAS."

He was a follower of Sheikh Khógalí¹ and the *fekis* 'Abd el Rahman² ibn Asíd and 'Abd el Rázik el 'Awađi.

183. "MUHAMMAD IBN ARBÁB³" (d. 1170 A.H.⁴).

A follower of el Hág Khógalí⁵, as were his brothers Busáti and Feraḥ⁶.
... He was buried at el Bashákira.

184. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'AWAYDA."

A pupil of el Qadál⁷ ibn el Faradı.

"MUHAMMAD 'EL AZRAḤ'" (*vide sub* "Muḥammad ibn el Sheikh el Zayn").

"MUHAMMAD 'BÁN EL NUḤÁ'" (*vide sub* "Bán el NuḤá," No. 71).

185. ⁸"MUHAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH DAFÁ'ALLA⁹ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idrís."

He was taught by, assisted and succeeded his father... He was a contemporary of the *feki* Medani walad Dushayn.

"MUHAMMAD EL ḌARÍR IBN IDRÍS" (*vide sub* "Dólíb Nesi," No. 90).

186. "MUHAMMAD IBN DÁŪD EL LUḤR¹⁰, el 'Ūdi."

His mother was Keríta bint el Hág Tehámíd, and he was born at Bayba between Elti and Um 'Ukud... He was a pupil of Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Arakí¹¹, who, on his deathbed, appointed him his successor... He died at Hilla 'Agíb on the Dinder.

187. ¹²"MUHAMMAD WALAD DÓLÍB."

His father was Muḥammad el Ḍarír¹³ ibn Idrís ibn Dólíb el Rikábi, and his mother was named Zaynab... He was born at Debba, educated there and died there... He lived in the reign of King Ounsa walad Násir... Among the miracles related of him are the following:

(1) He was attacked by a scorpion and spat upon it, and it died...

(2) A dog barked at him and he turned round upon it, and it died...

188. "MUHAMMAD IBN FÁID EL SHERÍF."

He was born on the shore of the Bitter Sea [*Baḥr el Murr*]... He was a pupil of Sheikh Idrís¹⁴.

"MUHAMMAD IBN GEMÁL EL DÍN" (*vide sub* "Ḥaláwi," No. 109).

189. ¹⁵"MUHAMMAD IBN HÁG ḤABÍB ibn Ḥabíb Nesi¹⁶, el Rikábi."

He lived at Qashábi Island in Dongola... It is related of him that when "King Dekín of Kordofál" presented him with 50 head [*sc.* "of slaves," or "of cattle"] he said that he did not deserve so much and asked that they should be given instead to Sheikh Zláda¹⁷ ibn el Nūr who did deserve them... He was a descendant of Sheikh Ghulámulla, whose *kubba* is at Dongola el 'Agüz... He himself was buried at Qashábi.

¹ No. 154.

² No. 15.

³ No. 65.

⁴ 1756 A.D.

⁵ No. 154.

⁶ No. 94.

⁷ No. 147.

⁸ Tree 9.

⁹ No. 84.

¹⁰ reading اللقر for الإغر.

¹¹ No. 34.

¹² Tree 1.

¹³ No. 90.

¹⁴ No. 141.

¹⁵ Tree 1.

¹⁶ No. 105.

¹⁷ No. 259.

190. ¹"MUḤAMMAD 'EL HAMÍM' IBN 'ABD EL ŠÁDIḤ IBN MÁSHIR, el Rikábi."

He was nicknamed "el Hamím" ["the Earnest"] because the wife of his "Sheikh" sent him to buy a dish of bread [*kisra*], and, on his return, he found she had left the village, so he followed her with the dish of bread from Arbági to Sennár and thence to Ḳūbia... He was a pupil of Sheikh Táḡ el Dín el Bahári² and a contemporary of Sheikhs Idrís³ and Bán el Nuḳá el Ḍarír⁴, and the latter wrote some verses in his honour... He died and was buried at el Mundara.

"MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤAMMAD ibn el Sheikh Idrís" (*vide sub* "Bán el Nuḳá," No. 71).

"MUḤAMMAD 'WALAD EL BAHR' ibn el Sheikh Ibráhím el Faraḍi" (*vide sub* "Walad el Baḥr," No. 252).

191. "MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ÍSA IBN ŠÁLIḤ, el Bedayri, 'Sowár el Dhahab' ['The Bracelet of Gold']."

His mother was Ḥaḳíka... Among his pupils were 'Ísa⁵ walad Kanū, 'Abdulla⁶ el Aghbash the father of the GHUBUSH, Nuṣr el Tergami, and 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Maláḥ the father of Sheikh Khóḡali⁷; and among his friends were Sheikh 'Awūḍa⁸ Shakál el Ḳáriḥ, el Ḥáḡ 'Abdulla the holy-man⁹ of Gerri, Muḥammad¹⁰ walad el 'Abbási, and Ḥammad¹¹ walad Abu Ḥalíma the holy-man of Sharáū... He lived in the reign of Bádi ibn Rubát... "He ruled the seven kings of the Gin, and the FUNG and the kings of GA'AL obeyed him."... He was buried at Dongola.

"MUḤAMMAD 'EL ḲADÁL'" (*vide sub* "'El Ḳadál' Muḥammad," No. 147).

"MUḤAMMAD EL ḲANÁWI" (*vide sub* "Muḥammad 'el Miṣri,'" No. 195).

"MUḤAMMAD 'WALAD ḲŪTA'" (*vide sub* "Muḥammad ibn Musallam," No. 196).

192. ¹²"MUḤAMMAD IBN MAḤMŪD¹³ EL 'ARAKI."

He was a most learned and pious man, and was buried with his famous father at el Kuṣayer.

193. "MUḤAMMAD IBN MEDANI ibn Dushayn¹⁴ 'Ḳāḍi el 'Adála.'" "Sheikh 'Izz el Dín¹⁵ walad Nafi'a el 'Araki said 'After Sheikh

Dafa'alla the man who had intimacy with God was the *feki* Muḥammad ibn Medani.'"... Among his contemporaries were Sheikhs Mūsa¹⁶ walad Ya'aḳūb and Ḥammad ibn Dafa'alla, and among his pupils the *fekis* Dafa'alla ibn 'Abd el Ḥafiz and Khidr the holy-man [*ráḡil*] of el Nūba and 'Abd el Hádi the holy-man of el Ruays... "He was buried in the village which is famous by his name."

¹ Tree 1.

² No. 67.

³ No. 141.

⁴ No. 71.

⁵ No. 143.

⁶ No. 31.

⁷ No. 154.

⁸ No. 66.

⁹ reading راجل for راحل.

¹⁰ No. 173.

¹¹ No. 121.

¹² Tree 7.

¹³ No. 157.

¹⁴ No. 93.

¹⁵ No. 146.

¹⁶ No. 209.

194. ¹“MUḤAMMAD IBN MEDANI² EL NÁṬIḤ ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman walad Ḥammadtu.”

He was taught by his father's brother the *feki* Sheikh³ el Á'sir⁴, whom he succeeded. . . . “And the *feki* Ḥammad⁵ ibn el Magdhūb told me that Muḥammad walad Sálīm el 'Adawi said to him ‘When I went to Egypt I found no one whose knowledge [*lit.* “who could read”] of law [*Khalíl*] equalled that of Muḥammad ibn Medani, excepting el Khadáshi.’ . . .

Now the Muḥammads who shared one name and one father and one epoch were three, Muḥammad⁶ ibn Medani ibn Dushayn and Muḥammad⁷ ibn Medani ibn 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Ḥammadtu and Muḥammad ibn Medani ibn el 'Álim el Sháfa'i.”

195. “MUḤAMMAD 'EL MIṢRI.”

Also called Muḥammad el Ḳanáwi [Fatáwi?].

He was taught by Sheikh Sálīm el Sanhūri⁸ and Yūsef el Razḳábi walad 'Abd el Báki. . . . He visited the land of the FUNG, *e.g.* Sennár and Arbági, “in the second half of the tenth century, in the days of Sheikh 'Agīb.” . . . He finally died at Berber.

“MUḤAMMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD EL KADÁWI” (*vide sub* “el Meadowi,” No. 165).

196. ⁹“MUḤAMMAD IBN MUSALLAM.”

He was generally called “Walad Ḳūta” after his mother Ḳūta the daughter of Ámna bint Fátima bint Gábir, [Fátima] being the sister of the four *Imáms*¹⁰. . . . His father was a Halanki of the Nás walad Sída. . . . He was taught by his mother's brother the *feki* Muḥammad¹¹ ibn el Tanḳár. He first taught at el Ḳóz and then moved his residence to el Hilálfa.

197. “MUḤAMMAD EL NUḲR ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Ráziḳ¹² Abu Ḳurūn.”

He was taught by his father and the Awlād Ya'aḳūb¹³.

198. ¹⁴“MUḤAMMAD IBN EL ḤAG NŪR ibn el feki Ḥammad¹⁵ walad Abu Ḥalíma, el Rikabi.” . . .

He was born at Sharáu, and was taught by Ḥammad¹⁶ ibn Ḥamaydán and Sheraf el Dín¹⁷ walad Barri. . . . He instructed Ibráḥīm the son of his brother Ḳálíng. . . . His sons, the *fekis* Nūr and Medani, succeeded him in turn.

“MUḤAMMAD IBN NUṢR EL TERGAMI” (*vide sub* “Abu Sinayna,” No. 51).

¹ Tree 10.

² No. 163.

³ No. 236.

⁴ reading العسر for العسر.

⁵ No. 123.

⁶ No. 193.

⁷ No. 194.

⁸ reading السهوري for السهوري.

⁹ Tree 1.

¹⁰ No. 17, etc.

¹¹ No. 202.

¹² No. 27.

¹³ No. 254.

¹⁴ Tree 1.

¹⁵ No. 121.

¹⁶ No. 120.

¹⁷ No. 237.

199. "MUḤAMMAD IBN 'OMRÂN."

He was taught what pertains to the sphere of faith [*'ilm el kalâm*] and logic [*el munṭik*] at Shendi by el Meḍowî¹ ibn el Miṣri.

200. "MUḤAMMAD IBN EL FEKÎ SÂLIM, el Máidi."

He was a follower of the *fekî* Belâl² and his son 'Abd el Raḥman³ and Sheikh Khógalî⁴.

"MUḤAMMAD IBN SERḤÂN" (*vide sub* "Şughayerûn," No. 241).

"MUḤAMMAD WALAD EL SHUḤL" (*vide sub* "Walad el Shuḥl," No. 253).

201. "MUḤAMMAD IBN SURÛR ibn el Ḥág Ghanáwa."

A follower of Sheikh Ḥasan⁵.

"MUḤAMMAD TÂG EL DÍN" (*vide sub* "el Bahári," No. 67).

202. "MUḤAMMAD IBN EL TANḤÂR, el Ga'ali el Bishárâbi."

His mother was Ámna bint Fâtima bint Gâbir, and he was taught by her brother Şughayerûn⁷...

He was a follower of Sheikh Idris⁸ and would have liked to be his successor but was prevented by Sheikh 'Abd el Râziq⁹. He then settled at el Muays and built a mosque there, and subsequently went south to el Burṣi, where he died... Among his pupils were Muḥammad "walad Kūṭa"¹⁰ and Sheikh Ḥammad¹¹ ibn el Turâbi.

203. "MUḤAMMAD 'IBN UM GADAYN' ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman¹² ibn Ḥammadtu."

He was taught by his brother the *fekî* Sheikh¹⁴, whom he eventually succeeded, and by his brother's son Ibn Medani¹⁵... Among his pupils were 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁶ ibn Asîd and Medani¹⁷ ibn Muḥammad ibn Medani... He was buried with his brother Medani¹⁸ at el 'Egayga... His sons were 'Abd el Raḥman, Ḥammadtu and Ibrâhîm... Muḥammad, the son of the last-named, succeeded the Awlâd Um Gadayn as *Khalîfa*.

204. "MUḤAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH EL ZAYN, 'el Azrak'" (d. 1108 A.H.²⁰).

He was taught by his father and his paternal uncle Ibrâhîm "el Ḥaggar"²¹. The latter died in 1098 A.H.²² The *fekî* Sâlim el Máidi was one of his pupils... One of his miracles is related thus: "The late Sheikh Ismâ'îl ibn Belâl told me that one of the Ḥuḍûr was in a boat on the Salt Sea, and a storm arose so that the boat was almost swamped, and the man called upon Muḥammad ibn el Zayn, and saw him come flying through the air with his staff; and the sea became calm and the boat was saved"... He died in the year *Um Ḥinaydil*, viz. 1108.

¹ No. 165.² No. 79.³ No. 16.⁴ No. 154.⁵ No. 132.⁶ Tree 1.⁷ No. 241.⁸ No. 141.⁹ No. 27.¹⁰ No. 196.¹¹ No. 125.¹² Tree 10.¹³ No. 21.¹⁴ No. 236.¹⁵ No. 194.¹⁶ No. 15.¹⁷ No. 162.¹⁸ No. 164.¹⁹ Tree 1.²⁰ 1696 A.D.²¹ No. 139.²² 1686 A.D.

205. ¹"MUḤAMMAD EL ZAYN IBN EL SHEIKH MARZŪK²."

He was taught by his father's brother Mūsa³ and by Sheikh Ṣughayerūn⁴... His sons were Sheikh Ya'aqūb and Marzūk and Meḍowi.

206. "MUKHTĀR WALAD ABU 'ANĀYA."

A follower of Sheikh Ṭāha⁵ ibn 'Omāra... Sheikh Ismā'il el Daḡalāshi⁶ and the *feki* Nāfa'i were among his pupils.

207. "MUKHTĀR IBN MUḤAMMAD GÓDATULLA⁷."

His father was a disciple of el Qadāl⁸ ibn el Farāḍi, and he himself was born at el Zalaṭa in Northern Kordofāl... "He died a martyr's death at the hands of Gunḡul the Sultan of FŪR—both he and his pupils—and their possessions were confiscated; and the reason was that [Mukhtār] ordered [the Sultan] to do the right, and warned him against wrongdoing. [For the Sultan] advanced from el Káb with 1000 horse to make war upon King Dekín, and [Mukhtār's] disciple the *feki* Nāfa'i el Fezāri said to him⁹ 'Send me¹⁰ to him'; and [Mukhtār] replied 'Tell him not to fight the FUNG in their country: if he does so God and the Prophet will be on their side, and I also.' And when [the Sultan] heard that he said 'Raise the sword,' and when they had done so he said 'Please God I will kill the *feki* Mukhtār, and we will bury him among ourselves, and [then we shall be able to] visit [his tomb]!' And he set off to attack them (?) and found the *feki* together with his disciples reading, and he killed both the *feki* and his disciples and his compatriots and confiscated their goods. Then through the grace of the *feki* in those days was Gunḡul slain, and [he died] leaving about fifty sons, and these have been killing one another even up to this present day. That any one of them should die in his bed, as for instance el 'Ísāwī did, has been a rare occurrence."

208. ¹¹"MŪSA WALAD KISHAYB, el Ga'ali el 'Armánábi el Mesalámábi."

One of his ancestors settled on the White Nile with the ḤASANÁT; and, later, the KAWÁHLA and others rendered Mūsa obedience...

He was a pupil of Sheikh el Zayn¹² and a contemporary and equal of Sheikh Khógali¹³... He was succeeded by his son the *feki* Meḍowi.

209. ¹⁴"MŪSA IBN YA'AQŪB¹⁵."

His mother was named Maḡhab... He was a famous saint and miracle-worker, and was taught by his father. He lived in the reign of Bádi ibn Rubát... It is said that a stray slave-woman was found who could not communicate in any known tongue with any one, but Mūsa at once understood all she said... He was buried at el Ḥumr.

¹ Tree 8.

² No. 159.

³ No. 209.

⁴ No. 241.

⁵ No. 248.

⁶ No. 145.

⁷ No. 102.

⁸ No. 147.

⁹ reading تلمیذه for تلمیذه.

¹⁰ reading ارسنې for ارسنې.

¹¹ Tree 11 (?).

¹² No. 258.

¹³ No. 154.

¹⁴ Tree 8.

¹⁵ No. 254.

210. "MUŞTAFA EL SHERİF, el Moghrabi el Süsi."

"He embraced Şüfiism and followed Sheikh Muḥammad¹ ibn el Ṭerayfi."... He was buried west of Asláng Island.

N

211. ²"NABRAY IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL HÁDI ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad³ walad Dólb...."

He was born at el Ḥalfáya and educated by the *feki* Dafa'alla, and by the *feki* Dayfulla⁴, and by his father's brother the *feki* Şughayerün in Don-gola.... He was buried at el Ḥalfáya.

212. "NA'İM 'ABD EL SHERAKA' ibn el Ḥág, el Ga'ali el Nawáni."

He was born at el Kerrada and buried near el Ḥilálka.... "He was called 'Abd el Sheraka' ['Servant of the Partnership'] because he divided his year into two halves: during one half he would serve Sheikh Idrís⁵, and during the other he would serve Sheikh Abu Idrís⁶."

213. "NA'İM EL BAṬḤÁNI."

He was the disciple [*ḥowár*] of Sheikh Idrís⁷.... "His tomb is in the desert in front of Walad Abu Delayk."

214. ⁸"NANNA IBN EL TURÁBI."

He was the brother of Sheikh Ḥammad⁹ el Naḥlân.

215. "NOWÁW IBN EL SHEIKH DOW EL BAYT¹⁰" (d. 1176¹¹ A.H.).

He was a Sháfa'ite.... His son the *feki* Muḥammad, a follower of Sheikh Khógalí¹², was taught by 'Abd el Raḥman¹³ walad Belál and died in 1171¹⁴, in his father's lifetime, and was succeeded by his son the *feki* el Ṭáhir.

216. ¹⁵"NÜR EL DÍN ABU SHIMLA ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad¹⁶ el Hamím."

He was brother of Sheikh 'Ali el Níl¹⁷.... Their father migrated from Ruḫá'a to Mundara, and it was there his sons were buried.... It is related that Sheikh 'Ali sent his sons to the country south of Mundara, to fetch wood from the country of the *dolayb* palms, for re-roofing his mosques, and gave them twenty-four camels for the purpose. The party, however, met some elephants which frightened the camels by their trumpeting so that they bolted. The sons accordingly returned and reported to Sheikh 'Ali, who was about to borrow other camels when Nür el Dín said "'I swear by Sheikh Táğ el Dín el Bahári the animals that caused our beasts to bolt shall bring [the wood] in their place.' Then he addressed an assistant of his father named Abu Sa'ad and said to

¹ No. 177.

² Tree 1.

³ No. 187.

⁴ No. 89.

⁵ No. 141.

⁶ No. 48.

⁷ No. 141.

⁸ Tree 9.

⁹ No. 125.

¹⁰ No. 91.

¹¹ 1762 A.D.

¹² No. 154.

¹³ No. 16.

¹⁴ 1757 A.D.

¹⁵ Tree 1.

¹⁶ No. 190.

¹⁷ No. 62.

him 'Ab' Sa'ad!' and he replied '[Yes], master of Ab' Sa'ad's mother!' Then [Nūr el Dīn] said 'Tell the animals which made our beasts to bolt that Sheikh 'Alī's order to them is "Come and carry in their place."' And the elephants came, and they were four in number, and carried the load of the twenty-four camels."

217. ¹"EL NŪR IBN EL SHEIKH MŪSA² 'ABU KUSSA."

His mother was a slave-woman, and his father's brother was Sheikh Muḥammad walad Marzūḳ... He was buried at Mugaḍḍala.

218. "NŪRAYN WALAD EL KUBGA."

He was born at el Kōz, his mother being the daughter of Sheikh Sherif the disciple of Sheikh el Zayn³... He taught at Arbagi... His son was the *feki* Sentūssi⁴. He was buried at el Matassi (?).

O

219. "'OMĀRA IBN 'ABD EL ḤAFĪZ el Khaṭīb."

His mother was the daughter of el Labadi⁵, and he was born at Sennār. ... In *Ramādān* 1177 A.H.⁶ he left Sennār and arrived in Egypt in *Safar* 1178 A.H.⁷ After staying at el Azhar university he proceeded to the Ḥegāz. In 1180⁸ he returned to Egypt... In 1189⁹ he again performed the pilgrimage... He married Fāṭima bint Sālīm, a merchant's daughter... He was a contemporary of Sheikh 'Izz el Dīn¹⁰ walad Nafī'a of Manāḳil, the disciple of el Qadāl¹¹ ibn el Faraḍi.

R

220. "RĀDULLA IBN DELĪLA, el Šārīdi el Khamaysi."

He was born at Shanbāt and was taught by *fekis* Belāl¹² and Abu el Ḥasan¹³. Later he went to el Burṣi and el Ṭurfāya, and died at the latter.

221. "RAḤMA EL ḤALĀWI."

A pupil of Tāg el Dīn¹⁴ el Bahāri.

222. ¹⁵"RUBĀṬ and RIKĀB."

"They were the two sons of Ghulāmulla. RUBĀṬ was one of God's chosen [*ragul magdhūb*]. The ŠOWĀRDA married a slave-girl of theirs to him, and deceived him about her, and she bore to him¹⁶ Selīm. Then they confessed to him their deceit and said to him 'She is a slave.' So he complained of them to the Qāḍi, and the latter gave judgment for him that his son was free and bound him to pay the

¹ Tree 8.

² No. 209.

³ No. 258.

⁴ No. 232.

⁵ No. 61.

⁶ 1764 A.D.

⁷ 1765 A.D.

⁸ 1767 A.D.

⁹ 1776 A.D.

¹⁰ No. 146.

¹¹ No. 147.

¹² No. 79.

¹³ No. 47.

¹⁴ No. 67.

¹⁵ Tree 1.

¹⁶ reading *ل سليم* for *له سليم*.

value of the mother. This occurred in the time of the FUNG. Now Selīm sought the daughter of his uncle Rikáb in marriage, and her name was Ganība: but she refused him because of [the taint of] slavery. Then it happened that Qandīl el 'Ōni had a daughter who was sick, and he referred her case to Selīm, and she recovered, so [Qandīl] married her to him, and she begot 'Ōn. And 'Ōn begot Gábir, the father of the four Sheikhs. Again, Malik el Kanísa [*lit.* 'The king of the Church'] had a sick daughter, and she was cured, and he married her to [Selīm], and she bore to him Hadhlūl. Then Ganība bint Rikáb regretted her refusal, for he was a man of piety and popular among the people; so he married her and she bore him four sons, Ruzayn and 'Abd el Rázik and Dahmash and Mişbāḥ. Ruzayn was ancestor of the NÁS ḤABÍB NESI¹, and 'Abd el Rázik of NÁS EL SHEIKH ḤASAN WALAD BELÍL, and Dahmash of the RUAYDÁB, the people of Abyaḍ Dīri, and Mişbāḥ of the RIKÁBÍA of el 'Afāṭ. Ends.

RIKÁB ibn Ghulámulla had four sons, 'Abdulla and 'Abd el Nebi (by a single mother), and Zayd el Feríd, and Ḥabíb and 'Agíb (by a single mother). 'Abdulla begot Ḥág and Ḥagág. Ḥág begot the DÓÁLÍB, and Ḥagág begot the NÁS WALAD AK·ḤAL. 'Abd el Nebi begot the ŠADIKÁB, and Zayd el Feríd the 'AKÁZÁB and the TAMRÁB and the SHABWÁB, and 'Agíb the SIDRÁB, the NÁS WALAD ABU ḤALÍMA. Here ends the genealogical tree of the RIKÁBÍA."

S

223. "SA'AD EL KURSANI."

He was a Sháfi'í and taught at Nūri....His teacher was 'Abd el Raḥman² ibn Asíd.

224. "SA'AD WALAD SHŪSHÁI, el Moghrabi."

He was buried near Shendi and north of it....A contemporary of Sheikh Şughayerūn³.

225. "EL HÁG SA'ÍD IBN MUḤAMMAD el 'Abbási."

He lived at el Takáki and was taught apostleship [*risāla*] by el Mesal-lamí⁴ walad Abu Wanaysa....He visited Berber, Shendi and Sennár.

226. "ŞÁLIḤ IBN BÁN EL NUḤÁ"⁵ (b. 1092⁷; d. 1167⁸ A.H.).

"He was the third of the *Khalīfas* who lit the fire of Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir in the land of the FUNG."

His biography is divided into three chapters; firstly, the evidence of his contemporaries as to his character, etc.; secondly, an account of his teaching and career, and thirdly praises of his virtues and some account of his miracles.

¹ No. 105.² No. 15.³ No. 241.⁴ No. 172.⁵ Tree 8.⁶ No. 70.⁷ 1681 A.D.⁸ 1753 A.D.

The following is from the second chapter: (Ṣāliḥ speaks)

"Now Sheikh Ḥammad el Samīḥ, when he invaded Shendi, killed the king of the GAMŪ'IA and more than 100 men, and ravaged the country and looted our slaves and our cattle and our sheep and camels... Then I and my cousins went to ask for them back and he returned a part to us... and promised the remainder. And that night I saw Sheikh 'Abd el Kādir sitting on a bed... and I said to him 'Ḥammad has looted my camels... etc.'"

The following is from the third chapter:

"Sheikh Ṣāliḥ related that there came to him the divine message giving him leave to light the fire [of religion] after the death of Sheikh Bedowi. Now this was in the year '18¹, and in that same year el Samīḥ attacked Shendi. His son, Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman², was born in the year '22³. And in those days the court gave him a share in the river-lands and the rain-lands; and he lit the fire [of religion] and lived honourably according to his obligations and the divine laws and commandments⁴; and there was no house, whether of a true believer or otherwise, over which he had not influence. And he divided the land granted him by the court among the people as though it had been a banquet...

And he died in the year '67⁵ aged 75... and his place was taken by his son Sheikh el Zayn, acting for Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman⁶ his brother, and [el Zayn] lit the fire like his father and executed all that his father had done at all times and places [*lit.* 'both when in a state of presence and of absence']. At the same time he never relaxed his reading of the Kūrān, and especially [read it] during the last third of the night⁷. He died in the year '89⁸ aged 70, and his place was taken by his son Sheikh Bān el Nuḳā."

227. "SANHŪRI IBN MADTHIR ibn Sanhūri ibn Ḥammūda¹⁰ ibn el Tanḳār."

228. "SELĪM, the holy-man [*rāgiḷ*] of el Sayāl..."

He was a Khālidi, and was much praised by Sheikh Ḥammad ibn el Turābi... He died at el Sayāl.

229. "SELMÁN EL 'AWADĪ" (d. 1121 A.H.¹¹).

He was taught, as a child, by Sheikh 'Abd el Rāziḳ¹², and when grown up by Sheikh Muḥammad el Nuḳr¹³... He died in the same year as the *feki* 'Abd el Mágid¹⁴, viz. 1121 A.H.

¹ 1706 A.D.

² No. 25.

³ 1710 A.D.

⁴ reading مندوباته for مندوباته.

⁵ 1753 A.D.

⁶ No. 25.

⁷ reading الليل for اليل.

⁸ 1775 A.D.

⁹ Tree 1.

¹⁰ No. 130.

¹¹ 1709 A.D.

¹² No. 27.

¹³ No. 197.

¹⁴ No. 10

230. "SELMÁN EL ẒOWÁLI, 'el Zaghrát¹."

He was a follower of Sheikh Muḥammad el Ḥamím², and among his pupils were Sheikhs 'Abd el Qādir³ ibn el Sheikh Idrís, Abu Delayk⁴ and Burt⁵ el Mesallami... He died at the age of 120.

231. "SENÜSSI IBN EL FEKI MEKKI ibn el Sheikh 'Ali ibn el Sheikh Ḥamid" (d. about 1117⁶ A.H.).

A follower of the *feki* 'Abd el Raḥman⁷ ibn Belál... He died at el Gebel about the year 1117⁸.

232. "SENÜSSI WALAD NÜRAYN⁹."

He was born near Arbagi... His mother was one of the GHODIÁT¹⁰.

233. "SERḤÁN IBN EL ḤÁĞ MUḤAMMAD ibn Serḥán."

He was born at Arko Island, and had a son named Idrís... He quarrelled with his cousins and migrated to the SHÁIKÍA country and settled to the east of the island on which the AWLÁD GÁBIR dwelt, and married their sister Fátima, and begot el Ḥág Muḥammad¹² and el Ḥág 'Omar and el Ḥág Abu el Qásim and Anna, "the mother of el Tanḳár's children."... He performed the pilgrimage.

234. "SERḤÁN IBN EL FEKI ŞUBÁḤ walad Ẓeráf."

He was born at Gerf Kūmr, died in 1206¹³ aged about 90, and was buried at his birthplace... He was a follower of 'Abd el Raḥman¹⁴ ibn Belál.

235. "SHAMMAR IBN MUḤAMMAD ibn 'Adlán, el Sháiki."

He was born at Arbagi... He was taught by the *fekis* Belál¹⁵ and Abu el Ḥasan¹⁶ and Busāṭi ibn el feki Arbáb¹⁷... "He became a *mufti* [jurisconsult] in the sects of both Málík and el Sháfa'i and a teacher of the doctrine of both. The people of Arbagi called him 'The Indian Boat' [*Markab el Hind*]."... He was buried at Arbagi.

236. "SHEIKH EL Á'SIR¹⁸ ibn 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Ḥammadtu."

He was born and resided at Nūri, and was taught by his father and his brother Medani²⁰... When the latter died a dispute arose as to whether Sheikh or Málík²¹ should be his successor, and the choice fell upon Sheikh. ... Among his pupils were 'Abd el Mágid²² ibn el Aghbash and 'Abd el Qādir²³ ibn el Sheikh Idrís... "And miracles were vouchsafed to him, one being as follows: He guaranteed to 'Othmán walad Ḥammad that he should be victorious in war against the FUNG: and the circumstances were as follows: [Sheikh] fell ill and was told that his remedy lay in the fat of storks [*rahū*], and 'Othmán shot a stork with a rifle and brought it to him, and his illness left him. Then [Sheikh]

¹ reading الزغرات for الزقرات.

⁴ No. 46.

⁸ 1705 A.D.

¹¹ Tree 1.

¹⁵ No. 79.

¹⁹ reading العسر for العسر.

²² No. 10.

⁵ No. 82.

⁹ No. 218.

¹² No. 241.

¹⁶ No. 47.

²³ No. 7.

² No. 190.

⁶ 1705 A.D.

¹⁰ reading غدوية for غدوية.

¹³ 1790 A.D.

¹⁷ No. 65.

²⁰ No. 163.

³ No. 7.

⁷ No. 16.

¹⁴ No. 16.

¹⁸ Tree 10.

²¹ No. 158.

prayed for him that he should [always] hit the mark when shooting; and indeed it was only by rifle-fire that the FUNG were defeated, for of a truth they [*sc.* rifles] do not miss¹ their mark. Now when 'Othmán had defeated the foe he came out of his retreat [*khalwa*] wearing a shirt of rough wool. [And] the armies parted and each went their way [*lit.* 'the horses parted, tail from tail'], and Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Othmán sent to King Bádi walad Rubát and informed him of the defeat and demanded of him his kingdom. Then King Bádi told his troops the following: 'At midday, after the doors had been closed² and he that was inside was cut off [from the outer world] there came in to me a left-handed [*d'sir*] man wearing rough woollen clothes and like a eunuch³ in appearance, and said to me "[If] you send forth an army to Kagabi I will do so and so to you.'" And the SHÁFI'Ā horse-traders said to him 'That was the *feki* Sheikh, and indeed 'Othmán was putting his faith in him.'"

237. "SHERAF EL DÍN IBN 'ABDULLA el 'Araki ibn el Sheikh 'Ali⁵ ibn Barri."

His mother was 'Agabat bint el Hág Ibráhm ibn Barri....He was born at Nasri Island and taught by his mother's brother Muḥammad Kākumr⁶....He performed the pilgrimage, and instructed many people of the Hēgāz....He died at el Hīgayr....He was a contemporary of the author's father: "My brother in God, el Hág 'Abd el Kádīr walad Ṣa'īd, told me that in his pilgrimage in the year '64⁷ he met a great sheikh who said to him 'I became a follower of the Way in the footsteps of Sheikh Sheraf el Dín when he came on the pilgrimage.' My father⁸ also told me saying 'In the year that the small-pox raged I and the *feki* 'Abd el Dāfa'i⁹ and the *feki* Idrīs walad Nuṣār were sitting in front of the mosque, when there came up to us Sheikh Sheraf el Dín riding a mare....'"

238. "SHERAF EL DÍN ABU GEMÁL EL DÍN."

The holy-man [*ragīl*] of Anḳáwi....He was the son of Muḥammad ibn Fakrūn, whose tomb is at el Hīlálā....He was born at Muays and then moved to Anḳáwi....He was taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹⁰ and himself taught Sheikh Bāsbar¹¹....He was buried east of Anḳáwi.

239. ¹² "SHERAF EL DÍN IBN EL FEKI 'ALI walad Kūta."

He died at Kōz walad Dīáb.

240. "SHUKRULLA IBN 'OTHMÁN ibn Bedowi el 'Ūdi."

He was born at Shanbát; was taught by Ḥammad¹³ ibn Ḥamaydán,

¹ reading *تخطي* for *تخصي*.

² reading *التسديد* for *السديد*.

³ reading *كالخصي* for *كالحصي*.

⁴ Tree 3.

⁵ No. 58.

⁶ No. 148, reading *قأمر* for *قأمر*.

⁷ 1751 A.D.

⁸ No. 89.

⁹ No. 4.

¹⁰ No. 34.

¹¹ No. 73.

¹² Tree 1.

¹³ No. 120.

and was a contemporary of Sheikhs Ḥammad el Samīḥ and Ḥammad ibn el Turābī¹. . . His pupils were very numerous and included the *feki* 'Abd el Dāfā'i². . . He died aged between 40 and 50 and was buried at Shanbāt.

241. ³“ŠUGHAYERŪN, i.e. Sīdī Muḥammad ibn Serḥān el 'Ūdī.”

“His mother was Fāṭima bint Gābir ibn 'Ōn ibn Selīm ibn Rubāt ibn Ghulāmulla, nor has such fruit been born save from such a tree. He was called ‘ŠughayerŪn’ because his mother’s relatives, the AWLĀD GĀBIR, used to call him Muḥammad el Šughayer [‘the Small,’ or ‘the Lesser’], and this was perverted into ‘ŠughayerŪn.’ He was born, God have mercy on him, on Tarnag Island in the SHĀṬĪYA country, and was, God bless him, one of those who united learning and Šūfism. He excelled in learning under his mother’s brother Sheikh Ismā’īl ibn Gābir, who gave him leave to teach. Then he transferred himself to Sheikh Muḥammad el Banūfari and studied a certain amount of law [*Khalīl*] with him, and Muḥammad said that it benefited one’s teaching. And God blessed him and he sat in the seat of his mother’s brothers after them. He was one of the most ascetic of sages, one of the greatest of saints, and, in Šūfism, the lover of Sheikh Idrīs ibn el Arbāb. The reason of his coming to Dār el Abwāb [‘Land of the Gates’] was that the sons⁴ of his father’s brother were at violent enmity with him because he usurped their greatness and followed his mother’s relatives in learning and piety. So they incited Zimrāwī the king of the SHĀṬĪYA against him and bid him slay him. Then [Zimrāwī] mounted his horse and came to him [ŠughayerŪn] while he was in the mosque, and found his mother, the daughter of Gābir, with him; and she said ‘O Zimrāwī, you have come to kill Muḥammad’; and they lowered him from his horse in a fainting condition and he began [to groan] saying ‘Ḥak! Ḥak! The cattle of el Hāg Muḥammad have butted me.’ Then they came to [ŠughayerŪn] and interceded with him for [Zimrāwī], and he replied ‘This thing is not my doing but that of my mother’s brothers⁵.’ Then he put a spell upon him and he recovered. And [Zimrāwī] said to him ‘I bestow upon you four *sākias*, each of them 40 *ūd*s of the length of a spear [in breadth], and four brood mares and four head [of slaves].’ But [ŠughayerŪn] replied ‘It would be impious for me to receive anything from you or to live in your country.’

Again, it is said that King Bādi Abu Rubāt, who was Master of the Household [*Sīd Kūm*] to King 'Adlān walad Āya, put his trust in [ŠughayerŪn]; and when King 'Adlān, after killing Sheikh 'Agīb

¹ No. 125.

² No. 4.

³ Tree 1.

⁴ reading اولاد اولاد.

⁵ reading احوالي for احوالي.

at Karkóg, moved with his army to Dongola province and reached Meshwa (?), the FUNG deposed him and appointed Bádi the Master of the King's Household. Then [Bádi] requested [Şughayerün] to accompany him to the south, and [Şughayerün] said 'I will join you,' and he proceeded after [the king] to the south with his mother and his brethren and his wives and his children. And when he came to el Deríra the holy men [*fukarā*] of the south and of the north disputed among themselves, the former bidding him dwell in the south and latter in the north; and he said to them 'God decide the matter!' And he took his ablution-jug and went into the desert and foregathered with el Sayyid el Khidr, God bless him; and el Sayyid told him 'Your dwelling-place shall be Kóz el Mutraq, opposite the plain of Um Wizín.' And [Şughayerün] went thither and found it rough land and forest, so he went on to el Figayga and found it was an open site clear of trees, and he said 'This is el Figayga [*i.e.* 'The Little Clearing'] where the brethren of Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman¹ walad Ḥammadtu stop'; and this was why it was called 'el Figayga.' Then Sheikh² ibn Serḥán sent to King Bádi at Sennár and informed him of his arrival and requested him to grant him a site on the unoccupied land³ to dwell in and a watering-place on the river. And the king sent for his henchman and said to him 'Give him all the land he wants and mark the boundaries for him'; and [the Sheikh] replied 'Beyond a site of unoccupied land⁴ and the watering-place for the holy men and a place for burial I want nothing': and this was characteristic of his self-restraint and asceticism in all earthly matters. Then the Sheikh, God bless him, built the mosque founded under the auspices of el Khidr, upon whom be the blessings of God; and it is said that with his own noble hand he set up⁵ the central pole [that supports the roof], [at the foot of] which the Sheikhs give their lessons: and men flocked to him from every quarter and camels were heaped upon him galore, and he found favour in the eyes of all men.

Among his famous followers were Sheikh Dafa'alla⁶ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idrís, and the *feki* 'Abd el Ḥalím⁷ walad Baḥr, and the sons of Barri (the *feki* 'Alí⁸ and el Hág Ibráhím⁹), and Tór el Matan el Kahli el Berkáni (who was buried in front of his tomb), and the three sons of el Tanḳár (the *feki* Muḥammad¹⁰ and Ḥammūda¹¹ and Mázri¹²), and Medani¹³ el Ḥaggar the son of el Hág 'Omar his brother, and Muḥammad the son of el Hág Abu el Kásim his brother, a pious

¹ No. 21.² No. 241.³ reading حلا for حلا.⁴ reading الحلا for الحلة.⁵ reading غز for قز.⁶ No. 84.⁷ No. 5.⁸ No. 58.⁹ No. 136.¹⁰ No. 202.¹¹ No. 130.¹² No. 160.¹³ No. 161.

and good man, who died about the same time as his uncle leaving no children excepting his daughter Hāga the mother of the *feki* Belāl¹. And the son of Serhān begot the *feki* el Zayn² and Ibrāhīm el Haggār³ and Abukr and five daughters, viz. Rābi'a, who was married by Medani el Haggār⁴ the son of [Ṣughayerūn's] brother 'Omar, and Hāga, who was married by Muḥammad⁵ ibn el Tanḳār the son of [Ṣughayerūn's] sister Āmna, and Zaynab, who was married by Muḥammad the son of el Hāg Abu el Kāsim, [Ṣughayerūn's] brother. Now the length of time he was teaching at el Abwāb [may be gauged by the fact that] he completed the course thirteen or fourteen or fifteen times [*lit.* 'sealings']. He was buried at el Kōz, and his tomb is to be visited: through its medium the rainfall is obtainable for the crops."

242. "ṢUGHAYERŪN EL SHAKALĀWI."

He was born at el Shakāl near Shendi, and lived and died at Um el Raḥi... He was taught by Ṣughayerūn⁶ the son of Serhān, and was a follower of Sheikh Idrīs⁷, and a friend of Sheikh Ḥasan⁸ and 'Abd el Rāziq⁹ and Bāsbār¹⁰ and 'Alī¹¹ ibn Barri.

243. ¹²"ṢUGHAYERŪN WALAD ABU WAGĪBA."

He was a Zarnakhi, born at Abu Hashīm, and educated in the SHĀIKĪA country... "He was at the fight between 'Othmān walad Ḥammad and the FUNG"... He taught his brother's son Sheikh Šāliḥ¹³ Bān el Nuḳā. He died the year after "small-pox year."

244. "SULAYMĀN EL ZAMLI."

His village was el Sayāl... He was taught by Raḥma¹⁴ el Ḥalāwi, the pupil of Tāg el Dīn¹⁵ el Bahāri... His son was 'Abd el Raḥīm "Wadād Šlāti¹⁶."

245. "SURŪR EL ŠĀRIDĪ."

He was born and died at el Khashāb, and was a pupil of Ḥasan¹⁷ ibn Ḥasūna.

T

"TĀG EL DĪN EL BAHĀRĪ" (see "el Bahāri").

246. "TĀGŪR EL NAḤĀSĪ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA WALAD HASŌBA."

A learned and pious man.

247. ¹⁸"TĀHA IBN EL HĀG LUḲĀNĪ."

A follower of Sheikh Ḥasan¹⁹ walad Ḥasūna.

¹ No. 79.

² No. 258.

³ No. 139.

⁴ No. 161.

⁵ No. 202.

⁶ No. 241.

⁷ No. 141.

⁸ No. 132.

⁹ No. 27.

¹⁰ No. 73.

¹¹ No. 58.

¹² Tree 8.

¹³ No. 226.

¹⁴ No. 221.

¹⁵ No. 67.

¹⁶ No. 251.

¹⁷ No. 132.

¹⁸ Tree 5.

¹⁹ No. 132.

248. "ṬĀHA IBN 'OMÁRA el Fūrayn (el 'Aurayn ?)."
Born at el Kugr.... A pupil of Dafa'alla¹ ibn el Sháfa'i. His brother was called "el Akhrash."... He died near Sennár.
249. "TAYRGUM EL RUFÁ'I."
Born and buried at el Hílálfa.... A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla².

U

250. "UM BÁRAK IBN EL SHEIKH MASKÍN."

W

251. "'WADÁD' IBN EL SHEIKH SULAYMÁN EL ZAMLI."
His name was 'Abd el Rahím.... He lived at el Sayál in the ḤALÁ-WIYYŪN country, and was buried there.
252. "'WALAD EL BAHR."
His name was Muḥammad ibn el Sheikh Ibráhím⁴ el Farāḍi.... He was a pupil of his brother Muḥammad el Qadál⁵.... His sons were the *fekis* Ibráhím and el Berr; and the former begot the *feki* Aḥmad el Fezári.
253. "'WALAD EL SHUQL."
His name was Muḥammad.... He was a pupil of el Qadál⁶ ibn el Farāḍi.... He lived "near to the north of Um Ṭalḥa at el Á'dáū."

Y

254. "'YA'AQŪB IBN EL SHEIKH BĀN EL NUQÁ⁸."
He was a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman⁹ ibn Gábir, and one of the forty disciples, all of whom attained the rank of *Kuṭb*. He was buried at el Ḥumr.
255. "'YA'AQŪB IBN EL SHEIKH MUGELLI, el Mashaykhi."
He was born in Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and entered the Gezira in the early days of the FUNG rule.
- "And the king entertained him and gave him his daughter in marriage and apportioned to him in the neighbourhood of el Ḥalfáya as much land as his horse could encompass¹⁰ eastwards and westwards and southwards [*lit.* 'right'] and northwards [*lit.* 'left'], and conferred it upon him fully and freely¹¹, and it remains so to the present day."... "He was buried half a mile [*mil*] from el Ḥalfáya and his tomb is plain to see and should be visited."

¹ No. 83.² No. 84.³ Tree 11.⁴ No. 135.⁵ No. 147.⁶ No. 147.⁷ Tree 8.⁸ No. 71.⁹ No. 17.¹⁰ reading يشور for يسور.¹¹ reading السبل for السبل.

256. ¹“YÜSEF IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD² IBN EL TĒRAYFĪ.”

A pupil of his father... Before his death he appointed his son Sheikh Muḥammad to succeed him.

257. “ZAYN EL ‘ABDĪN IBN EL SHEIKH ‘ABD EL RAḤMAN ibn el Sheikh Dafa’alla.”

A follower of Sheikh el Gunayd³.

258. ⁴“EL ZAYN IBN EL SHEIKH ŞUGHAYERŪN⁵” (d. 1086 A.H.⁶).

He was born in the SHĀIḤĪYA country... His mother was Hōḍa, one of the TĒRAYFĪA. He followed the teaching of his father, and died in 1086 A.H.

259. “ZĪĀDA IBN EL NŪR ibn el Sheikh Muḥammad walad ‘Īsa.”

He was the *Khalifa* of Sheikh Muḥammad⁷ ‘Alī and, like all the pupils of that famous man, the recipient of favours from King Bādi walad Rubāṭ. King Dekīn too sent him on one occasion 50 head [of slaves]. He died at Dongola el ‘Agūz [Old Dongola], and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad.

On the back of the last, *i.e.* the 220th page, is written in a rough and different hand:

“The ownership of this *Tabaḳāt* has been transferred to Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ḥammad el Nīl el Rayyāḥ. He has not... (*illegible*)... nor changed it.”

¹ Tree 9.

² No. 177.

³ No. 49.

⁴ Tree 1.

⁵ No. 241.

⁶ 1675 A.D.

⁷ No. 181 (?).

D 3 (NOTES)

I On the back of this fragment is written in a crude scrawl, in no way resembling the body of the text, "This is the Ṭabakāt walad Ḍayfulla. In the name of God... (*invocation*)... I lie at the door of Sheikh Khógali... (*praises of the Prophet*)...."

Khógali ibn 'Abd el Raḥman (No. 154), who died in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.), lived and was buried at el Ḥalfáya, the birthplace of the author's family (see No. 88).

The words "*my father*" must be taken to mean "*my grandfather*." The author's father was Ḍayfulla walad Muḥammad walad Ḍayfulla (see No. 89). In No. 120 (*q.v.*) Muḥammad Ḍayfulla is actually called "*my grandfather*."

It must be noted that the word "*Sheikh*" is, with very few exceptions (*e.g.* "*Sheikh 'Agīb*"), used throughout in the technical sense as denoting not temporal power but the spiritual authority of a superior of a religious order. For the exact meaning of the term see Hughes, pp. 556 and 571, and Sell, pp. 104, 110, 111.

The word "*feki*" (or "*fekḥ*") means properly one learned in jurisprudence or dogmatic theology (see Hughes, pp. 106 and 128), but is used commonly to mean merely a learned man, or a cleric. It must not be confused with "*fakír*," a term used properly of one who is poor in the sight of God, *i.e.* a "*dervish*."

II It is impossible to say whether any pages are missing between this and the page on either side of it.

III This page also contains a reference to the tradition (see Hughes, p. 475) from the *Mishkāt* (Bk. XXIV, Chap. 1, Part 3) that there were in all 124,000 prophets, "but those mentioned in the *Qurán* are enough."

IV For the Arabic of the following passage and textual emendations see Appendix 1. The date, and the name of the founder of the FUNG dynasty of Sennár, are given correctly. For the chronology of the FUNG kings see D 7.

Arbagi was, until late in the eighteenth century, one of the chief towns of the Sudan, but it was then destroyed by the SHUKRÍA and 'ABDULLÁB and has now disappeared (cp. D 7, xc). It is said to have been largely peopled by Ḥuḍūr. For the foundation of Arbagi about 1474 A.D. by Hegázi ibn Ma'in, cp. Jackson, p. 18. It was visited by Poncet in 1699: he calls it (p. 17) "the Town of Harbagy." The earliest mention of it ("Arbatg") is in Ludolfus (Bk. IV, Chap. VI). He also mentions "Gerri" (Kerri) and "Helfage" (Ḥalfáya). The GELÍLÁB of Wad Ráwa claim that their ancestor was 'Abd el Gelíl the nephew of Hegázi ibn Ma'in (cp. *sub* No. 67).

V The "*'idda*" of Muhammadan law is "the term by the completion of which a new marriage is rendered lawful." (See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, Vol. I, Chap. XII, p. 128, *sub* "Edit.")

"*Sheikh...el Kuşayer*" is Maḥmūd el 'Araki (No. 157). The missing word (the page is chipped) is no doubt "*rdgīl*" a term used apparently to denote "the holy-man of...": other examples of this use of the word are to be found in Nos. 44 and 191. Maḥmūd is in No. 11 called "*Rdgīl el Kuş*" ["the Holy-man of the Castle"], and so "*Kuşayer*" may be taken to be a diminutive form: it is used also in No. 157.

It is not clear what was the relationship between Maḥmūd and the rest of the 'Araki family of holy men whose biographies are given, e.g. Abu Idrīs, Sheikh Dafa'alla, etc. (for whom see Tree No. 9 and D 1, CI).

The word translated "came" is *قدم* (*kadam*) and has a technical flavour: it is frequently used by the author in speaking of the advent of holy men. The technical word "*muḥaddam*" (a sort of abbot or legate, see Sell, pp. 104-107) is formed from the same root. So, too (e.g. paras. VIII and x), the phrase *قدم على* (*kaddam 'alā*) in the transitive sense is used, and I have there translated it "inspired."

"*Dwelt on the White [Nile]*" is in the Arabic *سكن الابيض*, and "dwelt at el Obayḍ" would be the normal translation: but it is probable from No. 157, and certain from D 7, II (g.v.), that the White Nile is meant and the words "*el baḥr*" (the Nile) have here and in No. 157 been left out. In addition, el Obayḍ ["el Obeid"] was not built until about 1760 (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 12). For the whole passage cp. D 7, II.

VI Abu Sakaykīn (or Abu Sakákīn) was the fourth of the FUNG kings and reigned about 1551-1559 (Bruce).

The term *Mángilak*, or *Mangīl*, may roughly be rendered Viceroy. It was especially the title of those 'ABDULLĀB sheikhs who ruled the country round el Ḥalfáya for the FUNG kings. These 'ABDULLĀB were a section of the KAWÁSMĀ branch of the RUFÁ'A, and it was their Sheikh 'Abdulla Gemá'a who was the ally of 'Omára Dunḡas (see para. IV) and assisted him to found his empire (see Budge, Vol. II, pp. 200 and 204; Jackson, pp. 17-22; D 5 (a); and, in particular, the Appendix to Chap. 2 (a) of Part III).

'Agīb el *Mángilak* was the son of 'Abdulla Gemá'a, and he is occasionally called 'Agīb Káfūt (see Budge, *loc. cit.*, Jackson, p. 24, and Part III, *loc. cit.*).

For *Ibrāhīm el Būlād*, one of the famous AWLĀD GĀBIR, see Nos. 17 and 23 and AB, LXXXIX, and cp. Jackson, p. 26.

For the terms "*Khalīl*" and "*risāla*" see AB, LXXXIX (note).

VII The text gives el Bahār for el Bahári. This synecopation is very common throughout in proper names, e.g. we get 'Omár for 'Omára, el Ḥamr for el Ḥamra, el Káf for el Káfī, el 'Ūd for el 'Ūdī, etc. I have not noted these particular alterations every time they occur as it would be unnecessary.

For *Šūfīsm* see Hughes, pp. 608-622 (including a bibliography), and Sell, pp. 1-45 (*The Mystics of Islam*). A large number of the technical terms used by the author are borrowed from the Šūfī vocabulary, e.g. "*ṭarīqa*," "*sālik*," "*dhīkr*," "*zāhid*," "*wālī*," "*magdhūb*," etc.

For this and following paragraphs, cp. D 7, XXI *et seq.*

VIII No biography of el Telemsáni is given.

"*Instructed him in dogma*" is *سلكه طريق القوم* (*sallakhu ṭarīq el*

kūm), a Ṣūfī phrase. Human life being considered as a journey, the "*ṭarīk*" or "*ṭarīka*" is the road to be followed, the "*sālik*" is one who follows it, and "*sallak*" is to cause another to follow it. By "*ṭarīk el kūm*" (*lit.* the road of the people) is meant particularly "*ṭarīk el fuḳarā*," *i.e.* the road of the holy men (cp. Appendix 5, etc., *passim*).

"*ʿilm el kaldm*" is the same as "*ʿakāid*" (q.v. No. 52) and relates to matters of faith in contradistinction to "*ʿilm el feḳīh*" which relates to matters of practice, *i.e.* jurisprudence. Cp. No. 136; and see Hughes, pp. 106 and 286.

"*The interpretation of . . . syntax*" is in the Arabic

علوم القرآن بتجوید وروایات و نحوها

Cp. Hughes, p. 517: "The recital of the Qurʾān has been developed into a science known as 'Ilmu 'l Tajwīd . . .,' which includes a knowledge of the peculiarities of the spelling of many words in the Qurʾān; of the . . . various readings; . . . of the various divisions, punctuations, and marginal instructions; of the proper pronunciation of the Arabic words; and of the correct intonation of different passages."

ix "*The doctrine of . . . Qurʾān*" is "*el tawḥīd wa el tagwīd*." For the latter see para. VIII (note). For *tawḥīd* see Hughes, p. 629; but the word is also used technically by the Ṣūfīs to denote the final identification of the saint with the Supreme Being by absorption (see Sell, p. 110).

x "*Arose*" is ظهیرت ولاية, or, literally, "appeared the saintship of." For the term "*wālī*" see Sell, p. 109, and Hughes, p. 663, and AB, II.

For 'Abd el Kāfī cp. Jackson, p. 27.

xii Probably Sheikh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (No. 181).

The repetition of the word قدم in the text is obviously a slip.

El Shāfa'i is the *Imām* Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, the founder of one of the four orthodox Sunni sects (see Hughes, p. 570).

xiii The *Mashāikh* are a small section who claim to be descended from the Khalīfa Abu Bukr el Ṣadīq. They are related to the MESALLAMĪA.

In this particular context are meant Muḥammad walad Fakrūn (see No. 86), Sheraf el Dīn (No. 238), Ya'aqūb ibn Mugelli (No. 255) and Ḥammad ibn Mariam (No. 124).

El Halfāya, now called Khartoum North, is on the right bank of the Blue Nile opposite Khartoum. Previous to the Turkish conquest it was one of the most important towns in the Sudan and the seat of the power of the 'ABDULLĀB. With the founding of Khartoum its importance waned.

Poncet visited it in 1699 and calls it "Alfaa, a large village built with square stone, where the men are tall and comely" (p. 17).

NOTES TO THE BIOGRAPHIES

1. "*El Sharā'ana*" is properly the name of a sub-tribe of KAWĀHLA, but is here used for their village.

2. *Gebel Mōya* lies about 20 miles east of Sennār.

This 'Abd el Bāki el Wālī is the eponymous ancestor of the WĀLĪA section of KAWĀHLA, and is regarded by the family of the 'omda of the

BAṬAḤIN, among others, as their "Sheikh," i.e. it is his tomb to which they pay their "visits" (*ziāra*) and which they help to maintain, and to him that they would have recourse for any supernatural assistance: in other words they regard him as the particular medium through which they may approach Providence. If they lost a camel by theft they would enquire at his tomb, or if a woman was barren she would appeal at his tomb—the guardian thereof benefiting proportionately. Cp. note to No. 73, and see Jaussen, p. 309, on the subject of *ziāras* and tombs.

'Abd el Bāki's tomb is not at Gebel Mōya but at Um Ḳarḳūr, some 40 miles N.N.W. of it.

Bādi walad Nūl ruled at Sennār from 1733 to 1766 A.D. (Bruce). He is generally known as Bādi "Abu Shelūkh" (for which name see note to D 7, XLVIII).

4. No. 174 is this man's son.

6. *Abu Ḥardāz* is five miles north of Wad Medani, on the Blue Nile. It was the home of the 'Araki family.

7. *Abyaḍ Dhi* is north of Khartoum near Wad Ramla station. Cp. Nos. 34 and 142. This man's descendants and those of his brother Muḥammad (see No. 141, note) are at Wāwissi, north of Khartoum.

8. *El Bashedkira* is a village on the Blue Nile about 45 miles above Khartoum.

"Was taught it by..." is in each case *من اخذه* or *اخذته عن*, i.e. literally, "took it from."

Which of the three men named Muḥammad ibn Medani (for whom see No. 194) is meant here is not clear.

Nāfa'i el Fezdri occurs again in Nos. 206, 207.

9. "Succeeded his father" is *ولي الخطابة مكان ابيه*.

The "*khatīb*" is the preacher who recites the "*khuṭba*" in the Friday service at the mosque (see Hughes, p. 472).

"King Bādi" must be Bādi "Abu Shelūkh" (1733-1766, Bruce) as 'Abd el Latīf's father (q.v.) flourished about 1767. "Ṣubr" I cannot identify.

From No. 25 (q.v.) we know No. 9 lived at el 'Egayga.

For the circumstances of his death cp. D 7, LVII.

10. We know the date of his death from No. 229 (q.v.).

For the word "*el Magdhūb*" see note to No. 61.

Feki Samlū and his two sons are again mentioned in No. 79 (q.v. note).

11. *El Ḳubla* is spelt "el Ḳubla" in No. 171.

"And he said to her..." The Arabic of the whole of this passage will be found in Appendix 2. The word used for dowry here is "*ṣaddāq*" which is properly the gift of the bridegroom to the bride, as opposed to "*mahr*," which is the purchase price paid to the bride's parents. (See Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes...*, p. 49.) If a man divorce his wife she can by Muhammadan law "demand the full payment of the dowry" (see Hughes, p. 91). Since, however, it was the wife, and not the husband, who sought the divorce, and since she would not be able to effect this object legally, she would, as the price of her husband's compliance, be compelled to forgo her right to receive the full dowry. 'Abd el Maḥmūd, however,

instead of keeping the dowry himself, arranged for it to be given to the children of the marriage. When she married Ḥammad she demanded from him no dowry for herself, because, whereas it is customary in the Sudan for the second husband before marriage to repay to the first husband the amount of the dowry previously paid by the latter, in the case in point the woman cunningly represented 'Abd el Maḥmūd as not having yet paid her her dowry. She apparently let Ḥammad think that 'Abd el Maḥmūd had divorced her on his own initiative and denied receipt of her dowry, but at the same time did not mention that it had been transferred to the daughters.

"*God Almighty said . . .*" The quotation is from the 4th chapter of the *Qurān* (beginning): see Sale, p. 53.

For "*fakīr*" see note to para. 1, *supra*.

Omdurmān (or "Um Durmān," correctly). I know of no evidence to show the existence of this village at any earlier date than that of Ḥammad ibn Mariam. From No. 124 we know he was born in 1646 and died in 1730, and here we have Omdurmān spoken of as "his village." It is not at all improbable that he and his relatives founded it. It was a small village of no importance at all until the Maḥdīa. Then the Khalīfa massed whole tribes there, and it has now become the native capital of the Sudan. On the above evidence we may perhaps date its foundation about 1680-1700. Browne mentions it ("*Emdurmān*") in 1794 (*q.v.* p. 459, App. II).

"*His rooms*" is "*khakwat*." A "*khakwa*" is properly a place of retreat, and is used also to mean the act of retirement by a holy man from the world (see Hughes, pp. 122 and 271). The term is now often used of the guest-houses or rest-houses provided in a village for strangers and attached, as a rule, to the mosque: it is often also used in its proper sense of a place of retreat for meditation: cp. note to No. 90.

13. He is here called 'Abd el Raḥman, but in the biography of his father (No. 34) the names of two of the latter's sons are given as 'Abd el Raḥman Abu Shanab and 'Abd el Raḥīm ibn el Khaṭwa, and "'Abd el Raḥīm" is therefore obviously correct.

14. *Nūri* is a few miles north of Merowi in Dongola.

El Abwāb ["the Gates"] is another name for the Kabūshīa district, about 80 miles south of Berber. It was so called because it formed the meeting point of many roads, viz. the two river roads, the road to Napata, the old caravan route that ran from Kabūshīa N.N.E. to the Atbara and the Red Sea, and the route that ran S.S.E. through the cultivable valleys to Abu Delayk and Qayli (see *Arch. Survey of Nubia*, XIXth Memoir, by Crowfoot).

15. For *Nūri* see *sub* No. 14.

For "*Khallīl*" see AB, LXXXIX (note) and cp. Jackson, p. 26.

We are told here that the year 1107 A.H. was called "*Um Ḥinayḍīl*" ["Mother of little melons"], but in No. 204 that name is given to 1108 A.H.

No. 161 (*q.v.*) was a pupil of No. 15.

"*Sheikh ibn Medani*" is the son of Medani walad Um Gadayn (Tree 10); *q.v. sub* Nos. 164 and 162.

17. 'Abd el Raḥman is one of the famous AWLĀD GĀBIR, whose

descendants are called GĀBIRĪA or GAWĀBRA. He flourished about 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.), as can be gathered from para. VI, *supra*, which roughly fixes the date of his elder brother, and from a rather obscure remark in the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn Um Rābī'a, one of his pupils (No. 140), mentioning "the year 982" *apropos* of a *nisba* written by one of the four brothers ("وكتبه" "الفقير ابن جابر الجهنبي في العرب نسبا"), i.e. "And the *faqīr* Ibn Gābir el Guhani wrote it as a *nisba* on the Arabs." Whether this *nisba* has any connection with the original of BA (*q.v.* para. CCXXIII and note) I cannot say. Ibn Gābir is called "el Guhani" here because his ancestor Ghulāmulla's wife was of GUHAYNA origin (see Tree to D 1 and Tree 10 of the *Tabakāt*).

'Abd el Raḥman is mentioned in BA, CCV.

"He was one of..." The actual words of the Arabic are:

فهو القطب الرباني والغوث الصمداني شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين

i.e. literally, "He was the divine *Kuṭb* the immortal *Ghauth*, the Sheikh of Islām and the Muslims." "*Kuṭb*" and "*Ghauth*" are both high titles of sanctity: the former (see Hughes, p. 531) means literally an axis, and the latter a mediator or sin-bearer of the faithful (see Hughes, p. 139; and, for both terms, Sell, p. 108).

For Ibrāhīm el Būlād see para. VI, *supra*, AB, LXXXIX *et seq.*, and BA, CCV.

Muḥammad el Banūfari (for whom see also No. 157) is also mentioned in AB, xcvi.

"He taught... forty times," i.e. in Arabic بلغت ختماته في خليل, or, literally, "his sealings in Khalīl reached forty sealings." For the explanation of this see note to AB, xcix; and for Khalīl see AB, LXXXIX. "He" in this passage ought, I think, to be understood to mean not 'Abd el Raḥman but Ibrāhīm his brother: see No. 23 and No. 60, and AB, xcix.

The DUFĀR are BEDAYRĪA: see AB, note III.

"The four sons of Gābir..." For the Arabic of this passage see Appendix 3. By a slip the name of 'Abd el Raḥman is repeated twice: that in one of the two cases, probably the second, the reading should be "'Abd el Raḥīm" is clear from BA, CCV (*q.v.*), where the other brothers also are mentioned.

19. "He devoted... God" is انقطع الي الله.

21. For Ismā'il and el Banūfari see *sub* No. 17.

This No. 21 is the head of the large Ḥammadtu family of Dongola. From ABC, LVI, it seems they are ZENĀRKHA or MASHĀĪKHA by tribe.

22. Ibrāhīm walad Abu Malāḥ was one of the disciples of the AWLĀD GĀBIR (see No. 154).

In No. 157 is mentioned 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag-hūri as the teacher of el Banūfari, and el Banūfari taught No. 17 who in his turn taught 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Masīkh, the great-uncle of this No. 22. The 'Alī el Ag-hūri mentioned here (and in No. 66) was great-grandson of 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag-hūri (see note to BA, CCXII), and is known to have died in 1066 A.H.

(1655-6 A.D.). As Khógali, the son of No. 22, is said (see No. 154) to have died in 1742 A.D., there is no discrepancy in the dates.

At the end of biography No. 22 the text contains a reference to some book "written at the end of *Dhu el Ḥigga* of the year 1030 by 'Ali ibn Muḥammad, who was known as 'Zayn,' son of 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag'hūri el Málíkī"; and here our author seems to be a little at fault, not in the date, but in the name: 'Ali was son of Muḥammad ibn Zayn el Dín ibn 'Abd el Raḥman el Ag'hūri (see note to BA, CCXII). The book was no doubt one of the commentaries 'Ali is known to have written on *Khalil*.

23. *Dekn "Std el 'Ada"* (cp. Cailliaud, II, p. 255, "Sāḥib el 'Ada") was the fifth FUNG king. Bruce gives his date as 1570-1587. Sheikh 'Agīb is the same as he mentioned in para. VI. The appointments mentioned were judgeships as will be seen from No. 93, where the names of all four will be found. No. 23 is said to have been an 'Arakī by race, but his connection, if any, with those in Tree 9 is not known. "Walad Gábir" is not No. 17 ('Abd el Raḥman) but Ibráḥīm el Bulád, as we know from No. 60 and AB, XCIX. The famous 40 are mentioned frequently, e.g. *sub* Nos. 156, 254, 60, etc. It may be noted that Ibráḥīm's contemporary, Tág el Dín el Bahári (*q.v.* No. 67), is also said to have had 40 pupils: for this number 40, cp. Nos. 17 and 90.

25. In his biography the date of his birth is given as 1121 A.H.; but in that of his father (No. 226) as 1122. He had a son, Ḥasan, who, as appears from D 7, CXC, was the possessor of a library of books.

26. For this casting out of evil spirits by means of the alphabet, cp. No. 61. The Arabic from "*taught him...*" is as follows:

وادلّه في الطب ودل الناس عليه وكان يطب الشياطين بالف ب ت ث
ج ح خ الخ

His *kubba* is shown on the map very close to Sóba.

27. 1007 in the text must be a slip for 1070 in order to agree with the dates of the other persons mentioned here.

"And there came to him..." For the Arabic see Appendix 4.

'*Adlán* is 'Adlán I of Sennár (1610-1615, Bruce).

"Five times" is literally "five knots," i.e. each time he made the promise he tied a knot (*sc.* in a piece of fibre or such-like) to signify that he was binding himself to the performance.

Muays is about four miles from Shendi.

"And his tomb..." is وقبره ظاهر يزار عليه سكينه ووقار.

There is a reference in the text to "GA'AL and its kings" (جعل وملوكها). This use of GA'AL for GA'ALIYYŪN (the later form) is common in *nisbas*. Cp. AB, *passim*, and No. 154.

That No. 27 was a man of wealth is evidenced by a remark in the text that he killed 60 sheep in honour of an important visitor.

An anecdote is also related of how he restored to health a broken-down donkey.

Meshra el Aḥmar is near Shendi.

28. *Um Dóm* is an Island between Khartoum and Sóba on the Blue Nile

29. "*Imām*," i.e. "precentor," is in the Arabic here "*ṣāhib*," i.e. *lit.* "master."

Aslāng is an island in the river about 22 miles north of Khartoum.

The "*King of the FUNG*" is 'Adlān I (1610-1615, Bruce): *vide sub* No. 126. "'*Agīb the Great*" is "'*Agīb the Māngilak*" of para. vi, *supra* (q.v.).

32. I am told he was a Ga'ali Ḥasabullāwī and was buried at Gebel Saḡadi Mōya, west of Serīnār.

33. *Tāka* is the district round Kassala.

Abu Ḥardā is close to the north of Wad Medani.

For this biography cp. No. 8.

34. This man's pedigree is given in C 9.

36. "*Attached himself to*" is "*ṣahiba*."

There is a site near Sōba called "Wad Ḥasōba" to this day.

Um Leban is an island on the White Nile between Dueim and Kāwa.

38. *El Ḳalay'a*: there is a place of this name in the Gezira some 22 miles north-west of el Manāḡil.

40. *Fās* is Fezzān.

41. This man is mentioned in D 1, CII.

42. His descendants were called the 'AḲLĀB (see D 1, CII).

43. "*Among his followers was...*" is مِمَّنْ اخَذَ عَلَيْهِ طَرِيقَ الْقَوْمِ (cp. para. VIII, *supra* and note).

The "*Sheikh Dafa'alla*" mentioned here cannot be, as is usual, No. 85, because it would be quite incorrect to say that all the stock of the latter were descended from No. 43's two sons: see Tree 9, which shows numerous other well-known descendants of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki.

44. "*Holy-man*" is "*rdgil*": see note to para. v, *supra*.

Ḥagar el 'Asal is between Khartoum and Shendi.

"*He it was...*": the Arabic is:

هو الذي دل الشيخ حسن بن حسونة وكشف له الحجاب

46. The entire Arabic of this biography is given in Appendix 5.

"*Patches*" is "*gibab*" (sing. "*gibba*"): this word "*gibba*" (or "*jibbeh*") became very familiar in the Mahdia, being used for the patched shirts worn by the Dervishes in obedience to the Mahdi's orders.

The simile involved in the nickname of "Scorpion's Tail" is "as a man stung by a scorpion dies at once, so he who swears falsely on the tomb of Abu Delayḡ will die at once." On this subject see Jaussen, pp. 311, 312.

The district and village of Abu Delayḡ, the headquarters of the BAṬĀḤIN, lying about 90 miles east of Khartoum, is called after this man. His real name was 'Ali and he is generally said (cp. *sub* No. 74) to have been a Kahli, but his descendants are always called DELAYḡĀB.

El Nigfa is a low hill close to the south-west of the village of Abu Delayḡ: the tomb of Abu Delayḡ is on this hill and is still much used by the Arabs for the taking of oaths.

48. The text gives some three pages of praises and poetry in honour of "Abu Idrīs."

50. "*A pupil of...*" is سَلَكَ طَرِيقَ الْقَوْمِ عَلَى.

51. "*His father . . . the people there.*" The Arabic is given in Appendix 6. The dialogue is more than typically difficult.

El Tergami, i.e. one of the TERÁGMA. It will be seen from the Ga'ali Trees that Tergam was brother of that Kerdam from whom the great majority of the tribe claim descent.

"*Dongola*" is here written "Donkōla" (دونقلة) but the author often elsewhere calls it "Donḡōla" (ضنقلة), e.g. in Appendix 9.

52. *El 'akdīd*, which embrace all matters of faith, are in contradistinction to *'ilm el fekth*, which relates only to matters of practice. See Hughes, pp. 106 and 286, and also note to para. VIII, *supra*.

"*And the cause . . .*" For the Arabic see Appendix 7.

For the use of رضى cp. note to No. 74 (end).

By *Dār Ṣaltḥ* is meant Wadāi.

53. *Ya'ākūb* was Sultan of Wadāi from 1681 to 1707. He engaged in war with Dárfūr and was defeated by the Sultan Aḥmad Bukr at Kebkebia (see Schurtz, pp. 542 and 545).

54. "*Abūdi*" is written عبوض: see note to para. VII, *supra*.

55. "*Šáridia*": i.e. a woman of the ŠOWÁRDA.

"*El 'Agami*" is written العجم: cp. note to No. 54.

The AWLÁD EL 'AGAMI live at Berber, and there are a few of them on Bundi Island. 'Agami is of course the brother of Ḥasan wad Ḥasūna (No. 132).

56. The date of *sannat el gidri* is not stated.

58. For *Walī* see note to para. x, *supra*. For "*Ḳandīl el Šáridi*," see note to No. 222.

For the "*famous case*" referred to *vide sub* No. 73.

Mismār el Ḥalashi was one of the 'ABDULLÁB *Māngilak* family of Ḳerri. For lists of these 'ABDULLÁB see Budge, II, p. 204, and Cailliaud, III, p. 96, and Jackson, p. 105, and Part III, Chap. 2 (a) above; and see note to para. vi, *supra*. The names here given as those of sheikhs of Ḳerri will not square with the above lists, but the explanation is probably that those sheikhs who were deposed after only a few months' reign are not mentioned in the lists quoted by Cailliaud, etc. The Arabic of this final passage is given in Appendix 8 and it will be seen that owing to the indiscriminate use of personal pronouns it might be translated in several different ways: it is clear, however, that the author is not giving a consecutive list of sheikhs but only mentioning examples of such as were deposed after very short terms of power.

For *'Alī ibn 'Othmán* see No. 236; and for *Mismār* No. 66.

"*Walad 'Agib*" and "*Sheikh 'Abdulla*" are the same person.

60. For the Arabic of the whole of this biography see Appendix 9. The village of Wad 'Ishayb lies about four miles below el Kámlín on the east bank of the Blue Nile, and its people are called 'ISHAYBÁB: they are a section of RIKÁBÁ and the descendants of this No. 60.

For *el Banūfari* see No. 17.

'*Agib the Great* is the *Māngilak* of para. vi.

"*The Gezra*" is in the Arabic here "*el Huoi*." The full name of the Gezira, i.e. the land enclosed between the White and the Blue Niles, was

"Gezra Sennár" or "Gezrat el Huoi." The people of the Blue Nile region more often use "el Huoi" than "el Gezra." The word *Huoi* is often pronounced almost as though it were *Hög*, and the fact is that there is no exact English equivalent to this final consonant, which is quite different from the soft *g* of, e.g., Karkóg, or the usual hard initial or medial *g*. The same letter occurs in another word in this same biography, viz. "Aydai," as it is here written, or "Aydag" (maps "Eidag") as it is often pronounced (cp. *sub* No. 67). Other examples of this case are "Kagoi" in No. 132, "Fóga" (in western Kordofán), which is pronounced almost like "Foiya" by most natives, and "Fung" or "Funye" (*q.v.* in Westermann, p. lii). Cp. also notes to Nos. 108 and 200 for another case in point. Père Jaussen's remarks on the pronunciation of "*gīm*" as "*yēi*" among the Arabian tribes will be found on pp. 6, 7 of his book, and I may quote the following editorial from *Sudan Notes and Records* (No. 2, 1918): "We believe that ج in the mouth of a Sudan Arab has a sound which is intermediate between hard *g* in *go* and *j* in *just*. The sound also exists in Nubian (Berberine) and has been recorded as occurring in other Arabic dialects (Landberg, *Études...*, I, p. 539: 'Quelquefois et dans quelques contrées en Ḥaḍramaut ج est prononcé avec un son entre ġ (j) et g. Ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre'). The sound in question is articulated in the 'front,' i.e. it is formed by the front part of the tongue and the hard palate; it is therefore nearly related to both *d* and *y*, and we agree... that it very nearly corresponds to *dy*."

'Aydag is close to the north of Wad 'Ishayb.

For *Ibrāhīm el Būlād* see para. vi and No. 17, *supra*, and note to No. 23, and AB, xcix.

In No. 121 there is a passing mention (omitted in the translation) to "the *fekīr* Muḥammad Ḳandīl ibn el feki Ḥammad ibn el Sheikh 'Alī walad 'Ishayb."

61. "His father was..." is *أبوه رجلا مجذوبا*.

"*Magdhūb*" is a Ṣūfī term (see note to para. vii, *supra*): it is explained by Hughes (*q.v.* pp. 116, 301, 310, 612) as meaning "abstracted" or "attracted," "one chosen of God for Himself": "rapt" in English also suggests the meaning implied. For miracle-working by reciting the alphabet cp. No. 26.

62. The statement that 'Alī "el Nīl" was the successor of Tāg el Dīn implies that he succeeded to the Sheikhship of the Ḳādirīya *ṭarīqa* (*vide sub* No. 67). In No. 216 we have his brother Nūr el Dīn swearing by Tāg el Dīn. The story of the *dolayb* palms (*q.v. sub* No. 216) is given at length both in No. 62 and 216.

63. "A follower of..." i.e. he embraced Ṣūfism as taught in the first instance by Dafa'alla el 'Araki. See No. 8, where we have 'Alī's son Dafa'alla el Shāfa'i instructing Tāha the son of that 'Omāra whom we have here teaching 'Alī walad el Shāfa'i.

"And if he heard..." For the Arabic see Appendix 10. I understand the meaning to be that if any other aspiring poet after 'Alī's death recited, as his own composition, lines he had borrowed from 'Alī, the spirit of the latter would be heard wailing and his wraith be seen in the air.

65. A Maḥassi by race.

66. "'Awūda" is sometimes spelt by the author عَوْض and sometimes عَوْضَة and sometimes عَوْضَة.

Mūsa Ferīd is mentioned in No. 132.

"*Sheikh Muhammad* . . ." The Arabic is given in Appendix 11. The text here gives "Kashkash" for "Kashāsh," but the correct form occurs in No. 134.

"*El Ḥadāri*," i.e. one of the ḤUPŪR: very probably 'Īsa Kanū (No. 143) is meant. The bracelets and anklets would be an offering to the *feki* in return for his services. For the prayer-mat cp. No. 178.

"*FUNG*" is here and elsewhere spelt فونج but the author also often uses the form فنج.

"*The grace of God*," i.e. in Arabic اليل الله: this is pronounced "all ulla." "All" means "what belongs to": "*hādha lli*" ("this is mine") in the Sudan is thus the same as the more common "*hadha biḥdāt*." "*Lli*" is probably an abbreviation of "*ili li*," the colloquial Arabic for "which is mine" (lit. "to me"), and "*all ulla*" would similarly be short for "*ili li ulla*" ("that which is to, or belongs to, God"). It will be seen that in this passage the author spells it اليل thrice and الليل once.

The "*Sheikh of Kerri*" is Mismār, one of the 'ABDULLĀB *Māngils*. I do not know who is the "short pale bald man" unless it be 'Alī ibn Barri (No. 58, q.v.). In No. 58 Mismār is called "el Ḥalashi."

"*Strain some merissa for him* [i.e. 'Awūda, i.e. the speaker] . . ." That is to say, "He will be everlastingly disgraced by drinking the forbidden beverage." Cp., however, No. 153.

"*Pour it over his tomb* . . ." i.e. as an insult to his memory.

For "*the Book and the Law*, etc. . . ." cp. BA, IX.

For '*Alī el Ag-hūri* cp. No. 22.

'*Awūda* is mentioned in A 2, XLIV.

67. *Tāg el Dīn* is wrongly called "el Bokhāri" in Jackson, p. 27.

"*His actual name* . . ." The Arabic is given in Appendix 14. For the meaning of the terms "*Sheikh*," "*Imām*," "*Ḳuṭb*," "*Ghauth*" see Sell, pp. 104-112. "*Imām*" may be translated "Precentor" or "Leader" or "Pattern" (see Hughes, p. 202); "*Ḳuṭb*" is literally an axis (see Hughes, p. 531); and "*Ghauth*" is literally a mediator (see Hughes, p. 139).

'*Abd el Ḳādir el Gildāni* was the founder of the Ḳādirīa order and died at Baghdād in the second half of the twelfth century (see Hughes, p. 2, and Sell, p. 116). The Arab nomads of the Sudan chiefly belong to the Ḳādirīa *ṭarīqa*, but their allegiance is somewhat nominal. For the successive *Khālifas* of this order see note to No. 226. The influence of the Ḳādirīa received a great impulse early in the nineteenth century, when Aḥmad ibn Idrīs sent missionaries from the Ḥegāz to the Sudan. The Senussi himself was a member of the order, and intellectually the Senussīa and the Ḳādirīa have close affinities. The latter's influence now extends from India to Algiers. Its propaganda is essentially peaceful.

'*Abd el Gellī*, the father of Dāūd, is the eponymous ancestor of the GELĪLAB, and nephew of Ḥegāzi ibn Ma'in, the founder of Arbāgi. Ḥillat Sa'id, a few miles north of el Kāmlīn and the chief village of the Wad

Ráwa district, is named after the Hág Sa'íd here mentioned. Cp. note to para. iv, *supra*, and B 1, xxx. 'Aydag is also in the Wad Ráwa group of villages (cp. note to No. 60).

The GELÍLAB still own lands at Wad el Sha'ír, which lies west-south-west of Rufá'a in the Blue Nile Province.

"*He married in the Gezra...*" From a remark in the biography of No. 190 we know he married a woman of the 'AKK and by her had two daughters. The 'AKK were an Arabian tribe very largely represented at the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in 640 A.D. (see Butler, *The Arab Conquest...*). They were Kaḥṭánites.

Shá'a el Dín walad' Tuaym is said to have lived eleven generations ago. The subsections of the SHUKRÍÁ all claim him or his father Tuaym as a common ancestor.

"40 persons." See note to No. 23.

Tekali is a mountain in southern Kordofán (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, *passim*).

68. Presumably a relative of No. 1 (*q.v.*). He is said by natives to have been buried at el Káb between Sennár and Wad Medani. He died in 1803 (see D 7, CLXII).

69. Cp. No. 93.

70. "*He died...*" is

وتوفي رحمة الله تعالى وهو في حدود الأربعين سنة أو ليف يسير

This branch of the family is omitted in Jackson's Tree (*Yacubabi Tribe*) as living not near Sennár but in the north near Shendi.

71. He is the head of the great Bán el Nuḳá family, of which one branch live in the north near Shendi, and the other, the YA'AḲŪBÁB, near Sennár. They are generally believed to be RÁZḲÍÁ by race: Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) speaks of them as "originally Shaigi."

"*He was called...*" is

وسمي بان النقا لان امه قالت بان نقاي اي صفاي وكان عكازا عند الملك نايل

King Náił was the second of the FUNG kings: his date was 1534-1551 (Bruce).

No. 71, called elsewhere "el Darír" ["The Blind"], is given in Jackson's Tree (*Yacubabi Tribe*) as son of Ḥamdán Abu Duḵn son of 'Abūd, and there appears as "Bennaga Derair."

72. "*He was a follower of*" is سلك الطريق علي.

El Imám 'Alī was the Prophet's son-in-law.

'*Arakī*, like No. 64, was evidently so named after 'Abdulla el 'Arakī.

73. Bāsbar's descendants are known as the BASÁBÍR. "El Shukri" was probably only a nickname. He is always said now to have been a Sháíkī, and as the SHÁÍḲÍÁ are by origin GA'ALÍÍN and 'Ōn was son of Sháíkī (see D 5 (c), iv), the term "Ga'ali 'Ōni" is quite explicable.

"*It is related...*" For the Arabic see Appendix 15.

This story is also related in almost the same terms in No. 58. The latter adds that it was for seven years that the Hammadi abstained from

going to the river; and in place of لعقيقة ولده ("for the shaving ceremony of his child") gives ورد البحر يجيب لها لسماية ولده ("went to the river to fetch water for the naming of his child"). No. 58 also adds that Bábár, who was sitting under the acacia trees, was engaged in trimming a tablet (يصح لوحا), i.e. the board used by *fekis* as a schoolmaster uses a slate.

The point of the story of course is that Bábár's son in revenge translated himself into a crocodile.

Most of the AHÁMDA are not riverain folk, hence the note that the particular Hammadi in question lived on the river, the implication being that it was very hard for him to avoid visiting the river for years.

As regards the shaving ceremony see Hughes, p. 554: "At the birth of a child it is incumbent upon the Muslim father to sacrifice a goat (one for a girl and two for a boy) at the ceremony called 'Aqīqah, which is celebrated on either the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, or 35th day after birth, when the hair is first shaved and its weight in silver given to the poor." On the Blue Nile the father names his child on the 7th day after birth and gives a party in honour of the event and kills a sheep or goat for the guests. The water fetched from the river, in this story, would, if it is really the naming ceremony that is referred to, be merely water wherewith to fill the jars from which the guests would drink. Elsewhere, however (p. 17), Hughes says: "'Aqīqah. A custom observed by the Arabs on the birth of a child; namely, leaving the hair on the infant's head until the 7th day, when it is shaved, and animals are sacrificed. . ."; and again (pp. 50, 51) "The naming of the child should, according to the Traditions. . . be given on the 7th day. . . On this, the 7th day, is observed also the ceremony of 'Aqīqah, established by Muḥammad himself. . . It consists of a sacrifice to God, in the name of the child, of two he-goats for a boy, and one he-goat for a girl. . .," which sacrifice is eaten by the friends assembled: while they eat they offer the prayer "O God! I offer to thee instead of my own offspring, life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, skin for skin. In the name of the Great God do I sacrifice this goat."

It would appear therefore that the father went to fetch water for the "aḳīka" proper, i.e. for shaving the boy's head, and that it is not strictly accurate to say he wanted it for the naming of the boy, although it is true both functions took place on the same day and presumably on the same occasion.

The occasion of the naming of a child is also celebrated among some Sinaitic tribes (see Jaussen, p. 16 note). For the 'aḳīka as the ceremony of shaving the head of a child, cp. Jaussen, p. 94; and cp. Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadāi*, p. 88) for the same custom as practised in Wadāi, and Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubātāb* (pp. 122 and 130), where the naming ceremony is described.

In the Sudan, when the child's hair is first cut, which is, by the way, often some four months after birth, a long tuft (the "uruf" mentioned here) is left growing on that part of the head which was first visible at the time of birth. Now previous to the child's birth it is customary for the

parents to dedicate this tuft to some famous saint ("Sheikh"), to whose *kubba* the "visits" mentioned in note to No. 2 are paid, vowing at the same time some gift, such as a sheep or a camel or some money to the saint in case of their hopes being fulfilled. When the child has reached the age of about 4 or 5 years the parents, in fulfilment of their vow, take him (or her) to the *kubba* of the saint and discharge their vow. One of the guardians of the shrine, *i.e.* a descendant of the "Sheikh," then cuts off the tuft of hair. The tuft is as a rule left in the *kubba*, but, at Wad Ḥasūna for instance, it is hung up on a tree sacred to the Sheikh just outside the *kubba*, and remains there till some accident happens to remove it: see note to No. 132. The technical word for this dedication is حَوْر ("howwara"): *e.g.* نَحْوَرُ رُلُوْدَ لِلشَّيْخِ means "we dedicate the boy (*i.e.* his hair) to the Sheikh." Cp. the word "howār," "a disciple," explained in Hughes, p. 169, *q.v.* There is a mention of the cutting of the tuft in biography No. 132 (*q.v.*).

That the origin of these customs is of ancient date is clear when one reads in Herodotus (Bk. II, § 65) "The inhabitants of the various cities [of Egypt], when they have made a vow to any god, pay it to his animals in the way which I will now explain. At the time of making the vow they shave the head of the child, cutting off all the hair, or else half, or sometimes a third part, which they then weigh in a balance against a sum of silver; and whatever sum the hair weighs is presented to the guardian of the animals."

It will not be out of place here to describe the votive offerings and such like which I saw in November 1913 hung on the gnarled old *heglīk* tree standing in front of the *kubba* of Sheikh Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna (No. 132) at the village that bears his name.

1. Many small tufts of hair from children's heads ("uruf"); some of these were wrapped in little bags.

2. Large bunches of women's hair. These had been left by women whose hair had begun falling out and who looked to the saint to restore it.

3. Several little bundles of the shin-bones of sheep and goats which had been sacrificed at the time of the naming ceremony ("samdiā").

4. Several miniature shepherd's crooks of this shape. These were about a foot long and were imitations of the long staff ("mah-gan") of the same shape which the Arabs use for shaking down pods ("ulayf") from the acacia trees for their goats to browse upon. The dedication of these sticks is the equivalent of a prayer that the boy may become a good herdsman.

5. Some bundles of big bones, chiefly camels'. It was explained that these had belonged to animals which had died of some disease, and the owners had dedicated the bones to the Sheikh in the hope that he would stay the disease from the rest of the herd.

6. Many camels' hobbles ("ukal"). These were deposited by the owners of camels which had strayed or fallen sick, in the expectation of the aid of the Sheikh in finding or healing the beasts.

7. There were several articles such as a hair-tent, bowls, grindstones, etc., left temporarily by Arabs in charge of the saint until their return at the end of the season. These were not in any way dedicated to the Sheikh but only entrusted to him for the time being. For this cp. Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubdāb* (p. 123).

The other objects specified were left permanently.

The following quotations from Père Jaussen's *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* show that the tree-cult underlying the practices described is not necessarily of African origin, although so widely spread through Africa, e.g. among the BASA on the Abyssinian frontier, who have a "sacred tree" (see James, *Wild Tribes...*, p. 193), and in Dárfūr and Wadái (see Chap. 4 of Part I):

(1) P. 36. "À d'autres sanctuaires on fait une simple visite, relevée d'une offrande, et on laisse un souvenir en attachant à l'arbre sacré qui ombrage la cour, ou aux barreaux des fenêtres de la *qubbeh* quelques morceaux d'étoffe."

(2) P. 310. "En témoignage de confiance un bédouin arrache quelques crins à la queue de sa chamelle, et les attache en ex-voto à une branche de tamarisc dressée au milieu des pierres de la sépulture."

(3) P. 334. "Les arbres sacrés... se présentent sous un double aspect: ils sont joints à un sanctuaire ou bien ils sont isolés. Dans le premier cas, ils ne paraissent pas avoir une origine indépendante du lieu saint qu'ils ombragent, ni un rôle distinct de l'influence attribuée au *wēly* [*wālī*] qui les a fait croître, qui les vivifie et les protège... La seconde catégorie d'arbres sacrés ne jouit pas du bénéfice de la proximité d'un sanctuaire; ils se dressent isolés, près d'une source, sur une colline, ou au sommet d'une montagne..."

(See also Plate V to Jaussen's book.)

Cp. also Zwemer, p. 284, for remarks on what he calls "these rag trees" in Arabia.

74. The KAWÁHLA themselves accept the DELAYKAB as distant relatives. 'Abd el Qādir is 'Abd el Qādir el Gīlāni the founder of the Qādirīa order: cp. note to No. 67. The phrase "the fire of 'Abd el Qādir... was with..." is the equivalent of "the mantle of so and so descended upon..." For this succession of *Khalīfas* of the Qādirīa see note to No. 226.

"And I was in doubt...": for the Arabic see Appendix 16. "To light the fire" is here again used in the metaphorical sense. Sellama is probably Sellama el Hāg Yūsef near east of Khartoum.

The word "ugub" (عجب) is commonly used in the Sudan to mean "again."

This direction to Bedowi to settle "in the red country with the red people" is fastened upon by the BAṬĀḤĪN of Abu Delayk as proving conclusively that the country round el Nigfa and Abu Delayk was occupied by them before the advent of the DELAYKAB, and as disproving the latter's claim to own those parts. Most of the BAṬĀḤĪN are of the red-brown colour that generally distinguishes the nomad Arab.

For "*khalwa*" see note to No. 11.

The MARGHŪMĀB are a branch of KAWÁHLA; some of them still graze

round Abu Delayk with the SHUKRĪA. "O Sherif" is addressed to the man to whom Bedowi is telling the tale.

No. 86 used the same words as Bedowi on his deathbed: the Arabic is *يا كاهليات انا جبلكا يوم القيامة*. For this incorrect form *جبلكا*, i.e.

جبلكا for *جبلكن*, cp. Appendix 7, where we have *رضخا* for *رضخن*.

"*El Samih*" is Hammad el Samih, the fifth of the 'ABDULLĀB *Mangils* of Kerri. Cailliaud (vol. III, p. 96) gives his name correctly, Budge (vol. II, p. 204) and Jackson (p. 105) wrongly as Hāmid (or Hamed) el Shemik. His attack on Shendi is again mentioned in No. 226.

75. This *feki* is reported to have been a Ga'ali and to have been buried near Kōz Na'im in the direction of Shendi. Probably he is the son of No. 229, the 'AWADĪA being GA'ALIĪN.

"*He embraced...*" is *انتحل مذهب الصوفية*; and "*Was a follower of*" is *اخذ الطريق من*.

The wearing of wool was a sign of asceticism. Whether "*Ṣūfi*" is derived from "*ṣūf*" (wool) is doubtful (see Hughes, p. 608).

76. This *feki* is reported to have been buried near J. Arang between Wad Medani and el Kēḍāref, east of the river Rahad. His descendants are mentioned in D I, CXXV, as among the ASHRĀF of the Sudan, being descended from Ḥusayn.

For his date see No. 2, where it is mentioned that Sheikh Khōgali, who died in 1742, was his contemporary.

77. He was brother of No. 246. The site of his *kubba* is shown on the map as on the Blue Nile, close south of Khartoum, near Sōba. As he was buried elsewhere it is presumably his placenta or afterbirth that is marked by the *kubba*: cp. No. 78. This custom, which had its place, too, in ancient Egypt, is common in the Sudan, and among the Arab tribes appears to be varied according to whether the river is available or not. In the latter case the afterbirth is buried outside the threshold of the house, close in front of the door. With it, in the case of the Blue Nile tribes, are buried a date (if available), a thread of red silk, and a seed of corn (*dhu-raia*): a tuft of a few branches (*za'af*) from the crest of a palm-tree, still connected together at their base, as they grew, is stuck in the ground over the spot where the afterbirth is buried, the upper half of the tuft projecting visibly. If the river is close at hand the afterbirth is (in the case of the Blue Nile tribes) first placed in a dish and carried round the village by a band of boys and girls, soliciting alms, and then, after being weighted with a stone, thrown into the river together with the date, the silk and the seed. The benefits supposed to arise from the date and the seed are good growth and a long and prosperous life to the child: the benefit from the silk thread (which presumably represents the umbilical cord) is said to be to the mother, it being hoped that no ill effects will follow as a consequence of her not being entirely rid of the afterbirth. A similar custom is said to be observed both at the time of circumcision (the foreskin being substituted for the afterbirth) and when the boy is married; but in the latter case, instead of being buried or thrown into the river, the date, silk and seed are placed in a forked stick on the right side of the lintel.

For the whole subject of the importance of the afterbirth and the rites connected with the disposal of it see Seligman (*Hamitic Problem*, pp. 658 *et seq.*) and cp. Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubāḏāb* (p. 129).

78. For a *ḡubba* at the birthplace instead of at the burialplace see note to No. 77.

"He had the prophetic gift" is *كان من اهل الكشف* (*lit.* "he was of the people who revealed, *sc.* the future").

79. His pupil, No. 4, died in 1767, and his own father (No. 204) in 1696. The *feki* Samḡ is, in No. 10, called "el Tamfrābi."

80. He is said to have been a Rāzki, and if so would be connected by birth with the Bān el Nuḡā family.

81. A Ga'ali by race (*vide* No. 212). El Kerrada is said to be near el Hilālla, *i.e.* south of el Kāmlīn.

82. "He had supernatural...": for the Arabic see Appendix 17.

"The saints (*Awliyā*) shall come to you": *sc.* "to visit you."

يجلسوك may mean, as I have translated it, "they shall make you be seated," *i.e.* absolve you from standing up as a sign of respect in their presence; or, possibly, "they shall make you sit [in a position of authority]": cp. the use of *قعد* in No. 66 (Appendix 11).

For "light the fire of 'Abd el Ḳādir" cp. notes to Nos. 74 and 67.

"His tomb..." The site is shown on the maps as "Id Burta" because there is now a well close by. The *ḡubba* has disappeared, but the tomb exists: it lies a few miles west of Abu Delayḡ.

83. From No. 33 we know he was an 'Araki. Cp. No. 8.

84. This is the famous "Dafa'alla el 'Araki" or "Sheikh Dafa'alla." Um 'Azām is about 15 miles south-west of Rufá'a. Note that he was born at his mother's village: her name has been changed from "Um Ḥusayn" to "Um Ḥasón" because it is known to the family as the latter at present. The DUBĀB are a debased semi-negroid tribe (*q.v.* Vol. I, p. 207).

Bdāi walad Rubāḏ reigned from 1651-89 (Bruce) or 1642-77 (MS. D 7).

"Um Laḡm" ("Mother of meat") by a euphemism denotes a year of famine. See D 7, XLI.

85. "Be of good cheer..." is as follows in the Arabic:

ابشرن يا هنونايات [هتونايات] انا جبلكا يوم القيامة

I read "HATŪNĀB" for "HANŪNĀB" because Dafa'alla's mother's grandfather is given above as "Hatūna" and not "Hanūna." For the quotation cp. note to No. 74.

86. D 1 (*q.v.* CI) says "The 'ARAKIYYŪN are descended from GUHAYNA, but among them are the children of el Sherif Aḡmad Muḡbal, who married a wife from among the 'ARAKIYYŪN and begot Dafa'alla, the ancestor of their pious *Khalfas*; and the latter's sons were Bukr Abu 'Ayesha and 'Abdulla and Ḥammad el Nīl."

"The west country" ("Dār el Gharb") is Kordofān: the phrase is often used on the Blue Nile in this sense.

Bir Serrār is about 30 miles north-north-east of Bāra.

Muḡammad walad Fakrūn was father of No. 238 (*q.v.*).

The GIMI'ĀB country is a little north of Khartoum.

It is curious that the author only gives the biography of two of the five sons of Dafa'alla. The el Magdhūb here mentioned must not be confused with el Magdhūb the father of No. 123. No. 123 was born in 1693 A.D., whereas the grandson (No. 84) of No. 86 died as early as 1683.

"He was known as . . ." is in the Arabic:

ونسبه مشهور بالعركي نسبه الي عرك قبيلة معروفة

but I know of no tribe called 'ARAK: the name 'ARAKIYYŪN at present certainly only applies to the generations subsequent to No. 86.

The whole of the text of this biography is given.

87. *Muhammad Abu el Kaylak* was the famous vizier of Sennár, who died in 1776 A.D. after a career of king-making and conquest. Information concerning him will be found in MacMichael (*Tribes*..., pp. 10-13 and 211) and Jackson, pp. 50-59, and in MS. D 7 *passim*.

88. This is the author's great-grandfather.

For "*Um Lahm*" see No. 84.

89. This is the author's father: cp. No. 120. Contrast ABC, xi.

90. For the Arabic see Appendix 18: the whole biography is quoted.

This *Dóllb* is a descendant of the Hág ibn 'Abdulla ibn Rikáb mentioned in No. 222, but the exact degree of relationship is not specified by the author. The intermediate generations as given from memory by one of the *Dóálí* are given in MacMichael, *Tribes*..., p. 93; but they may be inaccurate.

For "*khakwa*" see note to No. 11. For "*dhikr*" (pronounced "*zikr*") see Hughes, pp. 703-710; and for "*ibáda*" see Hughes, p. 612.

"*A forty-days'-retreat*" (Ar. *خلوة الاربعين*) is a common expression for one of these retreats to which a recluse retires for meditation for 40 days. For this number 40 cp. No. 23 (note).

"*O God, bless us . . .*, etc." occurs again in No. 105.

"*Walad 'Isa*" is probably No. 191.

91. The *ZAYDÁB* country is in Berber province, a little south of el Dámer.

93. For these four judges see Nos. 23 and 69: the Arabic here is

وهو احدي القضاة الاربعة الذين قضاهم الشيخ عجمب....

Dekin reigned from 1570 to 1587 A.D. (Bruce).

There are two villages of "*Dushaynát*" and one called "*Wad el Kádi*," all about 15 miles south-south-west of el Manákil.

This No. 93 is grandfather of No. 193, the founder of Wad Medani. It is said that he was by race a *Buṣaylábi* from Upper Egypt.

The translation of the couplet is: "Son of Dushayn, the Just Judge, who does not err into error: his offspring are good men and true, who lit the fire of apostleship." Cp. note to No. 117.

95. He belonged to the 'ABÁDLA section of BAṬÁHÍN and his *ḥubba* lies close to the east of Sennár (*vide* maps, "*Sheikh Feraḥ*").

The sons of Gábir are No. 17 and Ibráhím el Búlád and their two brothers. Many similar apothegms to that quoted are attributed by the Arabs to Feraḥ: such are the following:

1. (of the rain) شِنْ جانا نازل شِنْ لنا بالمانزل, *i.e.* "if it descend upon us what matter to us the houses [we have built]."

2. (also of the rain) *ان جانا صاب شئ لنا بالسحاب*, i.e. "if it pour down upon us what matter the clouds to us."

The idea in both cases is that the primary consideration is that rain should fall: whether its coming is foretold by clouds or whether the houses are rainproof are secondary matters. Note the play on words in the first quotation.

96. These two brothers are only allotted four lines in the text: they lived at a date rather beyond our author's ken, i.e. about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Hilāla (sic) is between el Kámlín and el Rufá'a on the east bank.

97. *Gād el Nebi* is mentioned again in No. 127. The text gives no further details.

99. The title is *جادرالله وحادرالله* but the *و* should be interpreted as "or" instead of "and"; or *او* may be read. An exactly similar case arises in No. 103; and the inference is that the author was copying the names from a MS.: the writing of G and H only differs by a single dot, whereas the sound of the two letters is absolutely distinct. The text here and in No. 103 speaks as though one man and not two was intended.

101. "*El Gāma'i el Kordofāli*," i.e. one of the GAWÁMA'A of Kordofān (or Kordofāl); for the spelling of the latter word see MacMichael, *Tribes*..., p. 223, and cp. No. 102.

Auli is a hill about 26 miles south of Khartoum.

Busdī was no doubt so named after the son of Ghānim's teacher el Arbāb (see No. 94).

"*Walad Kaddl*" is perhaps son of No. 147; but see notes to Nos. 124 and 125. 'Ayesha is mentioned again in No. 154.

102. There is nothing in the text, which is translated practically complete, to show who Edóma was.

Gódatulla in No. 207 is called "Muḥammad Gódatulla."

103. Cp. note to No. 99.

105. For the meaning of "*Nesi*" see No. 90. Cp. D 1, cxviii.

106. *Shanbāt* is a few miles north of Khartoum.

107. Here note an instance of the common occurrence of a man being known not by his father's name but his mother's: cp. *sub* Nos. 17, 46 and 85. Note also the almost universal mistake of writing a ق for an غ (الغيشة for القيشة). In the Sudan the ق is pronounced in ordinary dialect like a hard g but any one desirous of being thought learned pronounces it deliberately as gh (غ), and hence the *fekis* being used to pronounce the ق as gh generally spell proper names really containing a غ with a ق.

This *Hagū* is called Hagū "Abu Ḳurn" in Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) and appears to have been one of the most famous of a famous family. His mother Batūl appears as such in Jackson's Tree, but Ya'aḳūb (No. 254), the eponymous ancestor of the YA'AḲŪBĀB, is there shown as Hagū's brother, and son of Batūl, instead of brother of Batūl. Jackson's Tree being based on oral information is probably wrong, and the detailed consistency of the *Ṭabaḳāt* is probably correct. The YA'AḲŪBĀB too told Jackson that Batūl's

husband Ḥammad was a *Shertfi* (descendant of the Prophet) and it is more likely the *Ṭabaḳāt* is correct also on this point. Jackson speaks of Hagū's *ḵubba* being at el 'Azāza (some 15 miles north-west of Sennār and ten miles south of a well and village shown on the map as "Hagu Abu Garn"), and "Um Mawākiḥ is presumably thereabouts. According to Jackson's Tree Hagū had four sons, Sheikh el Tôm, Ḥaggar, 'Abd el Ḳādir and Ṭai el Dīn.

108. "*El Māḍi*" (المأدي) is now generally pronounced "el Māḡdi." There is a village called "Wad el Māḡdi" a few miles south of el Kámlīn: cp. No. 200.

109. "*El 'Amri*," i.e. one of the 'AWÁMRA.

"*El Kámlīn*" (for which cp. ABC, VI) is the old, and more correct, form of "el Kámlīn": cp. Poncet (p. 17), who speaks of "Camin" in 1709, and Trémaux (vol. II, p. 71), who in 1862 calls it "Kamnyn." The word is connected with "*kamma*," an ambushade, the root being كمن [to hide oneself]: the site is so called because it lies very low and is invisible from a distance.

"*El Ḳōz*" is probably the place of that name west of Shendi [maps, "el Góz"].

111. Cp. No. 159. "*El Baṭrān*" means "petulant" or "insolent." His *ḵubba* is near Sabīl in Sennār Province.

"*Sannat el Wada'a*" is also mentioned in No. 136.

El Humr is near Sennār.

112. "'*Abd el Bāḳi*" is 'Abd el Bāḳi el Zurḳāni, for whom see note on AB, LXXXIX and BA, XLVIII.

113. "*Bādīri*," i.e. one of the BŪÁDIRA.

This man is great-grandfather of No. 231 who died about 1117 (A.H.), i.e. 1705 A.D., and the two were buried at the same place (assuming el Gebel to be the same as el Gebayl). "*El Gebayl*" is Gebayl Um 'Ali near Kabūshīa in Shendi district.

The 'OMARÁB, who include the well-known religious family of the AWLÁD 'ABD EL MÁGID, are descended from and named after 'Omar, the father of No. 113. They are reckoned GA'ALÍŪ, but on the mother's side claim to be ASHRÁF owing to "Abu el 'Aṣá" having married a daughter of the Sherif Ḥammad Abu Denána (q.v. in No. 141, note). See also ABC, XIII.

114. One of the GHUBUSH of Berber.

115. "*El Mashayrifi*," i.e. a Maḥassi (cp. *sub* No. 124). He is evidently connected with Tree 11 (note his tribe and place of burial). Abu Nagīla is at Khartoum North, opposite Tūti Island.

117. Evidently some connection of No. 93 (q.v. note).

119. "*Take advantage of...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 19.

121. In No. 191 this man is called "The holy-man of Sharāū."

123. A contemporary of the author: see No. 194 and note to D 1, CXXV. For "*el Magdhūb*" see note to No. 61.

This man is mentioned in Jackson (p. 64) and in No. 15, *supra*: in the latter he is spoken of as "el Rihaywābi of Abḥaráz" [i.e. Abu Ḥaráz]: i.e. he was a Ga'ali

"Was a pupil of" is حفظ الكتاب علي; "a follower of..." is سلك الطريق علي (see note to VIII, *supra*).

124. A story of this man is in No. 11, *q.v.*

The Arabic of this biography down to "...by origin" is given in Appendix 20.

Abu Nagila: cp. No. 115.

By "*Walad Kishayb*" I think No. 208 is meant: note that the latter's ancestor settled on the White Nile and that *Ḳadál* "el Wali" (No. 147), whose daughter (?) "*Walad Kishayb*" married, was born on the White Nile. No. 208, in his biography, is called a *Mesallamábi*, and "*Walad Kishayb*" is here called a *Mesallami*.

For "*a daughter of Walad Ḳadál*" I think "a daughter of *Ḳadál*" should probably be read: see note to No. 125 on this superfluous "*walad*" or "*wad*." If the mother of *Mariam* was a grand-daughter of *Ḳadál* chronological difficulties arise owing to the excessive number of generations between 'Abūdi and No. 124 (see Tree 11).

"*Visited*" is the technical term: see note to No. 2.

This No. 124 was probably (see note to No. 11) the founder of *Omdurmán*: his *ḡubba* is to the south of *Khartoum* and is called "*Wad Um Mariam*" ("*Wad Um*" being equal to "*ibn*," a curious periphrasis). His descendants are called the *MARIŪMÁB*, "*Mariŭm*" being a colloquial corruption of "*Mariam*": similarly "*ḡarŭm*" is a corruption of "*ḡarŭm*" ("women") in some parts of the Sudan.

For No. 124's pedigree and nickname see ABC, LV. He was a descendant of No. 255.

125. "*He was known...*" is المشهور بـان الترابي: this must be wrong, and as he is always known as "*Wad el Turábi*," and as his brother *Nanna* (No. 214) is called "*ibn el Turábi*" I have read بـان for بان. As a matter of fact he was not "son of el *Turábi*" at all but "el *Turábi*" himself, if his own descendants are to be trusted, and they are very positive. It is true that this colloquial "*wad*" does sometimes creep in where it has no place, and this has happened, I think, in No. 124 (*q.v.* note). *Ḥammad* was called "el *Turábi*," it is said, because when at *Mekka* he was asked "What is your race?" and replied "*Turábi*"; and again when asked "Whence come you?" he replied "*Min el turáb*" (note, "*turáb*" means "earth" or "soil" and his reply was therefore, as it were, "I am of the earth, earthly"). As a matter of fact, however, "*Abu. Tūrāb*" was the sobriquet of the *Imám 'Ali*, whose veterans used the war-cry of

الجنة الجنة الى الترابية

("Paradise, paradise for the *Tūrābfa*"), and it is very likely that "el *Turábi*" means no more than "the followers of 'Ali": see *Mas'ūdi* (ed. B. de M.), vol. v, Chaps. 87 and 94 (pp. 80, 217, 261). There is no evidence of any connection with the *TURÁBÍŪN* who live north of *Nekhl* in the *Sinai Peninsula*.

His *ḡubba* is a few miles north-west of el *Kámlín* and is much in vogue at the present day.

His descendants declare his father's name was 'Abd el *Rahman*, and

not Muḥammad. His mother Kāfa was the daughter of el Hāg Salāma el Ḍubābī (*q.v.* in No. 84) and he was thus, it is said, connected with the 'Araki family.

The name "*Nahlān*" is a corruption of "*wahālān*" ("dirty," "unkempt"): he is said to have remained for thirty-six months shut up in his *khalwa* in a course of asceticism and retirement.

The present *Khaltfa* is the eighth in descent from him, the names being as follows: Abu 'Āḳla (present *Khalīfa*), ibn Ḥammad, ibn Muḥammad, ibn Ḥammad, ibn el Sayyid, ibn el Na'īm, ibn 'Abd el Ḥabīb, ibn Ḥammad.

"*He studied...*" For the Arabic see Appendix 21.

Muays is close to Shendi.

"*Took ten sealings*": see note to AB, xcix.

"*Sultana*" ("rulers") here probably means spiritual rulers or *fukara*.

The text mentions that he, like No. 241 (*q.v.*), met "el Sayyid el Khidr," and followed his teaching. For el Khidr see note to 241.

Some six pages are devoted to the biography of No. 125. He is mentioned in D 7 (*q.v.* XLII) but is there called Aḥmad instead of Ḥammad: D 3 carefully dates his death as in سنة ستة عشر بعد المائة والالف and the dates of his contemporaries corroborate the accuracy of this. He is also mentioned in Budge (vol. II, p. 202). Jackson by confusing Bādi el Aḥmar with Bādi "Sīd el Ḳūm" has antedated "Wad el Turābī" by about a century.

126. Cp. No. 29 (his son).

Karkōg. The word is here written "Kargōg" (كرجوج), and the same spelling occurs incidentally in No. 117 (not in the translated text). For remarks upon the accuracy or otherwise of this spelling see note to BA, CCXVI.

127. "*Sawāḳ el Rakā,* for when...donkey": for the Arabic see Appendix 22. The "*rakā*" is the leathern jug used by Muhammadans for their ablutions.

Maskīn is the father of No. 250.

129. By "*GUDHAM*" here is not meant the Arabian tribe of that name but the descendants of Gudhām (or Agdham), who appears in the GUHAYNA pedigrees as brother of Šarīd, the ancestor of the ŠOWARDA (cp. *e.g.* D 1, xcvi).

"*My paternal...*" is

واخذ عليه التوحيد والعربية جدي لابي الفقيه ضيف الله الفضلي

130. "*Agwa*" are properly dried dates of best quality, pressed in baskets.

"*His mother's brother... Gābir*": for the Arabic see Appendix 23.

131. Cp. D 1, cxxi. D 3 does not mention the exact connection of Belīl with the rest of the RIKĀBĪA but see No. 222 and BA, cciii.

132. This is the famous "Wad Ḥasūna," founder of the village of that name about 27 miles west of Abu Delayḳ, and eponymous ancestor of the ḤASUNĀB. The present inhabitants of Wad Ḥasūna claim to be ASHRĀF (see C 6 and cp. ABC, x), but many are of very mixed descent. Sheikh Ḥasan

is reputed to have owned all the surrounding country and some sixty-four *haftirs* [reservoirs, dug to hold the rain water] and innumerable slaves. The brand he used for his animals was ١١٨, *i.e.* 118, that being the total arrived at by adding together the numerical values of the consonants of his name (HSN), but his descendants of the present day use ١٧١, *i.e.* 171, as their brand: see Hughes, p. 3, *sub* "Abjad."

The *kubba* of Sheikh Ḥasan is one of the most highly venerated in the Sudan and liars are very chary of swearing upon it, for "it kills." Just outside it is the "tree of the Sheikh" covered with votive offerings (see note to No. 73).

For the Arabic of the first portion of the biography see Appendix 24.

"*Andalus*" is southern Spain: the author probably regarded it as a part of Morocco.

"*I have put my seed...*": there is a play on "*nasl*" and "*asl*": it is implied that the ancestors of Mūsa were originally connected with those of the MESALLAMĪA: the latter consider themselves descendants of the Khalīfa Abu Bukr el Ṣadiq (see C 8).

"*And by Fdīma...*" Ḥasūna had other children by another wife, as will be seen later from the text. For "*Waḥshīa*" ABC, x, gives "*Ḥa-bashīa*."

"*Kagoi*" (so pronounced as a rule) is spelt "*Kagóg*" [كجوج]: cp. note to No. 60, and No. 151. It lies between Khartoum and Shendi (maps, "Koggug").

"*He went up to el Durūrba...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 25.

"*El Durūrba*" is a hill near to the north-west of Wad Ḥasūna.

"*Donkey's Dam*" was so called, it is said, because Sheikh Ḥasan killed a wild ass there.

"*Plate and pin of silver*": on the sling of a sword is hung a circular plate of silver ("*miḥāḥir*," *sing.* "*mu-ḥāra*"), through which the leather passes. This is held in position by a long silver pin ("*ibzaym*") which is welded on to the plate thus (the shaded part being the leather):



"*Commander*" is "*sid kūm*." The same phrase was used at the FUNG court to denote the marshal or "mayor of the palace," whose prime duty was in early times the ceremonial slaying of a king when, through age or impotence, it was considered that he should for the good of the state be superseded: see Vol. I, p. 50.

"*Troops*": the word is "*gundī*," and the plural "*gunūd*" means troops. It is possible "*gundī*" here denotes some officer of rank.

"*The property of her father... for me*": the Arabic is *أبوها ماله مال* *أبوها ماله مال*. The father was presumably a thief and the expenditure of illgotten money on a shroud would be regarded with abhorrence; "*ḥarām*" is the Latin "*nefas*."

"*And [then] he shaved...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 26.

The reference is to the cutting of the "*uruf*" (see note to No. 73).

The "*ʿuṭfa*" is a howdah, with framework of wood, fixed on the saddle of a camel. It is used on state occasions, such as a "*raḥīl*" (moving the bride to the bridegroom's house) or the moving of camp, for the women-folk. They are shrouded from view by the hangings and are surrounded by a display of all their household valuables fastened to the saddle outside: see illustrations in MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 192, 193.

Rās el Fil is on the Blue Nile, south of Roṣayreṣ.

The tomb of the "Ḥāg 'Abd el Salām el Begāwī" here mentioned is close to Wad Ḥasūna (see maps).

Mūsa Ferīd is mentioned in No. 66.

"*He reared a crocodile...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 27. The reservoir mentioned was Um Ḳanāṭīr. It is said at Wad Ḥasūna that the crocodile was brought from the river by Sheikh Ḥasan's slaves.

Eight pages of MS. are devoted to this biography.

ABC gives Sheikh Ḥasan's date as 968-1059 A.H. (ABC, x).

133. For this man see D 7, CI, CXXI and CCVII, and cp. Jackson (p. 65), who says he was of the family of Idrīs wad el Arbāb.

Nāṣir was the HAMAG vizier who ruled the FUNG kingdom from 1787 onwards: he was son of Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak (see D 7, CI *et seq.*).

134. Cp. No. 66 (para. 2). See also note to No. 187.

135. The ancestor of the "FARADYYŪN."

"*Fard*" is "a term used for those rules and ordinances of religion which are said to have been established and enjoined by God Himself, as distinguished from those which are established upon the precept or practice of the Prophet, and which are called '*sunna*'" (Hughes, p. 124).

"*He compiled...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 28. The fact of his marriage and divorce is taken from No. 252.

136. Cp. No. 58.

For "*ilm el kalām*" see note to para. VIII, *supra*.

"*Sannat el Wada'a*" is also mentioned in No. 111.

Ibrāhīm had a son Yūsef, as is mentioned incidentally in No. 33.

137. For "*muftī*" see Hughes, pp. 58 and 367.

139. Cp. Nos. 89 and 204. He was called "el Ḥaggar" and died, as we know from No. 204, in 1098 A.H. (1686 A.D.).

140. See note to No. 17. "Baḥr" may be an error for "Ḥaggar" (بحر for حجر).

141. See postscript to para. XIII, *supra*.

Sheikh Idrīs (*q.v.* also in D 7, XXI) is one of the most famous of all the "saints" of the Sudan. His *ḡubba* is at el 'Aylafūn and his family (MAḤASS) reside there: cp. note to A 9, III. ABC gives his pedigree in full.

The present generation is the eighth after him, thus: Muḥammad ibn Barakāt ibn Ḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Barakāt ibn Meḏowi ibn Barakāt ibn Ḥammad ibn el Sheikh Idrīs.

His descendants state that the mother of Idrīs was Fāṭima, surnamed "Ṣulḥa," the daughter of el Sherif Ḥammad Abu Denāna (*q.v.* C 8, note xxxii), and that he was born in 913 A.H. (1507 A.D.) and died in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) aged 147 [lunar] years. This information is derived from their

copy of the *Ṭabakāt wad Ḍayfulla*: cp. also ABC, II; Jackson, p. 27; and D 7, III.

Idris belonged to the KARDĀKĀB section of MAḤASS and was granted land at el 'Aylafūn by the FUNG king. Previous to his coming, which was soon after the commencement of the FUNG dynasty, the land had been occupied by slaves of the FUNG, and hence its name, "'ayla" being, it is said, a Sudanese word for "slaves," and "fūn" being the same as "FUNG": cp. No. 166, and ABC *passim*, where the village is called "el 'Ayl Fūng" and "'Aylat el Fūng."

The people of el 'Aylafūn are chiefly descendants of Barakāt (see Tree 4), and with them are a few SHĀḤĪĀ (ḤANNAKĀB), RIKĀBĪĀ and GA'ALĪN.

The biographies of three of Sheikh Idris's sons are given, viz. Ḥammad, 'Araki and 'Abd el Kādir: he had also three other sons, viz. Muḥammad, Ramli and Belāl. The first and second were by one mother, the third and fourth by another, and the fifth and sixth by another.

"*The first to light the fire...*" See Nos. 74 and 226 and notes thereto, and cp. No. 67. The present generation are followers of the Khatmīa branch of the Kādīrla *ṭarīqa*.

Sheikh 'Īsa el Ṭālīb, is ancestor of the ṬĀLBĀB BEDAYRĪĀ now under the 'omda of the SHUKRĪĀ KADŪRĀB. He was a cousin of the Bedayri "Wad el Turābi" (No. 125). His *kubba* is near the hill named after him, between el Kāmlīn and Gebel Qaylī.

"*For example, his prophecy...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 29. This passage is full of valuable information: it gives us the cause of the war between the FUNG and the 'ABDULLĀB of Kerri, and its result, the manner of the accession of Bādi "Sīd el Kūm," and the duration of his dynasty and its limitations.

For the war with the 'ABDULLĀB see No. 126 and D 7, xx, and Jackson, p. 26.

'Adlān walad Āya reigned from 1610 to 1615 A.D. (Bruce), and Bādi "Sīd el Kūm" from 1615 to 1621 (Bruce).

The reigns of Bādi's five descendants according to Bruce occupied from 1621 to 1729 (109 years), according to Cailliaud from 1611 to 1717 (107 years), and according to Trémaux's computation from 1623 to 1729 (107 years): the last named agrees most closely with the 110 (lunar) years of the text. Ounsa walad Bādi "was the last of the true royal family to rule" (cp. Jackson, p. 37).

142. The BEDAYRĪĀ of Wad el Turābi claim 'Īsa as a Bedayri and cousin of No. 125.

Nos. 7 and 34 were born at the same place.

143. "*A Ḥadari*": i.e. one of the ḤUḌŪR: cp. No. 66.

"*He was in prison...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 30.

145. He is mentioned also in No. 43, q.v. The obliterated word is probably "Ṣābūn," a not uncommon sobriquet, or "Ṣāḥib..."

By "*Sakarndwia*" is meant one of the SAḤĀRANG of Tekāli (cp. BA, CXXXIX).

146. He is one of the 'Araki family, but lived some four generations later than Dafa'alla el 'Araki (see Nos. 193 and 219).

147. "*El Qādāl*." قَدَل is a word used in the Sudan to mean "he walked in a dignified manner."

Ounsa walad Nāṣir reigned at Sennār from 1689-1701 (Bruce).

148. For "*Timya*" see No. 178.

149. "*Was nicknamed...*" is جَاب... حَلِيمَة [وَبِهَا كُنِّي].

151. For *Kagoi*, spelt "*Kagóg*," see No. 132 and note.

Sheikh Ḥasan Ḥasūna was born at the same place, and his mother's maternal grandmother was, like No. 151, a Šarīdīa Khamaysīa (i.e. one of the ŠOWÁRDA).

152. The nickname means "Father of the Swordstick," or perhaps "Father of the sword of wood."

Shanbāt is just north of Khartoum.

There is a "*Talḥa*" between el Kámlīn and Rufá'a, but the name is common. "*Dwayḥi*" denotes his tribe.

153. *Surkum* is a hill a few miles north of Omdurmán.

"*Gábri*," i.e. one of the GAWÁBRA or descendants of Gábir.

"*There came to him...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 31.

"*Servants' beer*": Arabic "*merṣa shaldtī*." "*Shaldtī*" (sing. "*shaldtī*") is, I am told by natives, a term for servants, whether freemen or slaves; and "*merṣa shaldtī*" might mean either "beer, the unclean drink of servants" (and cp. note to No. 66), or (more likely here) "such coarse beer as servants are given to drink." In either case the difference of opinion between Nos. 66 and 153 as to beer-drinking is noteworthy. The story ends as abruptly in the text as in the translation.

"*When the troops...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 32.

Another account of this rebellion, of which the leader was el Amín Aráḍib walad 'Agīb, will be found in D 7, XLII. The difference between the clerical and lay versions is worth noticing.

Note that "*FUNG*" in this story is once spelt فنج and once فونج: the variation is common.

Bádi el Aḥmar ruled from 1701 to 1726 (Bruce).

Kerri, north of Khartoum, was the centre of the 'ABDULLÁB domain, and el Ís (Káwa) the headquarters of FUNG power on the White Nile. El Ís, Bruce's "el Aice," is also Browne's "Allais, on the Bahr-el-abiad, the place which the ferry-boats frequent" (p. 452).

By "*slaves*" is meant the soldiery: the FUNG army was almost entirely recruited from slaves drawn from such localities as Tekāli and Daier in southern Kordofán (cp. Bruce, *passim*).

El Hág 'Omára was apparently the patron saint of Khallīl el Rūmī.

154. *Khógali* is one of the most famous holy-men of the Sudan, and his *ḥubba* at el Ḥalfáya is very well known. For his biography and pedigree cp. ABC, IV.

For "*ilm el kalām*" see note to para. VIII, *supra*.

'*Ayesha* was the wife of No. 101, *q.v.*

"*It was characteristic...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 33. For the Shádhallā order see note to AB, LI. For the different types of clothing

affected by the religious orders see Hughes, p. 119 (*sub* "Faqir") and pp. 92 *et seq.* (*sub* "Dress").

"Cotton shirts" ("gibba"). An allusion to the patched shirt of the *faqīr* that became so familiar at a later date, in the Mahdīa.

"The kings of GA'AL," i.e. the *Meks* of the GA'ALĪN. See note to No. 27.

Khógalī's rising to greet the successor of Sheikh Idrīs Arbāb would be in compliment to Sheikh Idrīs as having been the representative of the Qādīrla order (see No. 141), and (incidentally perhaps) as being of the same tribe (MAḤASS) as Khógalī. Şughayerūn (*q.v.* No. 241) was the "lover" in the Şūfī sense of Sheikh Idrīs and the successor of the AWLĀD GĀBIR, whose disciple and follower Khógalī's grandfather Ibrāhīm had been: his successor was Sheikh el Zayn (No. 258).

The text later mentions in the following terms

ومن اخلاقه تعظيمه واجلاله اولاد المراتب مثل الركابية والمشايخه

that Khógalī paid considerable respect to the RIKĀBĪA and MASHĀFKHA "nobility" and others. The whole of this passage describing the attitude of superiority assumed by Khógalī suggests a suspicion that interested parties may have obtained the insertion of these qualifying exceptions in the interests of their own prestige, or that a later copyist did not wish to give offence; otherwise "el Sha'arāwī's" remarks are somewhat inapposite.

"Sheikh 'Abd el Qādir" is of course "el Gilāni."

"Aḥmad el Nāṣiri" is later on called "Muḥammad el Nāṣir" (but see note to para. VII, *supra*). This story of the sandbank gives us the only intimation in so many words of the date of the composition of the *Ṭabaḥāt*.

"When the Sultan Bukr...": for the Arabic see Appendix 34. Bukr reigned in Dārḥūr from 1682 to 1722 (see Schurtz, p. 545). The story ends abruptly as in the translation.

"As regards his original faith...": for the Arabic see Appendix 35.

The "awrād" (*sing.* "wird") are portions of the Qurān set aside for daily reading.

"He died...": for the Arabic see Appendix 36.

Where the date is in the twelfth century the author as a rule omits the first two figures: if the eleventh or thirteenth century is intended he always inserts them.

155. "Abu Sabīb" is here written أبسبيب ("Absabīb").

156. "The 40 disciples": *sc.* of Ibrāhīm el Būlād (*cp.* Nos. 23 and 254).

The holy-men whose names begin with M are divided into two groups by the author, the northern and the southern: the following are the southern group: Nos. 157, 159, 166, 168, 169, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 192, 193, 198, 200, 201, 205, 209, 210. The last two of these to be treated of by the author are Nos. 157 and 192 (Maḥmūd el 'Araki and his son Muḥammad), and at the close of the latter's biography, and before commencing the northern group, the author says:

فلما فرغنا علي ما يسره اسر لنا من فضل اعيان الصعيد انتقلنا نتكل علي اعيان السافل من حرف الهيم

("Having completed the pleasurable task of relating the virtues of the notables of the south, we transfer our attention to the notables of the north whose names begin with M.")

All the M's, excepting the numbers quoted, above fall into the northern group. The dividing line between the two is, roughly speaking, the latitude of the junction of the White and Blue Niles.

157. "*Born on the White [Nile]*" (مولده بالابيض). See note to para. v, *supra*, for remarks upon this, and "period of probation" ("idda"), and "*Rāgil*."

Practically the whole of this biography is here translated, but Maḥmūd lived too early for the author to know much about him: he is mentioned in Jackson, p. 22.

For *el Banūfari* see No. 17 and for *el Ag'hūri* No. 22.

"*Studied under*" is تعلموا عند; "*was a follower of*" is اخذ عن.

"*Sheikh Khōgālī said...*" is

قال الشيخ خوجلي كان من الخرطوم الي اليس سبعة عشر مدرسة
كلها خربتها شلك وام لحم

For *el Is* cp. 153 (note); and for "*Um Laḥm*" No. 84. We may infer from this passage that there was a successful raid made by the SHILLUK from the upper reaches of the White Nile between about 940 A.H. (Maḥmūd's approximate date: see paras. IV to VI, *supra*) and 1095 A.H. (i.e. 1533 to 1684 A.D.).

158. For *Zōra* see BA, CLIX and A 11, XX.

The GHUBUSH are the AWLĀD EL AGHBASH (Tree 2).

159. Cp. Nos. 111 and 3.

161. "*The former father of...*": the Arabic is فولد قطبي والد

الفقيه ابراهيم, and this would make Kuṭṭbī grandfather of Ibrāhīm. The addition of ه to the first word makes the sense more correct.

"*El Rayda*" is presumably the name of Muḥammad's mother. The pronouns in this passage are characteristically vague, but the meaning is clear.

El Kōs is the "Goos" of Bruce's map, lying some miles east-north-east of the junction of the Atbara with the Nile.

162. This *Sheikh ibn Medani* is son of No. 164, called, apparently, after his father's half-brother (No. 236): cp. Nos. 164 and 15.

"*The MEDANIYYŪN are...*" is as follows: المدنيين الذهب ونحن الفضة. The MEDANIYYŪN are the descendants of Medani el Nāṭiḳ (i.e. Nos. 194, 162, etc.), and "we" denotes the descendants of Um Gadayn, i.e. of a different mother.

163. He was no doubt called "el Ṭiār" because of his supposed power of transporting himself through the air from place to place. For his death see No. 164.

164. *Um Gadayn* was evidently the mother's name.

"*Now Medani el Nāṭiḳ died...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 37.

165. *Ounsa ibn Nāṣir* reigned from 1689 to 1701 A.D., according to Bruce; and as "el Meḍowi" died in 1684 Cailliaud's date (1675-1687) is probably nearer the truth.

166. "*El 'Ayl Fung*" (العيل فنج) is now called "*el 'Aylafūn*" (maps, "*Eilafun*"): see No. 141 (note).

Gedid is on the west bank of the Blue Nile opposite *el 'Aylafūn*: as there are three villages there now they are generally called, in the plural, "*el Gedáid*."

Elti is on the same bank as, and south of, *Gedid*.

167. His tomb is with that of his father at *Abu Delayk*.

168. *Kutráng* is a village on the east bank of the Blue Nile above *el 'Aylafūn*. This man's tomb is at *Wad Digays*, south of *Um Dubbán*, east of *Kutráng*.

169. *El Shekayk* is west of the White Nile between *el Dueim* and *Omdurmán*.

170. "*His large commentary*...": for the Arabic see Appendix 38.

"*The Senüssia*" is a work on *tawhíd* ("doctrine of unity"). For *sharah* ("commentary") see Hughes, p. 572.

171. "*His companion*..." is

وصحب في التصوف دفع الله العركي

For *el Kubla* see No. 11.

172. Cp. No. 17.

174. See No. 186.

175. "*He united*...": the Arabic of this common phrase is

كان ممن جمع بين العلم والعمل

The author mentions in this biography that one of *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd el Rahman's* disciples gave him the information he has written in the *Ṭabaḳāt* concerning him.

177. The author states that one of this man's disciples, *fakhr* *Muṣṭafa ibn Abu Sháma*, gave him the information retailed here. See No. 2.

178. Cp. No. 148. *Timya* was not literally the father but the great-great-grandfather of No. 175. The name *Timya* is here written تيمية [for تيمية], but in No. 148 it is once written تيمية and once تيمية.

"*His father*" is *'Ali ibn Barri*, and "*'Araki*" is *'Abdulla el 'Araki*, father of No. 237, and brother of No. 178.

"*The matting*" ("*el bursh*") would be for the *Khaltfa* to sit upon (cp. No. 66).

For the Arabic of the text see Appendix 39.

180. *Tanḳási* Island is near *Debba* in *Dongola Province*.

181. "*He was one of*...": for the Arabic see Appendix 40.

183. The *kubbas* of this man and of his son *'Abd el Rahman* are close to *Bashákira West*: they are of red brick and unplastered.

185. *Medani* is father of No. 193.

186. The form "*el Lukr*" occurs in Nos. 12 and 174, though here "*el Ághir*" is used.

Um 'Ukud [maps, "*Um Mughud*"] and *Elti* lie on the west bank of the Blue Nile below *el Kámlín*

187. *Ounsa walad Nāṣir* reigned 1689-1701 (Bruce).

This Muḥammad is given the surname of "el Nīri" in No. 90 (*q.v.*).

In the text of No. 134 mention is made of "Ṣughayerūn and 'Abd el Hādi, the sons of Sheikh Muḥammad walad Dólīb."

189. "*Ibn Hāg*" is qualified by قيل (*i.e.* "said to be son of, etc.").

"*King Dekin of Kordofān*" is الملك دكين من دار كوردفال. See note to No. 207.

For *Ghuldmulla* see No. 222.

There occur in this biography the words "... What my grandfather, Mūsa walad Rīa, told me..." (ما حدثني به جدي موسى ولد رية), and it would appear therefore that the author's mother was probably the daughter of this Mūsa and a Kahlīa by race: see No. 85.

190. "*His Sheikh*": *i.e.* Tāg el Dīn el Bahāri.

El Mundara is a hill about halfway between el Kāmlīn and the Atbara: the tomb of No. 190 is to be seen there.

191. A very famous holy-man of the DAHMASHĪA section of BEDAYRĪA. His present *Khalīfa* resides at Omdurmān and is a merchant held in considerable respect. See Jackson, p. 27, but "'Ali" is there an error for "Muḥammad." The fabled reason of his nickname is that he was born with a bracelet of gold on his wrist, but see Vol. I, p. 177.

For "*holy-man*" ("*Rāgīl*") see No. 44, note.

Bādi ibn Rubāṭ reigned 1651 to 1689 (Bruce).

"*He ruled...*"; this phrase occurs elsewhere in the *Ṭabaḳāt in toto*.

For the *Gin* see Hughes, pp. 133-138.

193. The town of Wad Medani, capital of the Blue Nile Province, is so named after this man. He was a Buṣaylābi from Upper Egypt, and so far as one can deduce from the *Ṭabaḳāt* he probably died about 1700 A.D.

El Nūba is a village on the Blue Nile a short distance above Khartoum: it is reputed to have been founded by some NŪBA from el Ḥarāza in Kordofān.

"*He was buried...*, etc." is دفن في حلقته المشهورة به.

194. "*Now the Muḥammads...*" is

والمحميدون الذي اشتركوا في اسم واحد وفي ابوا واحد وعصر واحد
ثلاثة

By "*one father*" is meant "fathers of the same name."

195. Cp. Jackson, pp. 26, 27.

For *Sālim el Sanhūrī* see note to AB, IV. He died in 1606 A.D.

196. "*El Kóz*" is "Kóz walad Dīāb" (cp. No. 239).

198. Cp. No. 191, *re* Sharāū.

200. For *Sālim el Māldi* see also No. 204; and cp. No. 108.

"*Māldi*" is now often pronounced, and spelt, "*Māgdi*"; see note to No. 60 on this point. A few miles south of el Kāmlīn is a village called "Wad el Māgdi" and it is probable this was the home of No. 200 or of No. 108.

202. *Amna* is mentioned also in No. 196.

204. "*One of his miracles...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 41.

For "*Um Hinaydīl*" see note to No. 15.

Of the year 1098 the text says "The year of the Nile which collected the people after the dispersion of *Um Lahm*, viz. 1098"

(سنة النيل اللّهمّ الناس من نجعة امرأهم وهي سنة ١٠٩٨)

Um Lahm, the famine year, was 1095 (see No. 84), and presumably in 1098 there was a high Nile which relieved the distress caused by 1095.

205. Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) gives Medani as son of Muḥammad el Zayn.

206. From No. 8 we know this man was a Gáma'i by tribe. For Náfa'i see Nos. 207 and 8.

207. "He died...": for the Arabic see Appendix 42.

Gunḡul was king of the MUSABA'ÁT, a branch of the FŪR who ruled in Kordofán. In the reign of Mūsa ibn Sulaymán (Schurtz, 1637-1682) Gunḡul laid claim to the throne of Dárfūr. For his pedigree, etc., see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 55 (note): he was the father of the 'Ísáwi mentioned later; and the latter was father of the famous Hášim.

King Dekín is mentioned again in No. 189: he appears to have been the FUNG representative in Kordofán, and the seat of his power would be near Tekali and Daier, the locality intended by "their country."

Náfa'i is mentioned *passim*, e.g. in No. 206. The author probably means to denote by "He said 'raise the sword'" that Náfa'i was executed on the spot, but this is not certain.

I do not know what *قَبَقِبَ عَلَيْهِم* means, but have translated it "set off to attack them."

208. See note to No. 124.

"Rendered obedience" is *انقاد* له, i.e. he was their *Sheikh*.

209. This *Mūsa* is generally known as "Abu Ḳussa," and was one of the chief of the YA'AḲŪBÁB: see Nos. 170 and 217. He and his brother (No. 111) have a *ḡubba* at Sabíl (see No. 111, note).

"*Marḡab*" is Marḡaba bint Faḡl (see Jackson, *Yacubabi Tribe*).

211. The *feki* Ṣuḡhayerŭn mentioned here is claimed as ancestor by the DÓÁLÍB in Kordofán (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 93).

212. For *el Kerrada* see No. 81.

"He was called...": for the Arabic see Appendix 43.

213. "In front of" is "east of," i.e. 15 miles north-north-west of Gebel Rera, between Abu Delayḡ and the Atbara.

214. This man has a conspicuous white *ḡubba* at el Hílálfa. See note to No. 125. Nanna is said to have had a son Mūsa. His name is spelt in D 3 نَنَّا.

216. The "*dolayb*" palm is *Borassus flabellifer*.

"I swear by *Sheikh*...": for the Arabic see Appendix 44. Táḡ el Dín was the *Sheikh* of this family: cp. No. 62, where the anecdote here related is also given.

221. Cp. C 7, III.

222. For the Arabic of the first part of this biography see Appendix 45.

For the genealogical items given in this biography cp. D 1, paras. CIV to CXXIV and BA, CLXXXI *et seq.*

Kandil el 'Ōni is possibly the "Ḳandil el Sārīdī" of No. 58. 'Ōn was a descendant of 'Amir ibn Dhubiān, one of whose brothers was Sārīd (ancestor of the ŠOWĀRDA) and another was Shatīr the ancestor of Rikāb and Rubāt (see BA). If these two Ḳandils are one man it may be noted that the Barri family (No. 58, etc.) were related on their mother's side with the RIKĀBĪA of Dongola.

"*The four Sheikhs*" are No. 17 and his three brothers.

"*Nds*" means, and is often translated, "the people of . . .," *i.e.* (here) "the descendants of."

"*El Ferīd*" denotes literally an only son.

226. "*He was the third . . .*" apparently Tāg el Dīn (No. 67) is not counted. The other two were Bedowī wad Abu Delayḵ and Idrīs Arbāb (see No. 74 and note).

It is mentioned incidentally in this biography that Šālīḥ's paternal uncles were named Šālīḥ Abu Nāṭb and el Zayn respectively; and from No. 27 (*q.v.*) we know there were also two others, Bedowī and Hegāzi.

The invasion of Shendi alluded to was in 1706 A.D. (see No. 74).

"*I saw Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳādir . . .*," *sc.* "el Gīlānī, in a vision."

"*Sheikh Šālīḥ related . . .*": for the Arabic see Appendix 46.

228. For *el Saydī* see No. 251. It is in the Gezīra.

"*A Ḳhālīdī*," *i.e.* one of the KHOWĀLDA.

230. "*El Zaghrātī*" means one who makes the "*zagharit*," *i.e.* the shrill cry of "loo-loo-loo" generally used by women. It is said that Selmān when alone in the wilds would make this noise and the wild gazelle and ariel would come to him to be milked. He was a Ga'ali, and was buried at Wad Sāk Ōrṭa near Rufā'a. A number of his descendants live at Abu 'Ushara and el Sellama, on the Blue Nile, south of el Kāmlīn.

The "*zagharit*" is not purely African. Burton speaks of it at Mekka. (See *Pilgrimage*..., II, 159.)

233. He is elsewhere called Muḥammad Serḥān el 'Ūdī.

234. *Gerf* (or Gerayf) Ḳumr is on the east bank of the Blue Nile, just outside Khartoum.

235. "*He became . . .*": for the Arabic see Appendix 47.

236. *Mālik* was one of the AWLĀD UM GADAYN and a half-brother of Sheikh el Ā'sir.

"*And miracles . . .*": for the Arabic see Appendix 48.

'Othmān walad Ḥammad was the liberator of the SHĀṬĪYA from the yoke of the FUNG. A traditional account of this incident is in Nicholls ("*The Shaikṭya*"), pp. 10-14, from which it would appear that the SHĀṬĪYA about 1690 (I should say a few years earlier) quarrelled with the 'Abduḷlābī viceroy, defeated him by a ruse, and obtained their independence.

Poncet was at Korti in 1699 and says (p. 15): "Whereas the People who are beyond Korti upon the River Nile are in Rebellion against the King of Sennār, and that they Pillage the Caravans . . ., they are forced to keep at a Distance from the Banks of the River and . . . to enter into the Great Desert of Biḥouda . . .": the reference is certainly to the SHĀṬĪYA,

who were notorious freebooters. See Vol. I, p. 216. 'Othmán is mentioned again in No. 243 (*q.v.*).

The account given by Nicholls varies from that of D 3 as to the name of the FUNG king and of the 'ABDULLÁB sheikh: D 3 is much more likely to be right.

'*Ali walad 'Othmán*, who occurs again in No. 58, was one of the 'ABDULLÁB of Kerri. The Arabic is very vague and confused, but it may be the SHÁÍKIA defeated the army of the 'ABDULLÁB and that the leader of the latter then sent word of the defeat to his FUNG suzerain at Sennár and (possibly) seized the opportunity to join forces with the SHÁÍKIA against the FUNG.

"*He came out of his retreat*": "he" must refer to Sheikh although the Arabic hardly admits of it as it stands: cp. note to No. 12. The whole story is somewhat confused.

Kagabi is in the SHÁÍKIA country.

"*Small-pox*": cp. No. 243.

238. A Mashaykhi. A section of MASHÁÍKHA called themselves SHERAF-ELDINÁB after him. For his father see No. 84.

239. *A Halanki*, see No. 196.

240. For *Hammad el Sami* see No. 226.

241. This biography is given in its entirety in Appendix 49 (in Arabic).

For the AWLÁD GÁBIR and their sister Fátima see Nos. 17 and 222 and notes.

"*The lover of el Sheikh Idris*": see note to No. 154.

"*Four sákiyas*": i.e. the land of 4 *sákiyas*, i.e. about 40 acres of riverain land. An 'ūd is a variable measure. The word for a spear here is "*ṣalāṭīa*," i.e. the long broad-bladed spear used by horsemen and not the smaller, generally barbed, throwing spear. Grants of land merely mention a given breadth parallel to the river, and the grantee can push his cultivation as far inland, within this limit, as the levels of the ground and the nature of its soil and the water-raising capacity of his water-wheel permit. An average water-wheel cultivates perhaps seven acres, but under favourable conditions ten acres can be watered.

Karkóg: see note to No. 126.

For "*el Sayyid el Khidr*" see Hughes, p. 272. He is a mysterious prophet. "Some say he lived in the time of Abraham and that he is still alive in the flesh, and most of the religious and Šūfi mystics are agreed upon this point, and some have declared that they have seen him." He is sometimes confounded with Elias, sometimes with Phineas, sometimes with St George of England! He is generally supposed to have drunk of the fountain of life. See also Sell (pp. 106, 107): he is said to be the intermediary between God and the founder of a religious order, and to exercise great influence with holy-men and to unveil the future to them and give them supernatural powers.

El Berkáni: i.e. of the BERÁKNA section.

"*Five daughters*": only three are mentioned by name.

"*sealings*": see note to No. 17.

"*the rainfall*...": see note to No. 2.

242. "*Taught by*": تفقه على; "*was a follower of*" سلك الطريق علي.

243. For the "fight" mentioned cp. No. 236.

"The year after small-pox year": cp. No. 237: the Arabic is توفي عقب الجدري.

244. *El Sayál*: cp. No. 251.

246. The brother of No. 77.

248. "*El Fūrayn*": the text here gives العورين, but in No. 206 we have الفورين.

250. The father of No. 76. He is said to be buried near Gebel Arang in Mefāza district.

252. The application of a tribal name, "el Fezāri," as a nickname to a member of the MAḤASS tribe, which is totally distinct from the FEZĀRA, is analogous to the use of "el Guhani" in the case of 'Abdulla el Guhani (see BA, LVIII).

254. Cp. No. 156. This Ya'aḳūb is the eponymous ancestor of the YA'AḲŪBĀB (see Jackson, *Yacubabi Tribe*).

255. A section of the MASHÁKHA are called MUGELLIÁB after this man's father. Mugelli is said to have died in Egypt in Zernikh Island and to have been a descendant of the Khalifa Abu Bukr. Cp. No. 238, and see A 2, xxxvii and ABC, LIV.

"And the king...": for the Arabic see Appendix 50.

It is a not uncommon expression to say that a courtyard, e.g., is "big enough for a horse to gallop in," and the phrase "as much land as his horse could encompass" probably means, as it has been explained by natives, "as much land as a horse could gallop round."

The word "*mil*" means properly a distance as far as one can see under normal circumstances. Burton (*Pilgrimage...*, II, 63) defines a "*mil*" as 1000 paces.

256. He died in 1802 (see D 7, CLII).

259. *Bádi walad Rubát* reigned from 1651 to 1689 (Bruce).

For *Dekín* see note to No. 207.

APPENDIX I

(Paras. IV to XIII)

اعلم ان الفنج ملكت ارض النوبة وتقلبت عليها اول القرن العاشر سنة عشرة بعد التسعمائة وخطت مدينه سنار خطاها الملك عمارة... قس¹ وخطت² مدينه اربجي قبلها بثلاثين سنه خطاها حجاز بن معين ولم تستمر³ في تلك البلاد مدرسة علم ولا قراءان يقال ان الرجل يطلق المراءة ويتزوجها غيره في نهارها من غير عدة حتي قدم الشيخ...⁴ القصير العركي من مصر وعلم الناس العدة وسكن الابيض وبنا له قصر يعرف اءلان بقصر محمود وفي اول النصف الثاني من القرن العاشر⁵ ولي السلطان عمارة ابو سكيكين الشيخ عجيب المانجلك ففي اول ملكه قدم الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد من مصر الي دار الشايقية ودرس فيها خليل والرسالة وانتشر علم الفقيه في الجزيرة ثم بعد يسير قدم الشيخ تاج الدين البهارة⁶ من بغداد وادخل طريق الصوفية في دار الفنخ ثم قدم التلمساني المغرب⁷ على الشيخ محمد بن عيسى سوار الذهب وسلكه طريق القوم وعلمه علم الكلام وعلوم القراءان بتجويد⁸ وروايات ونحوها وانتشر علم التوحيد والتجويد في الجزيرة لانه اخذ عليه القراءان عبدالله الاغبش ونصر ولد⁹ الفقيه ابو سنيته في اربجي ثم طهرت ولايه الشيخ ادريس من غير شيخ قدم عليه قيل اخذ من الرسول وقيل قدم عليه رجل من المغرب بالخطوة اسمه عبد الكاف وبعد يسير طهرت ولاية الشيخ حسن ولد حسونه بمدة من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم قدم الشيخ محمد بن قدم دار بربر وادخل فيها مذهب الشافعي وانتشر مذهبه في الجزيرة ثم قدمت المشايخة وخطت مدينه الحلفاية

¹ for دنقس (page torn).² خطت.³ تستمر.⁴ sc. راجل.⁵ for العاشر.⁶ for البهاري.⁷ for المغربي.⁸ بجوتيد written.⁹ for والد.

APPENDIX 2

(From No. 11)

و قال لها اكتبني صداقك لبناتي فلما فعلت ذلك طلقها فذهبت الي
 الفقيه حمد اوهبت له نفسها وعفت من صداقها وتزوجها وقالت له انا
 مظلومة من عبد المحمود غصب شرطي بدورك ترد لي شرطي منه فان
 الفقيه حمد صداقها في قولها وشكاه على الجنود في نزولهم في ابو زريبة
 قالوا له ما بندخل في حديثكم وكتب له الفقيه حمد كتابا في لوح
 وصورته من عند حمد بن مريم الي عند عبد المطرود اما قال الله تعالى
 وءاتوا النساء صدقاتهن نحلة وانت خالفت كتاب الله وغصبت صداق المرأة¹
 انت ماك عبد المحمود عبد المطرود هو ابليس فاعطا الكتاب لفقيه فزاري
 [قراري?] فقال له انت حواربي وخرجتك تجيب لي مثل هذا الجواب
 والفقيه توفاه الله في يومه والفقيه حمد نازل في حلته الفى امر دُرْمَان
 انطلقت النار اكلت جميع خلواته والخلوة الذى فيها احاطت النار بجميع
 جهاتها قالوا له الناس امرق قال ما بهرق اترك كتبني فدخل عليه احمد بن
 على العونابي فشاله بعنقريه مرقه ثم بنوا الخلوات بالحجر فسرجت النار
 في الحجر وقد راين² بخط الفقيه حمد قال بعد مروقي من النار اعتقدته
 العوام ونفسه تعجبت منه قال والشئ هذا كله سوته الحسنه قالت غصب
 صداقي الله حسيبها انتربي

¹ for المرأة.² راينا for.

APPENDIX 3

(From No. 17)

اولاد جابر الاربعة كالطبايع الاربعة كل واحد له خاصية اعلمهم ابراهيم
 واصلحهم عبد الرحمن واورعهم اسماعيل واعبدهم عبدالرحمن¹ واختهم
 فاطمة ام بن سرحان نظيرتهم في العلم والدين
 عبدالرحيم¹ for.

APPENDIX 4

(From No. 27)

وجاءته زوجة الملك عدلان وقالت له يا سيدى وليداتي مات بدورك
 تسئل الله يعوضنى اياهم قال لها اديتك واديتك الي خمسة عقد فولدت
 عيال هم اجداد العدلان

APPENDIX 5

(No. 46)

ابو دليق عم الشيخ بدوي سلك طريق القوم علي الشيخ سلمان الطوالي وانقطع الي الله ولبس الجيب والدلاقين وسمى ابو دليق وسمى ذنب العقرب لكونه لا يهتمل امور الظلمة سريع العضب لهم وسلك وارشد وممن اخذ عليه طريق القوم بن اخيه الشيخ بدوي وله من الاولاد حسين وعائشة ولما دنع الوفاة قالوا له من الخليفة بعدك قال عائشة بنتي وتزوج بها الشيخ بدوي وولد منها النقر والشيخ مضوي وعبدالله وتاج الدين وتوفي ودفن في النجفة وقبره ظاهر

APPENDIX 6

(From No. 51)

ابوه نصر قرا القراءان واحكامه على الشيخ محمد بن عيسي و اشار له بتزويج ام ابوا سنية وذلك ان الشيخ محمد رآها وهي صغيرة فقال له تزوج هذه البنية تجيب لك ولدا صالحا قال له تجيبك انت فقال في الثالثة او الرابعة تجيبني وذلك ان اهلها يسافروا من دنقلة الي البويض بارض الابواب فلحقها وتزوج بها فولد له ابو سنية ثم سكن مدينة اربجي ودرس بها الناس

APPENDIX 7

(From No. 52)

وسبب وفاته قتلته سراريه فرضخا¹ راسه وهو ناير بالحجارة قاتلهم الله
¹ for فرضخن.

APPENDIX 8

(From No. 58)

فعزلوا من الدرجة الي زماننا هذا فان خضر ولده شاخ بعد العجيل ستة شهور ثم عزل ومسمار ولد ولده عجيب شهران بعد الشيخ عبدالله ثم عزل

APPENDIX 9

(No. 60)

علي ولد عشيبي مولد ببندر ضنقله وطلب العلم عند الشيخ محمد
البنوفري بمصر وبرع فيه فسكن دار الصعيد وبنا له الشيخ عجيب الكبير
مسجد وتصدق عليه ملك الفنج بديار كثيرة في الشرق والهوى وفي
دار المطر وولى القضا وعدله فيه وحكم بالمتفق عليه والقوي من الخلاف
وكان رفيق الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد بن جابر في طلب العلم بمصر ويقال
كل منهما دعا علي صاحبه دعوة فاستجبت فيه فدعا الشيخ علي ولد
علي الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد فقال له الله يقصر عمرك صبي جميع
المسألة¹ السلوك تجيب فيها وقال له البولاد الله لا ينفذ بعلمك فان البولاد
تدريسه سبعة سنين وعلم فيها اربعين انسانا ثم توفاه الله والشيخ علي
لم يبلغنا له تدريس له بال الا ان عندهم² القضا ودفن بالعيدي وقبره ظاهر
والعشيبياب كلهم ذريته

¹ for المسألة.² for عنده.

APPENDIX 10

(From No. 63)

وكان اذا سمع شعره ينشده غيره يبكي ويظير في الهوى وقد شوهذ ذلك
منه مرارا

APPENDIX 11

(From No. 66)

الشيخ محمد بن عيسي لما دنع الوفاة قالت له زوجته بنت الملك حسن
ولد كشكش¹ ملك ضنقله ام حلالى ولده اولادك الكبار رشدتهم اما وليدي
من ليه² قال لها عليك بالحضري جاءت وجابت اسورتها وحجولها وقالت
له مرادي تقعد وليدي في محل ابوه فقال له ولد شيخي اقعد فوق
سجادي نقعد فقام حام الخلوه ثم جاء برك فى وجهه فاخذ يده فقبلها
وقال له قعدتك في مكان ابوك فان حلالى حطى³ عند الفونج والعرب حظا
وافرا وولى القضا وتدریس جميع فنون العلم

¹ for كشاش.² for له.³ for حظى.

APPENDIX 12

(From No. 66)

جاءه رجل يقال له بن عباد كان فاسقا بالحوارج¹ كلها قال له عندي
ساقية معيشة اعطيتك فيها ربع قال له ايش تدور عندي قال بدور الليل²
الله قال له اعطيتك ربع اليل الله فان الرجل تاب واستغفر ثم جاءه ثانيا
قال له كملت لك النصف اءلاخر قال له اعطيتك نصف اليل الله فمشا في
الخير والزيادة ثم جاءه قال له اديتك الساقية كلها ثم قال له اديتك اليل
الله كله فوقع مغشيا عليه ايام حتي فاق فصار من اولياء الله تعالى

¹ for حوارج .² for اليل .

APPENDIX 13

(From No. 66)

وان مسمار ولد عربي في سفره الي ضنقلة سنة سبعين بعد الالف خرب
المراتب وكسر الاحواء¹ فاستغاث به الناس وقال لهم خرابه علي يد الرجل
الاصغر القصير الاصلح اما انا ضامن لكم شيخ قري ما بهج² في ضنقلة فان
جاء عوضة حي صفوا له المريسة يشربها وان مات صبوها فوق قبره قلت
فهذه الوقائع من الشيخ كثيرهم بلغ مبلغ التواتر وهي جايزه كتاب وسنة
واجماع³ انثري

¹ اجواه for .² for بيحي .³ for اجماع .

APPENDIX 14

(From No. 67)

اسمه محمد والبهاري نعتة ماخوذ من قولهم قمر باهر مضي وسمي
بذلك لضيا وجهه وريحانة من اخباره هو الشيخ الامام القطب الرباني
والغوث الصمداني خليفة الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني مولده ببغداد وحج
الي بيت الله الحرام ومن¹ قدم بلاد السودان باذن من رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم والشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني وقدم مع داوود بن عبد
الجليل ابو الحاج سعيد جد ناس العيذي وقدمه اول النصف الثاني من
القرن العاشر اول ملك الشيخ عجيب وسكن مع داوود في واد الشعير
ضهرت² ام عظام

¹ منه for .² for ضهرة .

APPENDIX 15

(From No. 73)

وحكى ان الشيخ باسبار تزوج بامراة حمدية وطلقها ثم جاء ابن عمر لها حمدي تزوجها وكان حوار الشيخ عبد الازق ابو قرون فنهاه من ذلك ولم ينتهن وقال لشيخه انت تكافيه مني فقال له لا تقرب البحر الناس بحريين يقال ان ذلك الرجل لم يقرب البحر سنين حتي ان زوجته حملت فولدت وورد بالقرب لعقيقة ولده اول ما ادخل كراعه في البحر اختطفه تمساح فوضه حتي مات ثم رماه في ساحل البحر وباسبار تحت السدرات صاح شاله شاله علي وادي وعلي يومئذ ولدا صغير له عُرْف انتهى

APPENDIX 16

(From No. 74)

ترددت في النار هل اوقدها في الضهرا او ادلي البحر اوقدها في سلمة عجب رايت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لي اسكن الارض الحمرا مع الناس الحمر والارض الحمرا قلعت¹ النجفة والناس الحمر البطاحين بنيت خلوة قدامها راكوبة رجلا من المرقوماب² قتل ولد الشيخ نعيم البطحاني والرجل وقع عندي وادخلته في الخلوة وقعدت في الواكوبة دخلوا عليه قتلوه قالوا الي الشيخ نعيم يزرط العبرات وانت مسوي لك وقاعة طلقوا النار في الخلوة ابت ما تاكلها قلت ما الناس ما بسكن معاهم³ رايت الرسول ثانيا انا قاعد في وجهه رايت نمل كثيرا من الجهات الاربعة يمشي طالبه قلت يا سيدنا يا رسول الله ايش هذا النمل قال وقاعك اقعد في مكانك ما يجيهم احد توان⁴ يا شريف في هذا المكان ناكل رزقنا ونرجي اجلنا

¹ قلعة.² المرغوماب.³ معهم.⁴ تراني.

APPENDIX 17

(From No. 82)

وكان من ارباب الاحوال وقال للشيخ صالح ولد بان النقا يكن لك شان عظيم بجوك الاوليا بجوك الاوليا يجلسوك وتوقد نار عبد القادر

APPENDIX 18

(No. 90)

دوليب نسي هو محمد الضرير بن ادريس بن دوليب ومعني نسي في لغة
الضناقلة هو ولد الولد وكانت مجاهدته فوق الحد وكان يدخل للذكر
والعبادة الخلوات المربعات ومحل اربعين خلوة في جبل البرص وكل
خلوة اربعين يوما والبرص جبل من بين دار الشايقية وضنقلة وناس ضنقلة
يقول الله ارزقنا عبادة دوليب نسي وكرامة حبيب نسي وعلم ولد عيسى
وله من الاولاد الشيخ محمد النيري وسياتي في حرف المير والفقير ادريس
وهو مقري القروان واحكامه ومكى ومدني [مدين or?] وهما فاضلين ودفن
بالدبة وجميع الدواليب نسله انتهى

APPENDIX 19

(From No. 119)

أدركوا زمن الشيخ دفع الله صغارا فقال للشيخ محمد ارشادك على يد
حمد ولدي وقال لدفع الله ولد الشافعي مددك على يد الشيخ عبدالله
انتهى

APPENDIX 20

(From No. 124)

حمد بن محمد بن علي المشيخي المشهور عند الناس بامه مريم
امها محسية مشيرفية من بنات ولد قidal الولي وابوها ولد كشيب من
اوليا ابو نجيلة الذين تزار قبورهم وهو مسلمي الاصل

APPENDIX 21

(From No. 125)

قرا خليل على الفقيه محمد بن التنقار في مويس وبرع فيه فاخذ عشر
ختمات ثم انتحل مذهب التصوف وانقطع الي الله وتزهد وسلك علي
الشيخ دفع الله وارشده..... ولما دفع الوفاة قال للناس الدنيا انفقدر¹
فقيرها واميرها ما بيرقعوها التاخذ منه السلطنة الحية

¹ for

APPENDIX 22

(From No. 127)

عبد السلام مشهور بسواق الركا يورده بالركا للبحر يسوقهما بالمطرق ...
 وابو دليق ولد عبد السلام مشهور بيلام الاسد وذلك انه يبقرا عند الشيخ
 مسكين الخفي وفزع للحطب فقتل الاسد حمارة

APPENDIX 23

(From No. 130)

خاله الشيخ محمد بن سرحان مرض قيل له شفاك في العجوة وكانت
 مفقودة في البلد فجابها لهر حمودة رضي الله عنه من الريف وكانت سبب
 شفاؤه وشرح على خليل حاشية مفيدة صورة خاله واولاد جابر انتهى

APPENDIX 24

(From No. 132)

حسن بن حسونة بن الحاج موسي قدم من المغرب من جزيرة الخضرا
 من [دا]ر الاندلس تزوج في المسلمية فولد حسونة وقال وضعت نسلي
 في اصلي وحسونة تزوج بنت خاله فاطمة بنت وحشية اخت الحاج
 لقاني وامها صاردية خميسية وولد حسونة من فاطمة اربعة الشيخ حسن
 والعجمي وسوار والحاجة نفيسة واولاد فاطمة الاربعة عقروا ما ولد وولد
 الشيخ بالجزيرة كجوج ربحان من اخباره

APPENDIX 25

(From No. 132)

طلع الي الدرورة وقنطور الحمار حفرا قناطير حفيده وسعي العبيد
 وركبهم الخيل وقال بحرس بهم سعتي والمتواتر عند الناس خمسمائة
 عبد كل واحد شایل سيف قبعه وابزيمه ومحاحيره فضة وليهم¹ سيد قوم
 وجندي وعكاكيز وان الخيل المعدات يجلبوها الي قلبي ودار بوق² (?)
 ودارفور وسنار واولاد عجيب ورقيقه سار حلالة ومن كثرت³ الزيارات زربوا
 المهار

¹ وليهم for.² يبقى written.³ كثرة for.

APPENDIX 26

(From No. 132)

وزينه باصبعه بلا موسى واوصي لخمسة فقرا بثلث ماله كل فقير جاءه
 ستة وثلاثين راس في رقيق الخدمة الرقيق الاعيان والفرسان ساقوا سادهم¹
 بعضهم ادلوا سنار وبعضهم شالوا راس الفيل
 سيادهم¹ for 1

APPENDIX 27

(From No. 132)

وكان من قضاء الله وقدره ربا تمساحا في الحفير وكثير ضرره فضربه
 ببندق فانعكس الشرار عليه وكان سبب موته وتوفي سنة خمسة وسبعين بعد
 الالف وفي ذلك طلع كوكب الدين

APPENDIX 28

(From No. 135)

والف الحاشية المشهورة بالفرضية في علم الفريض ولقب بالفرض¹ لانه
 كان له باعا طويلا في الفريض
 بالفرضي¹ for 1

APPENDIX 29

(From No. 141)

ومنها اخباره للشيخ عجيب حين شاوره علي حرب الفنج قال الشيخ الفنج
 غير العوايد علينا قال له لا تحرب عليهم فانهم يقتلوك ويملك ذريتك من
 بعد الي يوم القيامة فكان الامر كما قال ومنها اخباره للملك بادى ابوا
 رباط حين جاء سيد قوم للملك عدلان ولد اية طالبين قتال الشيخ عجيب
 وبادي المذكور حوار الشيخ ادريس فساله عن امره فقال له تقتلوا الشيخ
 عجيب وتنتصروا وانت ترجع الي سنار ملك ويكون الملك في ذريتك من
 بعدك فكان الامر كما قال وقد ملك منهم خمسة رباط وبادي ولده واونسة
 ولد ناصر وبادي ولده واونسة ولده ومدت ملكهم مائة سنة وعشر سنين
 ومنها اخباره ان ملك الفنج يثقضي وسبب انقضائه انهم يتحاربون
 ينقسمون الي قسمين تقاتل كل طائفة الاخرى حتى يضيع ملكهم

APPENDIX 30

(From No. 143)

منها انه في حالة السجن البيت المسجون فيه انطلقت فيه النار فالنار
لما قابلته ماتت وفي كوع البيت دجاجة مركضة¹ تجر في بيضها اليه
وسمعه يقول انا عيسى عند دجاجتي²
¹ for فركضت. ² for دجاجتي.

APPENDIX 31

(From No. 153)

[ظهرت له كرامات وخوارق عادات منها] انه جاءه رجل وقال له شردت
لي خادم من ذو عام وقال له اسأل الله يروها لي فقال له جيب برمة مريسة
شلاتيت وديكا خصي فجاب الرجل برمتين شلاتيت وديكين خصيان فصفاوا
المريسة وشربوها هو وضناقلته الذين معه ثم جاءه الرجل وقال له اين
خادمي فقال شيل الشجر وقل يا بخية¹ ثلاث مرات فجاءت الخادم شایل
قربة ماء وحبالها على وجهها وقالت يا سيدي ان جابك هنا هذا بحر
البرة وهو قال لها هذه سنار فساقتها واثاء بها وقال له من بعيد امس²
¹ for. بخية. ² for امش.

APPENDIX 32

(From No. 153)

ومنها ان ملك الفنج لما خرجت عليه العساكر بجميعها من قري وسنار
وأليس واحاطت به العساكر من كل جانب وقتلوا جميع من كان معه
وما بقي له الا ثلاثين فرسا واختفي منهم في حوش كمير بنت الملك
اخته فذهبت كمير المذكورة الي الشيخ خليل وقالت له يا سيدي ان
اخي فارقه ملكه ونخشي عليه من الهلاك من عبده وقال لها اخوك الظالم
المفسد فقالت اتيه اليك ويتوب علي يدك من الظلم والفساد فقال اتيه
الي فاتت الي الملك وجاءت به مستخفيا والبسته ثوب امرأة فلما حضر بين
يدي الشيخ قال انا تيت مما تنها مني عنه فقال له الفونج اخذوا عمامة
الملك منك فهاك عمامتي وضمنت لك ملك ابيك الي ان تموت ولكن اذا
خرجت للقتال احضرني واحضر حاج عمارة فلما اصبح خرج الي تلك
الجوش في ثلاثين فرسا واحضر الشيخ والحاج عمارة كما امره الشيخ
وهزمهم ببركة الشيخ وقتلهم اشرقتلة وبقي في ملكه الي ان مات والملك
المذكور بادى الاحمر ولد اونسه ولد الملك ناصر انتهى

APPENDIX 33

(From No. 154)

ومن اخلاقه تمسكه بالكتاب والسنة ومتابعة السادة¹ الشاذلية في اقوالهم وافعالهم وكان يلبس الاثياب الفاخرة مثل البصراوي الاخضر وعلى راسه الطربوش الاحمر ويتعمم بالشيشان الفاخرة ويتنعل الصرموجة ويتبخر بالعود الهندي ويتعطر ويجعل الزباد الحبشي في لحيته وثيابه ويفعل ذلك اقتداء بالشيخ ابوالحسن الشاذلي والمهارة² النعمة الله تعالى ويحمد الله علي ذلك وقيل له ان القادرية انما يلبسون الجيب والمرمقات قال ثيابي تقول للخلق انا غنية عنكم وثيابهم تقول انا مفتقرة اليكم ومن اخلاقه انه لا يقوم يسلم علي احد من الجبابرة لا اولاد عجيب سلاطين بلده ولا ملوك جعل ولا لاحد من المراتب الا الاثنين خليفة الشيخ ادريس وخليفة الشيخ صغيرون قال الشعراوي هذه المرتبة يعني ترك القيام ما وقعت من المشايخ ولو الشيخ عبد القادر فانه اذا دخل عليه الخليفة العباسي يقوم له الا الشيخ محمد الحنفى الشاذلي بهصر فانه لا يقوم لاحد لا البواشات ولا السناجك

¹ for السادة.² sic for مهار ؟

APPENDIX 34

(From No. 154)

ومنها ان السلطان بلر سلطان كنجارة حين بلغه سبة من الملك بادى حلف ليدخلن سنار ويقلع الشجر ويسد البحر وتمشي الخيل عليه فلما تجهز وصار حين بلغ طرف الدار من جهة الصبح وبقي علي المفازة فرا الشيخ خوجلي وبيده عصا فوكزه بها في اخر اضلاعه¹ فانتفخت يده فماتت فكان سبب موته لان سلطان الفنج استغاث بالشيخ خوجلي وقال له سلطان فور قادم الينا ثم ان السلطان بكر سلطان كنجارة سال اولاد البحر وقال لهم جاءني رجل ازرق وعليه قميص اخضر فوكزني بعصا ووصفه لهم كما رآه وقالوا له هذا الشيخ خوجلي انتهي

¹ اظلافه.

APPENDIX 35

(From No. 154)

واما اصل طريقته فالاساس قادري والاوراد والاحلاق شاذلي فان شيخه تلميذ الشيخ محمد الناصر الشاذلي

APPENDIX 36

(From No. 154)

وتوفي رضي الله عنه ضحوة الاحد نهار ثمانية عشر في جماد الثاني سنة
 خمس¹ وخمسين وجلس في مكانه ابنه الفقيه احمد باشارة من ابيه وكان
 عبدا صالحا قام مقام ابيه في جميع صفاته ومدت² خلافته³ ستة سنين
 1 for خمسة. 2 for مدة. 3 for خلافته.

APPENDIX 37

(From No. 164)

فان مدني الناطق توفي في حيات¹ ابوه الشيخ عبدالرحمن فسماه مدني
 عليه رجاء ان يكون مثل اخاه وقد حقق الله رجاء
 1 for حياة.

APPENDIX 38

(From No. 170)

شرحه الكبير علي السنوسية في اربعين كراس¹ وشرحه الصغير في عشرة
 وشرح عقيدة الرسالة ويقال انه شرح الرسالة ولم اقف عليه
 1 for كراسي.

APPENDIX 39

(From No. 178)

وخلفه الشيخ حسن بعد ابيه في مكانه والسبب في ذلك ان اولاد الشيخ
 اختلفوا فطايفة مسكت عركي وطايفة مسكت محمد هذا وقيل لعمهم
 الحاج ابراهيم الخليفة منه فقال اولاد علي ما بقول لهذا تقدم وللآخر
 تاخر هل يمشوا للشيخ حسن فساfer¹ اليه فسبق عركي واخوانه الي الشيخ
 فرحم لهم وذبح لهم شاه ثم قدم محمد هذا واخوانه فرحم لهم وقال جيبوا
 البرش لخليفة ولد بري
 1 for سافرا?

APPENDIX 40

(From No. 181)

والشيخ محمد بن قورم فهو آية من آيات¹ الله لان جميع الشيوخ
 كلها اخذت منه العلم والفريض

1 for آيات.

APPENDIX 41

(From No. 204)

ومنها ما اخبرني به الشيخ اسماعيل بن بلال رحمه الله تعالى قال قال رجلا
من الحضور في مركب الهالاح هاجت عليهم الريح كادت المركب تغرق
قال يا محمد بن الزين شافه جاء طائرا بعكازه فهبط البحر سلمت المركب

APPENDIX 42

(From No. 207)

وقتل مظلوما شهيدا قتله جنقل سلطان فور هو وطلبته وسبي اموالهم
والسبب في ذلك انه امره بمعروف ونهاه عن منكر انه قدم من الكاب في
الف جواد لقتال الملك دكين قال لتلميذه¹ الفقيه نافع الفزاري ارسكني²
اليه قال قولوا له لا تقاتل الفونج في دارهم ان قاتلتهم الله والرسول
معاهم واننا معاهم فلما سمع ذلك قال ارفعوا البتير فلما رفعوه قال ان
شاء الله الفقيه مختار اقتله وندفنه عندنا نزوره فقبب عليهم فوجد الفقيه
في المجلس وحيرانه في المطالعه فقتل الفقيه وحيرانه واهل بلده وسبي
اموالهم فببركة الفقيه جنكل في تلك الايام قتل وترك نحو خمسين ولدا
هذا يقتل هذا الي زمننا هذا اليموت علي الفراش فيهم قليل مثل عيساوي

¹ for تلميذه?² for ارسكني?

APPENDIX 43

(From No. 212)

وسمي عبد الشركة لانه قسّر السنة نصفين نصفًا يخدم الشيخ ادريس
ونصفًا يخدم الشيخ ابو ادريس

APPENDIX 44

(From No. 216)

وحاط الشيخ تاج الدين البهاري الحيوان الجفل زمّلنا يجي يشيل
في مكانهن كلام حوارا لابيّه اسمه ابوا سعد فقال له ابسعد فقال له سيد
امر ابسعد فقال له قل للحيوان الجفل زمّلنا الشيخ علي قال لك تعال
شيل في مكانها فجاءت الفيلة وهي اربعة فشالت حملة اربعة وعشرون حمل

APPENDIX 45

(From No. 222)

رباط وركاب ابنا غلام الله اما رباط كان رجلا مجذوبا فزوجوا الصوارد
 امة لهم غروه بها فولدت لسليم¹ ثم اقدروا له بالغرور وقالوا له هي خادم
 فشكاهم للقاضي فحكم له بحرية ولده والزمه قيمة امه وهذه الواقعة في
 زمن الفنج فان سليم خطب ابنت² عمه ركب اسمها جنيبة فابته لاجل
 العبودية ثم ان قنديل العوني عنده ابنة مرضانة فعزم لها سليم فوفيت
 فزوجه اياها فولدت عون وولد عون جابر ابوا المشايخ الاربعة وايضا ملك
 الكنيسة عنده بنتا مرضانة فشفيت فزوجه اياها فولدت له هذاول ثم جنيبة
 بنت ركب ندمت علي امتناعها لكونه رجلا صالحا والناس رغبوا فيه
 فتزوجها فولدت منه اربعة عيال

¹ له سليم.² ابنة.

APPENDIX 46

(From No. 226)

الشيخ صالح ذكر انه اتاه الممدد الالهى بالاذن له في وقود النار بعد
 وفات¹ الشيخ بدوي وذلك سنة ثمانية عشر وفي تلك السنة قتل المسيح
 شندي وولد ولده الشيخ عبد الرحمن سنت² اثنين وعشرين فحينئذ شاطرته
 السلطنة في ديار البحر والمطر فوقد النار وقام بالكرم بفرايضه وسننه
 ومندوباته فما من³ بيت من بيوت الدين وغيرها الا وله عليه يد فدار
 السلطنة قسمها علي الناس مثل الوليمة..... وتوفي سنه سبعة وستين
 عن خمسة وسبعين سنة..... وقام بعده ابنه الشيخ الزين بوكالة من
 الشيخ عبدالرحمن اخيه واوقد النار مثل ابيه ونفذ جميع ما فعله ابوه في
 حالة الحضور والغيبة ومع ذلك مداوما تلاوة القرآن لا يفتقر عنه وخصوصا
 ثلث الليل⁴ الاخر

¹ وفاة.² سنة.³ في؟⁴ الليل.

APPENDIX 47

(From No. 235)

فصار مفتيا في مذهب مالك والشافع ومدرسا فيهما وسموه ناس ارجي
 مركب الهند

APPENDIX 48

(From No. 236)

حصلت له كرامات منها انه ضمن لعثمان ولد حمد النصر على حربة الفنج والسبب في ذلك انه مرض وقالوا طبه في دهن الرهو فضرب عثمان رهوة بالبندق انا بها اليه فزال منه المرض فدعا له بالاصابة في بندقه وما كسر حربة الفنج الا بضربة البندق فانها لا تخصي¹ وان عثمان لما كسر الحربة خرج من خلوته لابس قميص الشملة الخيل ديل انفصلا من ديل وان الشيخ على ولد عثمان ارسل الي الملك بادبي ولد رباط اعلمه بكسر الحربة وطلب منه الملك فان الملك بادبي اخبر العسكر قال لهم نصف النهار بعد ما جروا السديد² وانقطع الداخل دخل علي رجل اعسر لابس شملة انه كالحصي³ قال لي تمرق حربة لكجي افعل بك كذا وكذا فان الشايقية الجالبيين الخيل قالوا له هو الفقيه شيخ فان عثمان معتقدا فيه كالخصي³ for ؟ التسديد² for تخطي¹ for .

APPENDIX 49

(No. 241)

صغبرون وهو سيدي محمد بن سرحان العودي وامه فاطمة بنت جابر بن عون بن سليم بن رباط بن غلام الله فما طابت تلك الثمرة الا من تلك الشجرة وسمي صغبرون فان اولاد اخواله اولاد جابر يقولوا له محمد الصغير فقلب على صغبرون ولد رحمه الله بالجزيرة ترنج من دار الشايقية وكان رضي الله عنه ممن جمع بين الفقيه والتصوف وبرع في الفقيه على خاله الشيخ اسماعيل بن جابرو جازه بالتدريس ورحل الي الشيخ محمد البنوفري وقرا عليه شيا من خليل وقال محمد هذا يصلح للتدريس فجعل الله بركة فيه وجلس في مجلس اخواله بعدهم وكان من زهاد العلماء وكبار الصالحين ومحب في التصوف الشيخ ادريس بن الارباب وسبب قدومه الي دار الابواب اعدوا له اولاد¹ عه عداوة شديدة لكونه حاز منصبهم وقام مقام اخواله في العلم والصلاح وساقوا عليه الملك زمراوي ملك الشايقية وامروه بقتله فركب جواده وجاءه وهو في المسجد فوجد امه بنت جابر معه فقالت له يا زمراوي جيت تقتل محمد فنزلوه من الجواد مغشيا عليه فجعل يقول حك حك بقر الحاج محمد نطحتني فجاءوه فشفعوا به اولاد¹ for .

وقال لهم الشي هذا ماه مني من اخوانالي¹ فعزم له فشفي وقال له اعطيتك اربعة سواقي وكل ساقية اربعين عودا بعود الصلطية واربعة فروس ولادات واربعة روس فقال له مالكم حرام عليّ وسكن بلدك حرام عليّ وقيل ان الملك بادبي ابوا رباط وكان سيد قوم الملك عدلان ولد اية وكان معتقدا فيه فان الملك عدلان بعدما قتل الشيخ عجيب في كركوج سافر بجيوشه دار دنقلة فلما جاء في مشوه عزلوه الفنج من الملك وولوا بادبي سيد القوم الملك فحينئذ² ظلب منه ان يسافر معه الي الصعيد فقال له بلحقك ثم قدم بعده الي ارض الصعيد بامه واخوانه وزوجاته واولاده فوقع في الدريوة فاختلف فقراه ناس الصعيد سكن الصعيد وناس السافل امروه يسكني السافل فقال لهم اختار الله علي ذلك فاخذ ركوته وشال الخلا فاجتمع بالسيد الخضر عليه السلام قال له مسكنك قوز المطرق مقابل سهلت³ امر وزين فسار اليه ووجده شجرا ووعرا فمشا الي الفجيحة فوجدها فجة ساهلة من الشجر وقال هذه الفجيحة ينزل فيها اخوان الشيخ عبد الرحمن ولد حمدت وهذا سبب تسميتها بالفجيحة ثم ان الشيخ بن سرحان ارسل الي الملك بادبي بسنار واعلمه بالقدوم وطلبه ان يعطيه بقعة الحلا⁴ للمسكن والمشرع للورود فان الملك جاب زوله له وقال له اعطه جميع الدار اليدورها وحددها له وقال له بلا بقعة الحلة⁵ والمشرع للمفقر وموضع موضع⁶ المقبرة ما ندور شي وهذا في حقه رحمه الله تعالي من الوراعة والزهد في الدنيا ثم ان الشيخ رضي الله عنه بنا المسجد بتأسيس الحضر عليه السلام ويقال ان الشعبة الوسطي التي هي موضع التدريس للمشايخ قزه⁷ بيده الكريمة وشدت اليه الرحال من سير الاقطار وضربت اليه اكباد الابل واتفقت به الناس وممن اخذ عليه من الاجلا الشيخ دفع الله بن الشيخ ابو ادريس والفقيه عبد الحليم ولد بحر واولاد بري الفقيه علي والحاج ابراهيم وتور المتن الكاهلي البرقاني فهو مدفون امام قبره واولاد التنقار الثلاثة الفقيه محمد وحموده ومازري ومدني الحجر بن الحاج عمر اخيه ومحمد ولد الحاج ابوا القاسم اخيه وكان صالحا فاضلا وتوفي بدور عمه وليس له

¹ for اخواني.² for حينئذ.³ for سهلة.⁴ for خلا.⁵ for خلا?⁶ dele.⁷ for غزه.

عقب الا بنته حاجة فولدت الفقيه بلال وولد بن سرحان الفقيه الزين
وابراهيم الحجر وابكر وله من البنات خمسة رابعة تزوجها مدني الحجر
بن اخيه عمر وحاجة تزوجها محمد بن التنقار بن اخته ءامنة وزينب
تزوجها محمد بن الحاج ابو القاسم اخيه ومدت¹ تدريسه في الابواب
هل ثلاثة عشر ختمة او اربعة عشر او خمسة عشر ودفن بالقوز وقبره يزار
يستسقي بقبره العيش انتهى

مدة¹ for

APPENDIX 50

(From No. 255)

وحضاه الملك وزوجه ابنته وقطع له في الدار بنواحي الحلفاية قدوما
يشور¹ جواده شرقا وغربا يمينا وشمالا وجوهها له من جميع السبل² فهي
الي الان كذلك

يسور¹ for

السبل² for

MANUSCRIPT D 4

Introduction

THE full work of which a *précis* and part translation¹ follows contains about forty pages of Arabic MS. It was written so recently as 1911 by Dáūd Kubára ibn Sulaymán, a Berberi of Ḥalfa, and is a medley of history and tradition. Much of it relates to such irrelevant facts as the names of village sheikhs and the kinds of vegetables grown in different parts. The account given of the intestine troubles of Nūbia in the eighteenth century is of some interest, and the record of what is presumably the traditional belief of the people as to the origin of the Nūbian race is of distinct value.

I The author of the work is Dáūd Kubára ibn Sulaymán of Ḥalfa town.

II In his prefatory remarks he states that, being moved by enthusiasm to learn the history of Nūbia, he consulted "the learned men of the NŪBIANS (النوبيين) and the Turks whose ages were about a hundred years and more" on the subject, and from their statements compiled this work, which he calls "*The Precious Pearls of Useful Knowledge*" or "*A Compendium of the History and Geography of EL NŪBA (النوبة), and the Reasons of the Coming of the Turks in the Time of the Sultan Selīm I and in the Time of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, the Founder of the Khedivial Dynasty, until the Present Day.*"

III The opening remarks are an eulogy of the ancient glories of the NŪBIANS (النوبة), with special reference to "the city of Barkal, the first capital of the NŪBIANS (النوبيون)," and "the city of Donḡola el 'Agūz, the seat of the power of King Donḡol," and el Khandaq, and Arkó, and Sáí, and Wádi Ḥalfá, and "Faraṣ, which was the capital of the famous kingdom of King Kaykalán," and Ibrīm.

IV The work proper now begins, and the first chapter is headed "*The Capital of the Kingdom of the NŪBA,*" and straightway proceeds as follows:

"Its capital was Gebel 'Abd el Hádi, which lies between Dongola

¹ So much as is a *précis* is given in small type. Actual quotation only (in inverted commas) is in ordinary type.

and Kordofán, and various other hills. Now the cities and hills of the NŪBIANS were dense with troops and horsemen, and when their power had become firmly established in the Sudan a great army was assembled, under the leadership of King Ṭahrák and of Sebákḥ the King of Abyssinia, to make war on the kingdom of Egypt; and after much fighting and great slaughter Egypt was conquered." . . . "Then the Assyrians conquered Egypt as far as the first cataract, that is the Sudan cataract, after ejecting the armies of the NŪBIANS (النوبيين) and the Abyssinians." . . . The Egyptians then recovered their power and not only expelled the Abyssinians but overran "the lands of the NŪBA (النوبة) and the Sudan, and set up mighty monuments."

V Subsequently the Romans conquered Egypt and "the land of the NŪBA" (النوبة). Then followed a period of dire oppression, and the people were reduced to extremities when the torch of Islam was first lighted.

VI Egypt was conquered in the Khalífate of 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb by 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi, and its people, excepting a few Jews and Copts, were converted.

The armies of the Muhammadans also penetrated "to the furthest limits of the land of the NŪBA, to Dábat el Dólib and the hills of the NŪBA," and left garrisons there to keep the peace.

VII "Finally the civil war between the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI HÁSHIM broke out in the Ḥegáz; and when they considered the armies which had settled in the land of the NŪBA, they took up their abode there and mingled with the NŪBIANS, and took their women to wife, and intermarried with them, and made the land of the NŪBA their home, and dwelt in complete concord with the NŪBIANS: and this is the sole reason of the presence [in the Sudan] of the ASHRÁF and Arabs of the Ḥegáz; and in the course of time they multiplied and formed a great proportion of the inhabitants of the country of the NŪBA."

VIII This chapter, the second, is in praise of the Nūbian character, its nobility, piety and courage.

IX We are now told that the power in Egypt passed from hand to hand until the time of "Ṭóman Báí, the last of the GERÁKISA dynasty," when the 'Othmánía Turks prepared to invade the country; and a long description is given of the means whereby the Sultan Selím finally overcame Ṭomán Báí on January 22nd, 1517 A.D., and conquered Egypt and founded a dynasty which remained in power for some 139 years.

X Selím gradually extended his conquests up the river till he reached Ḥalfa, and there "he imposed a tax on the water-wheels and the palms, payable in cash and cloth and produce, and made the seat of his power the city of Aswán and Ibrím."

XI Subsequently "Hamám Abu Yüsef el Şa'idi, the chief of the tribe of the HOWÁRA revolted [*sc.* against the *Mamlūk* rule] and became Sultan of Upper Egypt and part of the NŪBA country as far as Wádi Ḥalfá, and these parts became subject to him. It was part of this man's policy to sell the right of ruling the lands of the NŪBA to anyone who wanted it for fixed sums; and this system continued for a long time, and as a result it caused greedy competition between the various Turks, that is the *Káshifs*. On this account the tribes of Ibrím formed an alliance, viz. the IBRÁMÁB¹ and the MAGRÁB and ÁGHA ḤUSAYN and the SAKRÁB (?) and the KÍKHÍÁB and the ṬUBASHÍA and the ḤAMDŪNÁB and the KARÁÍÁB, with a view to making war on four other tribes, viz. the DÁŪDÁB and the DABÁBÍA and the MANDŪLÁB and the AZRÍḤÁN (?).

XII And when these four tribes saw that they could not compete with their foes at Ibrím, they moved to the vicinity of el Derr, which lies ten miles to the south of Ibrím, and made their preparations there for carrying on the conflict; but before fighting actually took place a settlement was arranged between the parties by the mediation of the learned and sensible elders among the NŪBIANS on the following conditions: the tribes of Ibrím who had settled at Ibrím were to be allotted six places to rule, viz. Ibrím and 'Aníba and Ganíba and Maşmaş and Tūshki East and Tūshki West; and the four tribes were to take fifteen places, viz. Armaná and Farayḵ and Balána and Quştal and Arnadán and Faraş and Faraş Island and Sarra East and Sarra West and Dabayra and Ashkít and Arḵayn and Dabarūsa and Anḵash and Ḥalfá Deghaym. Thus the settlement was effected, and this state of affairs continued for a long time without any tribe encroaching on another.

XIII And the *Káshifs* coalesced with the NŪBIANS by intermarriage until it came to pass that most of the tribes of *Káshifs* were descended from NŪBA mothers; and thus the *Káshifs* became partners of the NŪBIANS in their possessions, and the tribes became closely connected for the preservation of order, and lived together in peace.

XIV Finally there arose two persons, one from the tribe of the MANDŪLÁB, and the other from the DÁŪDÁB, and went to King Hamám Abu Yüsef, the King of Upper Egypt (*el Şa'id*), and gave him many presents with a view to obtaining from him appointments as rulers of the part of Nūbia lying between the first and the second cataracts, *i.e.* from Wádi Ḥalfá to the cataract of Aswán, for one year.

¹ reading ابراماب for ابراصاب.

This appointment he granted to them for the period of one year; and on their arrival at Derr they appointed employées and assistants for their rule, and started from Derr for Wádi Halfá to collect the taxes. But when they reached the neighbourhood of Ferayk they fell to disputing as to which of them was chief, and the two of them remained there, each enrolling the names of his fellow tribesmen. Then the two tribes met there, and a great fight took place, and the army of the MANDŪLÁB was defeated.

XV After this an alliance was formed between the MANDŪLÁB and the ASHRÁF, *i.e.* the DABÁBIA, and the AZRÍHÁN, against the DÁŪDÁB, and there was war between them for a long space, and all the chieftains and horsemen of both parties were slain. . . .”

XVI The author then gives the names of the *Káshifs* who were the heads of the four tribes mentioned, and the names of certain of their descendants, and the places where the latter severally reside at present.

XVII The next chapter deals very briefly indeed with the career of Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha and his successors up to 1882 A.D. Nothing of interest is recorded.

XVIII This chapter mentions by name those whom the author considers to be the most learned or noteworthy personages of the present generation in Nūbia. The list contains thirty-one names, chiefly of *Kādīs*, Sheikhs and Dervish *amirs*.

XIX Following the above is the heading "*Learned Men*," but our author states there is not room to include a list of these, but "I pray Almighty God," says he, "that our Government may see fit to educate our sons, for the children of to-day are the men of the future."

XX The author now passes to the geography of Nūbia. Its boundaries on the Nile are, he states, from the north of Aswán to Dábat el Dólíb on the northern frontier of the SHÁFÍA country, "not counting the hills of the NŪBA lying between Dongola and Kordofán, and the hills of the ZING NŪBA in southern Kordofán."

XXI He next proceeds to mention all the places of interest in Nūbia, dividing the country for this purpose into a series of districts and taking them one by one from north to south.

The first ten districts are on the river: the tenth reaches on the south to "Dábat el Dólíb, near Old Dongola."

The eleventh district comprises "the hills of the NŪBA between Dongola and Kordofán."

The twelfth comprises "the hills of the ZING NŪBA in southern Kordofán."

The thirteenth is Gebel Barkal.

XXII These thirteen districts are then subdivided into smaller areas, generally villages, and a few remarks are given concerning natural features or any point of interest.

Under "Korosko," the alphabet of the local *rotána*, spoken from Korosko to Dár Maḥass, is given: it is stated to be a mixture of Arabic, Turkish and Nūba, and is as follows:

ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	Arabic.
ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	Rotána.

س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	Arabic.
س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	Rotána.

ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	لا	ي	Arabic.
ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	لا	ي	Rotána.

XXIII The eleventh district is not subdivided, but the author says of it "The NŪBA hills lying between Dongola and Kordofán are many in number, and in them are tribes innumerable. The best known of them is Gebel 'Abd el Hádi, the capital (عاصمة) of the hills of the NŪBA: its inhabitants are NŪBIANS (نوبيون)." They cultivate, says the author, by raincrop, have considerable flocks and herds, and are iron-workers, and some of their women make pottery.

XXIV Of the twelfth district (the hills of southern Kordofán) little is said. *Gebels* Teḡali, el Daier, and Marra (which, by the way, is in Dárfūr) are mentioned, as also the fact that each *gebel* speaks a different language.

XXV The work was completed on the 4th of *Ramaḍan* 1330 A.H. (1911 A.D.).

D 4 (NOTES)

II The Arabic for the title is

كتاب الدر الغريد في الاخبار المفيدة المحتوي علي ملخص تاريخ الامة
النوبية وجغرافية بلادها واسباب دخول الاتراك في مدة السلطان سليم الاول
ومدة محمد علي باشا مؤسس العائلة الخديوية الي زمننا هذا

The words "NŪBA" and "Nūbian" are used by the author indiscriminately to denote the people of what is known now, as in past times, as Nūbia, as well as the inhabitants of the hills of northern Kordofán. He includes the mountaineers of south Kordofán (Nūba Mountains Province) in his category of NŪBIANS or NŪBA, but differentiates them as "ZING NŪBA": see note to para. xx.

III Barkal, or Napata, was the seat of the Nūbian kingdom which is known to have risen to power between 600 and 700 B.C. Piankhi reigned about 721 B.C. (see Breasted, pp. 367-8, and Budge, vol. II, pp. 1-2). For the ruins at Barkal see Crowfoot (*Arch. Survey of Nubia*, XIXth Mem. p. 31).

Donḡola el 'Agūz ("Old Dongola") was the capital of northern Nūbia for some 600 years: it took the place of Napata (see Budge, vol. II, pp. 297, 299, 372).

Of "King Donḡol" nothing is known. An older form of "Donḡola" was "Domḡola" (e.g. see Yāḡūt, *Geogr.* مدينة النوبة اسمها دمقلة).

Faraš was "certainly one of the leading cities of Lower 'Nūbia'" and should probably be identified with the mediaeval Begrāsh (see *Egypt. Expl. Fund. Report* 1910-11, and Budge, vol. II, p. 303). I can find no mention of "King Kaykalán."

IV "Its capital was..." is as follows in the Arabic:

اما عاصمتها فهي جبل عبد الهادي الواقع ما بين دنقلا وكردفان وحلافها
من الجبال لا تحصى

Gebel 'Abd el Hádi is Gebel el Ḥarāza in northern Kordofán. 'Abd el Hádi was the most famous of its chiefs, and was a Dólābi by race, i.e. by origin a Rikābi from Dongola. Pallme met him in 1838 (see Pallme, pp. 96 and 240, and MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 93, 94). Cp. Cuny (p. 138), "Le Djebel Haraza, ou Djebel Abd-el-Kadi" [misprint for Hadi], "du nom de son chef récemment décédé" (1857). Cp. also Rüppell, p. 125.

The word عاصمة here translated "capital" must mean the ancient headquarters, if not the cradle of the race, as distinct from its more obvious meaning of "capital" in para. xxiii.

The suggestion that el Ḥarāza was once the headquarters of the present Nūbian stock is extremely interesting and significant. If one re-read in the light of this passage the well-known quotation given by Quatremère anent the expedition of Ḳalāūn against King Any (*q.v.* in vol. I,

p. 185), it at once seems probable that, when Any fled away to the "'ANAG country" across a desert waste, it was at el Ḥarāza, as would be natural, that he sought refuge. Traditions of the 'ANAG as being the ancient inhabitants of el Ḥarāza are universal and there is no doubt whatever that from an early period there was intercourse between the riverain "NŪBIANS" and the settlers in the western hills. I incline to think that this intercourse is far older than has been supposed, and there is no reason why it should not date back at least to the seventh century B.C. It is of course more probable that emigrants from the river should have colonized el Ḥarāza, Um Durrāg, etc., than that the opposite process should have occurred, but it is often overlooked that there was in early times an enormous nomad population of Hamitic affinities, who roamed the inland country west of Dongola and the junction of the Niles, the "desert of Gorham" and the neighbourhood of el Ḥarāza that is, and who were partly of BERBER origin, and whom Marmol (vol. III, ed. Perrot), in speaking of their wars with "the prince of Dongola," calls "ceux de Gorhan, qui est une espèce d'Egyptiens qui courent par les déserts."

The modern Nūbian or Berberi may owe nearly as much from the genealogical point of view to these nomads as to their riverain congeners. (See vol. I, pp. 27 *et seq.*)

"King Ṭahrāk" is of course Taharka, "who flourished in the second quarter of the seventh century before Christ and was the second Sudani conqueror of Egypt" (see Budge, vol I, p. 482. Breasted gives his date as about 688-663 B.C.).

By "Sebākh" may be meant Shabataka, the Ethiopian monarch who succeeded Shabaka about 700 B.C. Manetho calls him Sebichos and mentions that he was killed by Taharka, who succeeded him (see Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 377-8).

The Assyrian invasion by Esarhaddon was about 670 B.C.

v The NŪBIANS first had dealings with Romans about 30 B.C. when a prefecture was established in Egypt. From then for a period of 500 years the BLEMYES and NOBATAE (*i.e.* the NŪBIANS) were more or less continually in touch with them.

vi 'Amr's conquest of Egypt was in 641 A.D.

Dābat el Dōlīb, mentioned again in para. XXI, is immediately south of "Debba" (*i.e.* Dāba), on the eighteenth degree of latitude.

vii This is in agreement with the usual Sudanese tradition: the main immigration to the Sudan of 'Abbāsīd tribes, as represented by the Ga'ali group, and of Ommayyad tribes, as represented by the FUNG, is generally represented as contemporaneous with the civil war in the middle of the eighth century between the 'Abbāsīds and the Ommayyads in Asia.

ix The date January 22nd, 1517, is quite correct. Tóman Báí was put to death by Selīm I (see Lane-Poole, *History...*, p. 354; and Muir, *Mameluke Dynasty...*, Chaps. XX, XXI).

"GERÁKISA" is the same as Circassian.

xi For Hamám and the period of HowÁRA rule in Upper Egypt and Nūbia see Burckhardt's *Nubia*, and Part III, Chap. 8 above.

The HowÁRA had held considerable power since 1412 A.D., when they

took Aswán from the BENI KANZ, but the period of their greatest power was the eighteenth century, when, under Hamám, they "had assumed the whole government of Upper Egypt south of Siout and the Mamelukes had been obliged to cede it to them by treaty" (Burckhardt).

The names of tribes mentioned in the latter part of the paragraph are doubtful.

XIII The *Kdshifs* were minor officials appointed by the Turks to administer villages or small groups of villages: they were nominally subject to the Beys who were responsible for the larger provinces (see, *e.g.*, Norden, *Travels...*, vol. I, pp. 58-62).

XX Cp. para. II (note) for "ZING NŪBA" (النوبة الزنوج), and D 1, CLXXXII. Broadly speaking "ZING" seems generally to denote blacks whose original home was south, south-east and south-west, as distinct from the Nilotic negro proper.

MANUSCRIPT D 5 (*a*, *b*, *c* and *d*)*Introduction*

THE following is a series of four translations. The Arabic text was sent by the native headmaster of Manáḳil school to an Inspector in the Education Department in 1913 as being of some interest. They are referred to as (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) respectively. The first (*a*) is evidently not copied from any original manuscript but is merely an oral tradition. It is headed simply "This is the history of the 'ĀB-DULLĀB."

The second (*b*) is a short note of eight lines about the 'ARAKIŪN, based, one would say, on some casual verbal information, and by no means accurate, but headed "This is copied from the *nisba* of the 'ARAKIYYŪN in possession of the Khalīfa of the 'ARAKIYYŪN, Sheikh 'Abdulla."

The third (*c*) is headed "This was copied from the *nisba* in possession of el Ostádh el Sheikh 'Alī Muḥammad, Imám of the mosque of el Manáḳil and educated there. He took it from the *History of Dongola* word for word (أخذه من تاريخ دنقلة مصححاً)."

To the end of para. xxvii may be, and probably is, an extract copied from a manuscript. The remainder is probably from oral tradition: it agrees in some points and differs in others from the account given by Nicholls (*The Shaḳīya*), but from the latter it is obvious that there is no really authoritative version.

The fourth (*d*) is headed "This is copied from the *nisba* of the RIKÁBĪA in possession of el feki el Bashír ibn el feki Muḥammad." It is merely a variant of the accounts given in BA and D 1.

D 5 (*a*)*The 'Ābdullāb*

I Among the most famous and bravest of the tribes of the Sudan is the 'ĀBDULLĀB.

II This tribe used to rule from Ḥagar el 'Asal to the old kingdom of Ḳerri. They were viziers of the FUNG.

III Serious fighting occurred between them and the SURŪRĀB west of Ḥalfāya el Mulūk at a spot called nowadays Fāsher el Sheikh 'Agīb el Ḥāg, [that being the name of] the ancestor of the tribe.

IV The cause of the fight was as follows: the SURŪRĀB attacked the 'ĀBDULLĀB at el Ḥalfāya; and in old days fighting was done only with swords and spears, and it was customary in warfare that the opposing armies should stand aside and the fighting be begun by the kings. They were followed by the viziers, and the latter by the rest of the armies.

V In this particular engagement the Sheikhs of the 'ĀBDULLĀB and the SURŪRĀB respectively came forth to battle, and the first to begin the fight were the Sheikh of the 'ĀBDULLĀB and the king of the SURŪRĀB. Then the former stood up on his steed and said to the latter "Hit the leather" ("shew your strength"), and [the king of the SURŪRĀB] hurled at him a spear of the kind called by them *el šalaṭīa* so that it came out at his back. And when [the Sheikh of the 'ĀBDULLĀB] knew his end had come he drew his sword and smote the king of the SURŪRĀB with it, and they two both died. And the Sheikh of the 'ĀBDULLĀB did not fall from his mare, though dead, and no one knew that he was dead till the end of the battle. And when the SURŪRĀB knew that their king was slain they fled in utter disorder, and complete victory rested with the 'ĀBDULLĀB.

VI One of their customs was that their chief man was liable to death at any time whatsoever, for if any one of the sons of his father's brother wished to slay him he would inform him of the fact and appoint a date for him; and the chief would reply "yes" for fear that report should become current that he was afraid. So he prepares himself to meet the demand of his cousin and shaves his head and gets out his sword and places it in front of him and prostrates himself twice in prayer and seats himself to await [his cousin's] coming. Then his cousin arises and takes his sword and goes to find the king we have mentioned and orders the chamberlain to procure him permission [to enter] from the king. Then the chamberlain informs him by knocking at the door, and he gives [his cousin] leave to enter. The latter enters drawing his sword and stands behind the king, who is facing southwards, and strikes him on the neck without the king's saying so much as a word. Afterwards the great men [of the tribe] gather together and place the king's hat on his [*sc.* the slayer's] head and appoint him their ruler. Such were their customs of old.

D 5 (a) NOTES

IV The SURŪRĀB belong to the Ga'ali group of tribes, and are a branch of the GAMŪ'ĪA.

V "Hit the leather...etc." is دَقَّ الجُلْد (اظهر قوتك).

VI "Chief man" is ريس ("rais"); "sons of his father's brother" is ابننا عمه, and "his cousin" ابنن عمه; "chamberlain" is حاجب ("hāgib"); "hat" is قلندسوة.

It would appear that we have in this paragraph a reference to the well-known African cult of the Divine King, the belief that the king incarnates the divine spirit and that he should be periodically killed with a view to the appointment of a successor whose virility has not suffered from retention in an ageing body. The custom is practised by the DINKA and by the SHILLUK, and the killing of the king is a matter of high ceremony and reverence. The same custom was held among the FUNG at Sennār, where Bruce relates that "It is one of the singularities of this brutal people that the king ascends his throne under an admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves, if the great officers in council assembled decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he should be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding the blood of his sovereign and kinsman. . . ." The officer was called the "Sīd el Kūm." The FUNG were largely SHILLUK by origin (see Westermann) and the 'ABDULLĀB rose to power in alliance with the FUNG: it is not therefore surprising to hear of a form of the belief in the Divine King as existing among the 'ABDULLĀB. (For this subject see Seligman, *Hamitic Problem*..., pp. 664, 665, and vol. I, p. 50 above.)

"Who is facing southwards" is وهو متقبل القبلة.

D 5 (b)

The 'Arakiyyūn

I The pedigree of these tribes goes back to our lord el Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. Their ancestor was Muḥammad Abu Idrīs el 'Arakī son of Dafa'alla son of Aḥmad. The tribe is connected by descent with the BĀDRĀB, whose *Imāms*, Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Arakī and his brother Sheikh Muḥammad, gave instruction to many folk.

II Their number includes many holy men that visited the holy sanctuary and Medīna... (among their holy men the following are mentioned:

- (1) Sheikh 'Abdulla walad Ḥusayn.
- (2) 'Alī walad Naff'a.
- (3) His son Fāliḥ ibn 'Alī.
- (4) 'Abdulla walad el Kūsayer).

D 5 (b) NOTES

I Cp. C 9 and D 3, Tree 9. From these it would appear that the information given is inaccurate. The biographies of Muḥammad Abu Idrīs, of his father Dafa'alla, of 'Abdulla el 'Araki, and of Muḥammad ibn Dafa'alla, are given in D 3 under Nos. 48, 86, 34, and 185 respectively. The BĀDRĀB seem out of place here altogether.

II None of these holy men occur in D 3: they would seem to have lived at a later date and to have been of negligible importance.

D 5 (c)

The 'Abbāsīa now living in the Sudan

I The 'ABBĀSĪA now living in the Sudan are descended from Ṣāliḥ surnamed "Ṣubuḥ" and nicknamed "Abu Merkha." He was the first to come to the Sudan, [viz.] after the decay of the BENI 'ABBĀS and at the beginning of the 'Othmāni dynasty, which are described by the historians in their works. He was a pious man, and the Sudan was honoured by his presence in it as the lands of Irāk had been honoured by the presence of his ancestors.

II The vulgar saying of the people of the Sudan that Ṣubuḥ Abu Merkha was a foolish man who used to wipe himself upon *merakh* bushes is nonsense, and unpardonable in the sight of God: possibly it may be due to the NŪBA on account of their enmity to his descendants, who conquered them.

III He was son of Muḥammad el Mutawakkil 'ala Alla son of Ya'aqūb son of 'Abd el 'Azīz el Khalīfa el Mutawakkil 'ala Alla, the last of the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfas. This 'Abd el 'Azīz was son of Ya'aqūb son of Ga'afir el Mutawakkil 'ala Alla. The last named was killed by the TARTARS, and at his death Baghdād was sacked, and then the power of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty waned and gradually disappeared like all other dynasties: glory be to God. Ga'afir was son of Hārūn el Wāthik son of el Mu'taṣam son of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn el Rashīd son of el Mahdi son of Abu Ga'afir el Manṣūr son of Muḥammad son of 'Ali son of 'Abdulla the ancestor of the nation, the translator of the Qurān, son of our lord el 'Abbās the uncle of the Prophet....

The Tribes of the Ḥasanáb

IV These tribes are descended from Ḥasán son of Zayn el Dín son of 'Ōn son of Sháíḵ. Ḥasán was the youngest son of Zayn el Dín son of 'Ōn, and his mother was Fátima daughter of Sheikh Ḥasán, the Sheikh of the ḤASÁNÍA; and he was called after his grandfather.

V When Zayn el Dín died and his son Ḥasán was grown up he came to his brothers and his first cousins on the father's side and desired them to give him some of the properties and lands of his father, which were in their possession; and they refused because [though ?] he was their brother, the son of their father, and the [cultivable] lands of the SHÁÍḶIA consisted of only a very narrow strip of shelving river bank; and at that time the river bank was where at the present day runs the road known as *Darb el Sultán*.

VI And when he saw their unwillingness he went away and devised a scheme, and said to them "We will meet, if it please God, on horseback." And they laughed at him and said "By whose aid will you do it, considering that we are your first cousins ?"

VII Now at that time the strong among them used to prey upon the weak, and looting was rife; and the sons of 'Ōn ibn Sháíḵ lived at Kórti West and thereabouts. Then Ḥasán went and married a wife in the country of his brothers and she bore him four sons and one daughter.

VIII One of the sons he called Fahd ("Leopard"), another Sima'a ("Wolf-hyaena"), a third Ḥanid (?), and a fourth Durbán ("Porcupine") after the names of beasts and birds of prey, his intention being that they should thereby affright their foes, as was the custom of KURAYSH. And his daughter he named Maḵásh (?).

IX And he taught his sons to ride on horseback, to fight with the sword, to use the spear and to shoot with arrows; and when they had attained the proficiency in warfare that he desired he collected them and his daughter and made them swear that never would they be taken prisoners but would rather fight until all died or all were victorious. Especially upon his daughter did he enjoin that she should fight until she died and not let her cousins capture her to marry her, and she acquiesced.

Then they prepared themselves for death and attacked their cousins and slew many of them; and after this they crossed the river at the ford of el Karáfáb on the east bank, and Ḥasán ibn Zayn el Dín swore an oath that their horses should not be unsaddled until he found a country for his children to inhabit whether [other folk] liked it or no, or else had all been killed.

X And when they reached the Wádi el Maḥfūr there met him the sons of his [great-] uncle, that is the sons of el Ḥág Muḥammad the brother of 'Ōn, and they greeted him and were overjoyed, for they desired his aid against their foes and to secure that he and they should be as one single hand against all others.

XI And they said to him "The lands that contain us will contain you." He replied "What will contain me and my sons will only be the distance that contains me on my horse." They said "That shall be so"; and he galloped his horse from the landing-place of the village of el Ḥág Muḥammad to the landing-place of Shilluk, now known as "Ṭaraf Bakárish," and again from this to the landing-place of Ḳubbat el Sheikh el Nuwábi.

XII Then he set up a stone as boundary between himself and the lands of the king of the BÁZA, king 'Aḳil, the master of Kardáfil (*sic*), and this stone is called "*el Shaykhūn*" and is still standing in the middle of the road.

Now this road was then the river frontage, and the site [of the stone] was the [summit of the] shelving bank, which was stony and of little value.

XIII So Ḥasán and his sons became entirely separated from all intercourse with their cousins, the stock of 'Ōn ibn Sháíḳ, the KANŪDÁB and the 'AMRÁB, and became united in life and in death with the children of their [great-] uncle el Ḥág Muḥammad.

XIV This is the story of Ḥasán ibn Zayn el Dín and what happened between him and his cousins the 'ŌNÍA in the year in which died the king of the BÁZA, namely the year 900¹.

XV And the above is taken [منقول] from the *History of Old Dongola* ("*Donḡola el 'Agūz*"). But the NŪBA and the BÁZA did not know the [true] date and took their reckoning from the years in which their famous men died.

The Tribes living in the Sháíḳía Country

XVI The tribes living in the SHÁÍḲÍA country are of various races. The greater part of them are NŪBA, and these live in certain definite places, some of them at el Ḳadír and Massáwi Island, and some in the vicinity of Nūri and el Bellal and Kenána (as far as the limits of el Daḳáít), and others at el Kásingar and its vicinity eastwards and westwards, and [the] islands. These are the habitations of the NŪBA.

XVII Another of the tribes among the SHÁÍḲÍA is the BÁZA, who live near el Zóma.

¹ 1498 A.D.

XVIII Another is the 'IRÁḲĀB, who live at el Nūri. Their ancestor, el 'Irāḳi, came from el 'Irāḳ, and it is said they are ASHRĀF, and God knows best; but people are to be believed as to their pedigrees and what good is apparent in them, for their progenitors were learned and pious men, as were also the ḤAMMATTUWIĀB.

XIX Among the SHĀÍḲĪĀ too are the DWAYḤĪĀ. Their ancestor was DWAYḤ, of the stock of el Ghulām el Rikābi; and they and the RIKĀBĪĀ have a common descent to our lord 'Oḳāyl ibn Abu Ṭālib.

XX Among the SHĀÍḲĪĀ too are the ṬERAYḤĪĀ, the inhabitants of el Gharība and Kórti and the neighbourhood. Their ancestor el Ṭerayḥi came from Dārfūr as a trader and settled in the country [of the SHĀÍḲĪĀ] and begot there his offspring.

XXI Among the SHĀÍḲĪĀ, again, are the ḤALANḲĀ, the inhabitants of Um Bakól. Their ancestor came from el Táká and settled here.

XXII The BEDAYRĪĀ are of the stock of Abu Merkha, the ancestor of the 'ABBĀSĪĀ, SHĀÍḲĪĀ and others, and every genealogical record mentions them.

XXIII Living in the SHĀÍḲĪĀ country too are the FELLĀLĪT, the sons of Fellāti. Their ancestor came from the FELLĀTA country as a pilgrim, and settled near Uska on the west of the SHĀÍḲĪĀ country.

XXIV Other tribes are the SHELUFĀB and the SHIRAYSHĀB, and the TAKĀRĪR who live near el Ghazáli and el Duaym, west of Merawi.

XXV The ancestor [of these TAKĀRĪR] came from Hausaland and settled in the country [of the SHĀÍḲĪĀ] and mingled with the people of the land and adopted their habits (تزووا بزيمه), and their complexions changed from very black to brown (*samra*) by reason of intermarriage (*lit.* "women").

XXVI The remnants of all tribes we have mentioned are still occupying these regions, excepting the tribe of FUNG. These latter have disappeared and left no trace excepting the sons of their daughters, the 'ADLĀNĀB¹, the sons of Muḥammad "the younger" (*el ṣughayr*) son of Sháíḳ.

XXVII The kings of the FUNG were bold and cunning, oppressive and unjust, and when the SHĀÍḲĪĀ came and established their power the authority of the FUNG was dispersed, their kingdom brought to nought and their rule destroyed, and they and their progeny went away altogether by reason of the cry of the oppressed... (there follow a few pious reflections)...

XXVIII The above is what I have found and copied and heard, and God knows best the truth, and to Him do all men return.

¹ reading عدلناب for عدلناب.

XXIX The 'Ōn who was mentioned above was 'Ōn son of Sháíḵ, and he had three sons, Zayn el Dín and Kanūd (Katūd ?) and 'Amr, [whose descendants were] surnamed KANŪDÁB (KATŪDÁB?) and 'AMRÁB and ZAYNELDÍNÁB and ḤASANÁB; and the best known tribal names are 'ŌNÍA and ḤASANÁB.

XXX Such descendants of el Hág Muḥammad ibn Sháíḵ, 'Ōn's full-brother, as are to be found to-day are the stock of Yūsef, MANÁTÁB and ḲŪTÁB and MAḤMŪDÁB: these were the sons of his own begetting. But the allies (الموالي) who are mixed with them are for the most part SOWÁKIRA and SHELLÁLÍL and others.

XXXI The mother of Sowár ibn Sháíḵ was one of the TUNGUR of Dárfūr. He had no full-brother. He had six sons, Ḥamdulla and Tamalayk and Nimr and 'Áid and Waṣíf and Gádát.

XXXII The sons of Ḥamdulla are 'AKŪDÁB and AMÍNÁB, of Tamalayk TAMÁLAYK, of Nimr 'ANAYNÁB and ḤAMARTŪDÁB, of 'Áid 'ÁIDÁB, and of Waṣíf ZILAYṬÁB.

XXXIII The sons of Muḥammad Kadunk¹ ibn Sháíḵ are the KADUNḲÁB², and these fall into three divisions, BANÁDIḲA, ṢUBḤÁB and 'AYNÁB (?)³.

The KADUNḲÁB⁴ used to be the most numerous of the SHÁÍḲÍA, but they were continually intermarrying [with others], like every [other] tribe with a few rare exceptions.

XXXIV Muḥammad "the younger" ibn Sháíḵ was full-brother of Muḥammad Kadunk⁵, and was ancestor of the 'ADLÁNÁB, but the ancestresses of this section were all daughters of the FUNG, for they lived close to the latter at Merawi. And they acquired the characteristics of the FUNG; for the latter in those days were the ruling power and gave to the 'ADLÁNÁB a share of their dominion as being the children of their daughters. Thus you see the 'ADLÁNÁB have lost their brown complexion and their natural love of the open air.

XXXV Ḥowwash ibn Sháíḵ had no full-brother. He was ancestor of the ḤOWWASHÁB, and the ancestresses of these were nomad Arabs. They used to marry whatever they found, good or bad, among the races of mankind, and in consequence their natures are invariably evil.

XXXVI Náfa'a ibn Sháíḵ was ancestor of the NÁFA'ÁB. He had no full-brother.

¹ reading كندق for كندق.

³ reading عياب for عياب.

⁵ reading كندق for كندق.

² reading كندقاب for كندقاب.

⁴ reading كندقاب for كندقاب.

XXXVII Sálím ibn Sháfk had four sons, Khálid and Serayh and Ya'aqūb and Ráshid.

XXXVIII Khálid's descendants are the KHÁLIDÁB, Serayh's the SERAYHÁB, Ya'aqūb's the YA'AQŪBÁB, and Ráshid's the RISHAYDÁB.

D 5 (c) NOTES

I-III The author's knowledge of history is so hopeless that it is not easy to guess at the date at which it is suggested that Šubuh immigrated to the Sudan.

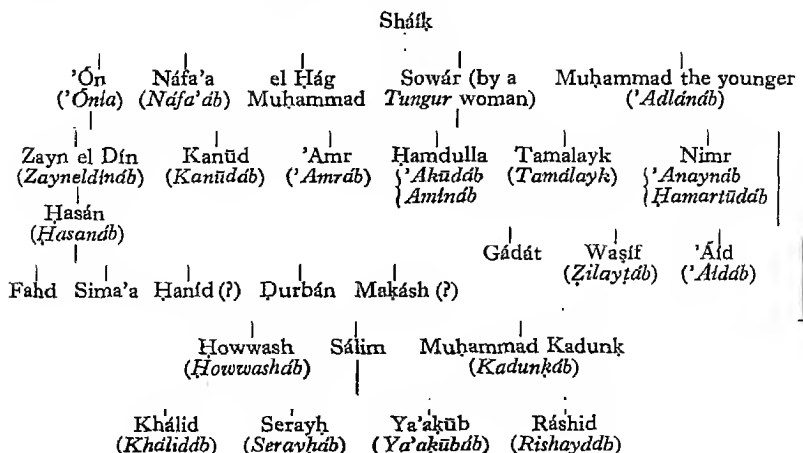
From Hárūn el Wáthik to el 'Abbás the generations are correct; but Ga'afir was Hárūn's brother, not his son. Ga'afir ruled from 847 to 861 A.D. and was not killed by "the Tartars" at all. The author seems to have gloriously confused the Saljūk Turks, the Mongols or Tartars, and the Ottoman Turks.

The last of the 'Abbásids, 'Abdulla el Musta'sim was killed by Hulagu the Mongol in 1258 and the sack of Baghdád followed; but no less than twenty-six Khálifas ruled, at least nominally, for a total period of nearly 400 years, at Baghdád, between the death of Ga'afir el Mutawakkil and the accession of 'Abdulla el Musta'sim.

The probability is that the author means to suggest that Šubuh came to the Sudan about the middle of the thirteenth century. Cp. ABC, XXII, where Ghánim, Šubuh's grandson, is spoken of as being the first immigrant, i.e. in 1277 A.D.

"*Merakh*" is *Leptadenia Spartium*, a switch-like shrub without leaves.

IV The connection of the Ḥasanáb with the rest of the SHÁFIÁ, according to the version given by the author of D 5 (c) in the following paragraphs, if given in the form of a genealogical tree, would be as follows:



VIII "*Sima'a*" (سمع) is a mongrel beast, the offspring of the wolf begotten from the hyaena (so Lane's *Dictionary*).

The meaning of "*Ḥanīd*," if that be the true reading, is unknown: the same applies to "*Maḥāsh*."

IX For other mentions of this participation of SHĀḤĪYA women in battle see Cailliaud (Chap. xxv) and Nicholls, pp. 10, 21 and 31.

XI The custom of granting a man as much land as he could gallop round is said to have been not uncommon.

XII Bāza (or Bāsa) lies east of Kabūshia. The name is an old one: see Quatremère, who, quoting a mediaeval Arab historian, speaks of the king of "the Gates" [i.e. Kabūshia] and "the Princes of Barah (Bazah), el Takah... etc.": this in 1286 A.D. See vol. I, p. 183 and cp. D 6, XLI.

XVIII See C 8, XXXII (note) for 'IRĀḤĀB.

"*People are to be believed...*" is

الناس مامونون على انسابهم والخير فيهم ظاهر لان اسلافهم كانوا علماء
و صلحاء و كذلك الحمثوياب

For this cp. AB, xxvi and BA, xv and D 6, XL.

The ḤAMMATTUWIĀB or ḤAMMADTUWIĀB are the descendants of Ḥammadtu, for whom see D 3, 21 and 158.

XIX By "*Ghuldm*" I presume Ghulāmulla ibn 'Āld is meant. Cp. Nicholls, p. 39.

XX Cp. Nicholls, p. 19.

XXIV In Nicholls (Appendix II) the SHELUFĀB and SHIRAYSHĀB are given as being themselves SHĀḤĪYA.

XXVII Cp. Nicholls, Chap. II.

XXX "*SOWĀKIRA*" is the plural of "*sōkari*," a word used on the river for the village watchman who is chosen by the villagers to take charge of stray goats, etc., that are found damaging their cultivation. He is, in return, paid so much a head by the owner for each animal so impounded.

"*SHELLĀLĪL*" are inhabitants of the cataracts ("*shellāl*").

XXXI Cp. Nicholls, p. 50. The descendants of Sowār are generally known as SOWĀRĀB.

XXXII "*ḤAMARTŪDĀB*" (حمروتداب) may possibly be an error for "*ḤAMMADTUWIĀB*" (حمثوياب or حموتوياب), *q.v.* para. XVIII.

XXXIII In the name "*KADUNḤĀB*" or "*KANDUḤĀB*" we probably have, not a mere misprint, but an instance of the very common Sudanese-Arabic habit of inverting syllables. Similar examples are "*ADNĀLAB*" often used for "*ADLĀNĀB*," "*istibāliā*" for "*isbitāliā*" (a hospital), "*gōz*" for "*zōg*" (a husband), "*lahbat*" and "*halbat*" (to mix up), etc.

XXXIV Others give the 'ADLĀNĀB a Kanzi origin (see Appendix to ABC).

D 5 (*d*)*The Tribes of the Rikábía*

I The ancestor of these tribes was Sheikh Ghulámulla. He was born on an island called Nowáwa after his father had come from the land of Yemen.

II He begot two sons on one of the islands of the Red Sea, called Siákía, and thence he proceeded with them to the land of Dongola, which, when he arrived there, was utterly sunk in error owing to the lack of learned men. When he arrived there he built a mosque and taught the *Kurán* and the sciences.

III Now his two sons were Rikáb and Rubát.

IV Rikáb had five sons, 'Abdulla, 'Abd el Nebi, Ḥabíb, 'Agíb and Zayd el Feríd.

V Rubát had six sons, Ruzayn, Dahmash, Muḥammad 'Ōn, 'Abd el Rázik, Mişbáh and Hazlül.

VI Ruzayn's descendants were [the family of] Ḥabíb Munesi; and Dahmash's were [those of] the *feki* 'Ali Manófali at Dongola.

VII Muḥammad 'Ōn begot the AWLÁD GÁBIR, the great men of learning.

VIII The descendants of 'Abd el Rázik were [the family of] Sheikh Ḥasan walad Belí at el Kenára.

IX The sons of Mişbáh are among the KABÁBISH and consist of many subdivisions.

X The descendants of Hazlül are at el Ḥaráza.

XI The sons of 'Abd el Nebi were 'Abd el Şádiḳ, ancestor of the ŞÁDIḲÁB, and Shakára, the ancestor of Ḥasan walad Shakára at Dongola.

The descendants of Ḥabíb are the people of el Şabábi.

XII The descendants of 'Agíb are (*sic*) Sheikh Muḥammad walad Abu Ḥalíma.

XIII The descendants of Zayd el Feríd are (*sic*) Walad Ḥág Mágid.

XIV Ḥág Mágid's descendants are the BAḤGÁB and the 'AKÍZÁB.

D 5 (*d*) NOTE

For the whole of this extract cp. BA, CLXXIX *et seq.* to CCVIII; D I, XCII and CIV *et seq.*

MANUSCRIPT D 6

Introduction

THIS work was written in 1860, almost certainly by a certain Aḥmad ibn el feki Ma'arūf. From internal evidence one would say that he was a Fādni.

He devotes much space to the FĀDNĪA, who are not a very important tribe, and is obviously anxious to glorify their origin and exploits.

It is also clear that the author wrote from the north-eastern Sudan. His explanation of the word "*Ga'ali*" (para. XI) is the one that could only be current in the north, and he speaks (para. XII) of the KAWĀHLA as a southern tribe. That he did not live on the river is suggested (a) by his vagueness as to Dongola and Berber (paras. LIX and LX), and (b) by his interest in and knowledge of the tribes of nomads living between the Nile at Kabūshā and the Abyssinian frontier. As regards the sources of the information given, it is obvious that they are much the same as those of A 11 and A 2, and that we have here another of the "Samarḳandi" group of *nishas*; but though the opening paragraphs are apparently copied almost word for word, the author soon breaks away and gives various details drawn, in all probability, from purely oral sources.

The actual manuscript translated, which consists of seven folios, is frayed and stained and may well be the original text of 1860. It came into the possession of the Education Department of the Sudan Government in 1913, but in what manner or from what direction is not known. The Arabic is indifferent and the style loose and disconnected.

I In the name of God. . . .

II I have composed this essay to explain the origins of the Arabs each in their turn to whoso wishes to know them.

III I say, and God is my help, that I have heard from our lord Abu Sulaymān el 'Irāḳi and Abu Maḥmūd el Samarḳandi that they heard our Sheikh Abu Sulaymān el Baḥrāni say in some of his retreats (*i.e.* schools, "*khalkwāt*") "We have undertaken a mighty task. Verily pedigrees have fallen into confusion. What hero will take them in hand that the *Sherif* may be known from the pretended *Sherif*?" Then he would correct himself and say "But to contradict one who calls himself a *Sherif* is a large and difficult matter and a pure heart

cannot encompass it, for men are of different classes: some are modest. . . ." (several lines, showing the difficulties to be encountered owing to men's different characters and motives, follow).

IV I must now return to my subject, namely the mention of the Arab tribes that are occupying the land of the Sudan—in our day that is; and God knows best what the future may be.

V The first of them to be mentioned is the family of the noble Sherif el Sayyid Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad son of Sulaymān son of Ga'afir son of 'Abdulla, and his pedigree goes back to Muḥammad ibn el Ḥanafia.

They include numerous tribes, almost innumerable, known as the FÁDNĪA, or, as they were originally called after the manner of Arabic, "the FAWÁDANI." These include the family of Ḥasan ibn Bá Fádni ibn Muḥammad, among whose descendants was a man called Barakát ibn Kásim ibn Maḥmūd ibn Mūsa ibn Ḥusayn ibn Qatáda ibn Ḥasan ibn Bá Fád (*sic*). This man was a powerful personage and married the daughter of 'Anká ibn 'Āṭif, who bore to him a son and a daughter; and [the former] was named Ibn Gebel ibn Barakát ibn Kásim. And when he saw the condition of 'Anká's family and knew their ways he feared lest his son should become like them, so he worried him saying "Join your people" and "You will see me on your tracks." So he joined his people at Wahayn, which lies north of the city of el Abwáb, which is a great city said to contain stone images of such beasts as lions and wolves and snakes; and it has seen much of the ravages of war and the blessings of peace in the days of Islam and the days of ignorance.

VI [The FÁDNĪA] also include the family of Mas'ūd ibn Bá Fád (*sic*), who has descendants still tracing to him their parentage.

VII They include also the family of Sálimayn ibn Bá Fád whose descendants are well known on account of their condition and their good characters to this day.

VIII They include also the family of Mas'ūd ibn Bá Fád, and of Sa'íd ibn Bá Fád, whose stock has died out.

IX Chapter giving an account of the Arabs known as GA'AL, they being still the ruling power of that country. Their pedigree is to Sa'ad el Anṣári, but I am not sure of their ramifications—only that it is to Sa'ad that the great majority of the pedigrees are traced.

X The reason of their migration to the Sudan was their quarrel with the OMMAWĪA at the time of the quarrel between the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI HÁSHIM. So they migrated to the west, and then returned to Dongola and conquered its people, and advanced by degrees till they overcame GUHAYNA.

XI The reason of their being called by this name was that they had an ancestor who was black and hideous to look upon, and so his father's sister called him "Beetle" (*Gu'al*), and the tribe was called after him.

XII The KAWÁHLA. They include the family of Káhil son of 'Omára son of Khalífa son of Ibayraḡ son of Muḡammad son of Selím son of Khálid son of el Walíd. And they include innumerable tribes in various places, all in the South. Most of them live in the desert of the BEGA and seldom come down to the Nile; nor do they pass the site at Sóba called Balūla.

XIII FEZÁRA. A well-known sub-tribe of TAMÍM. They have been settled in the Sudan since the conquest of el Bahnasá. Their story is well known.

XIV GUHAYNA. They are famous among the tribes of the Arabs and there is no need to relate wherein their fame lies. In the Sudan they include the family of Sa'id ibn Gamíl, and the family of Mádir ibn 'Ámir, and the family of Musá'ad ibn Kelayb, and the family of Baḡhán ibn Dáḡna.

The reason of their emigration (خروجهم) was that 'Ašám el Moghrabi, king of Berbera, slew a number of their merchants; and God knows best. Then they went out against him and conquered his country and looted its wealth; and so they continued until, as mentioned above, GA'AL came and defeated them and conquered the country; and GUHAYNA became a subject people therein, and they entered the island of Anágíl the Begáwi after his stock had died out and his rule come to an end.

XV The SHUKRÍFA are the family of Shukr ibn Adrak, and their pedigree goes back to 'Abdulla el Gawád son of Ga'afir el Ṭíár son of Abu Ṭálib.

They are a great tribe and their stock continues to the present day. I do not know what was the reason of their emigration.

XVI The ḤASÁNÍFA are similarly descended from Ga'afir el Ṭíár. They are the sons of Ḥasán ibn Gamíl and their pedigree goes back to 'Abdulla el Gawád ibn Ga'afir el Ṭíár. Their pedigree and that of the children of Shukr meet in the person of 'Ali el Zayni.

XVII The 'ÁNIMÍFA are the descendants of 'Ánim ibn Gawád el Ya'arebi, a very small tribe. Of their number was a certain clever man called 'Ali, who in the time of Barakát was his companion. Now he loved making mischief and stirred up Barakát and his people to revolt; and the nomads offered prayers against him, and Almighty God caused him to be overcome, and they took him prisoner and enslaved him for a time. Then Barakát attacked them and rescued

him, and he used to say in praise of Barakát and his people... (here follows a page or so of rhymed prose and poetry).

XVIII The ḤAMRÁN are one of the tribes of ḤARB, who are nomads living between Mekka and Medína.

Of their number in the Sudan are the families of Ḥamál and of Musá'ad ibn Gárulla and of Sálím Bá'áfd, and Ibn Lohay. I am not sure of the real reason of their emigration, but it is said that it was their fight with MUZAYNA.

XIX The BENI 'ÁMIR are the descendants of 'Ámir ibn el Ṭufayl. They entered Abyssinia and were its rulers. They are famous for their bravery and courage. A story is told about this 'Ámir and the Prophet... (short story follows).

The reason of their emigration to Abyssinia was that they killed their Sheikh Fá'asi ibn 'Abdulla. They wander about the borders of Abyssinia.

XX The BENI AḤMAR are a tribe of BENI OMMAYYA. They were in Abyssinia, but most of them have disappeared and only a few remain.

XXI The RAWÁGIḤ are the descendants of Rágiḥ ibn Sa'ad el Thakfi. Their stock¹ still exists.

XXII The 'AWÁŠIM are the descendants of 'Ašim ibn 'Ámir ibn Našír el 'Omari, a descendant of 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb. It was he who first settled them in Egypt: then they invaded the Sudan in the days of el Zāhir Abu Barri.

XXIII The family of MUSALLAM, namely Musallam ibn Ḥegáz² ibn 'Áṭif el Ommawi. He moved from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azíz, God bless him, and settled in the Sudan, and he has left many descendants.

XXIV The AṬÁÍA are nomads descended from Aṭa ibn Zaím el Ḥimyari. I am not sure either of the reason of their emigration or of their ramifications, but it is said that they are the people who aided el Ḥaggág in the slaying of Ibn el Zubayr... *etc.*

XXV The RIKÁBIYYŪN are the descendants of Rikáb ibn 'Abdulla, and their pedigree goes back to Sheikh Aḥmad ibn 'Omar el Zila'i, the descendant of 'Oḳayl ibn Abu Ṭálib, God bless him. It is probable that they are the children of Rikáb el Guhani.

XXVI The 'AMRIYYŪN (so spelt) are the descendants of 'Amr ibn Sulaymán the Ommawi. It is said that they are at present the ruling people in the Sudan. They and the people of Lūlūh, one of the Hamag districts, have intermarried to such an extent that they have become like these people in every respect, and they are known as the FÜNG.

¹ reading القعب for العقب.

² reading حجاز for حار.

XXVII The ḤAMZĀT are the descendants of Ḥamza ibn 'Abd el Muṭṭalib. There are a number of them on the bank of the Kádīmā near el Khór.

XXVIII KENÁNA are a great tribe belonging to the famous KENÁNA of el Yemen. In the Sudan they include the families of Duhaym el Kenáni and of Rágh and of Selím. They live in the same locality as FEZÁRA.

XXIX The ROWÁSI are the descendants of Rási el Ḥaṭṭáni. They were in Abyssinia but most of them disappeared. In Abyssinia they contain a number of BENI BA'ALÁ. A number of them apostatized.

XXX The KÁLLA are by origin Arabs. In Abyssinia they are infidels. They are a nuisance to the Abyssinians, killing them and capturing their women and children. There is a difference of opinion as to their origin, some saying they are descended from Ḥaṭṭán and some from Ḥimyar and some from the BENI GHASSÁN, and the last is true.

XXXI THAḤÍF. A very small community and unimportant among the Arabs... (some depreciatory lines by Ibn el Moghrabi about them are quoted).

XXXII The ŠALÁḤIYYŪN are the descendants of Šalāḥ ibn Gábir ibn Ghassán. They are numerous, and most of them live in Abyssinia towards the coast.

XXXIII The GÁBIRÍA in Abyssinia are a considerable tribe, but most of them are between the MAḤASS country and Dongola the famous. They are the family of Gábir ibn 'Abdulla el Anšári, who begot them at the time of the conquest of Dongola, when it was destroyed and God gave the Muslims the victory in the invasion of 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi, God bless him.

XXXIV The GERÁTIMA are the family of Geratím ibn 'Uḡba el Rabí'i of the tribe of RABÍ'A. They live between Abyssinia and the BEGÁ.

XXXV RUFA'A. They lived at first in Abyssinia and [among] the BEGÁ¹, and then they moved to the Nile lands. They are one of the Ḥaṭṭánite tribes in the Sudan. Our Sheikh Abu Nuṣr Muḥammad el Šádhali² said "I do not know exactly how they are descended, beyond that it is certain they are descended from Ḥaṭṭán."

XXXVI The ZENÁRKHA are the family of Zernákh ibn Á'gíf of the BENI LÁM, the famous tribe in Neged³ el Hegáz.

XXXVII The 'AWÁŠI are the family of 'Aṣi ibn Gamá'a el Mukhal-ladi, the MUKHALLAD being also an Arab tribe.

¹ reading البجا for البحا. ² reading الشاذلي for الساذلي.

³ reading نجد for نجد.

XXXVIII The YERÁBÍ'A are also Arabs and descended from Ḥimyar. They originally lived at Ṣana'á in el Yemen. They settled in the Sudan in the time of 'Abd el Malik ibn Marwán.

XXXIX The 'ABBÁSIYYŪN are descended from el Faḍl ibn 'Abbás. In the Sudan they include the family of el Saffáh. They are a mighty tribe and more of them are in the Sudan than elsewhere. The reason of their emigration thither was the rise to power of the Fáṭimite dynasty in Egypt, and they declined with it and dispersed into the Sudan.

XL The GABARTA are originally Arabs, it is said ḲURAYSH, but I do not vouch for this and know only that people are under this impression. I have enquired from some of their learned men saying "I hear from the people of el Táka that you are descended from ḲURAYSH," and they replied "We also say so"; and I think it is [true], but God knows best, and we assume that pedigrees are [properly] kept.

XLI The 'ADILIYYŪN are the family of 'Adil ibn 'Azíz the Sa'adi. They fall into two divisions: some live in the district of Ousa near the GABARTA, and the others live in the strongholds known as el Táka, west of the hills of the BÁZA. And it is said that beyond these strongholds, and between them and Abyssinia, is a great mountain called el Lós, where they suppose the Companions of the Cave are, and they live in these strongholds and are known as the ḤALANKA. It is therefore possible that they are the family of Ḥalayḳ el Sa'adi son of Dhulayma son of Bardhal son of Amal son of 'Amir son of Hawázin son of Mas'ūd son of Sa'ad son of Bukr, or that they are descended from Ḥaláḳ el Mundabi (?); and the former is more correct.

They contain numerous tribes that cannot be enumerated. They have intermarried with the BEGÁ so much that they have become assimilated to them. It is said that their language resembles that of the BEGÁ [and is] a branch of it.

XLII The 'ALÁMIYYŪN are the descendants of 'Alám ibn Sa'ad el Zíati and are known as the "House of 'Alám." Most of them live near the TUNGUR in the districts of el Taktūr.

XLIII FELLÁTA settled in the land of el Taktūr. They are the family of Fellát son of 'Abdulla son of 'Uḳba son of Yásir.

XLIV The BEKRIYYŪN are numerous in the land of el Taktūr, and in Egypt they form the well-known House of el Bekri. And the genealogists make mention of the Sheikh who was descended from the said Sheikh [el Bekri], and who lived in Upper Egypt (*arḍ el ṣa'id*), and who was a very great man and one of the saints famous for piety; and it is a remarkable thing that his descendants remember nothing important about him: yet by the grace that is

given him he has facilitated the granting of their prayers, and their holy men and their tribe [itself] are called el MASHÁIKH¹.

XLV The ŞAWÁIL are the family of Şál ibn Yerbū'a el Muzani and are a sub-tribe of MUZAYNA who migrated from near Jedda. There are many of them in Egypt. They left el Yemen at the same time as Humayl el Selmi.

XLVI SULAYM are a well-known tribe of the Hegáz. Most of them live between the Holy Places, and some of them settled in the Sudan, and these latter are the YUÁSIFA.

XLVII The MASHA'ALA are the family of Masha'al ibn Ya'aqūb el Gaḥadli, and are a branch of the GAḤÁDLA, who again are an Arab tribe, partly sedentary and partly nomad, residing to the right hand of Mekka, and represented in the Sudan by the family of Masha'al ibn Gaḥdal.

XLVIII The 'AGÁRIFA are the family of 'Agraf ibn Ma'amir el Khuzá'i, KHUZÁ'A being the well-known tribe at Mekka and thereabouts, who are represented in the Sudan by the family of 'Agraf only. They are a moderate sized community. The reason of their immigration to the Sudan was the ill-treatment they received from el Ḥaggág at the time when he [re-]built the temple. God and the Prophet know best.

XLIX The 'ARÁGÍN are the people of those countries, and were not Arabs of the Hegáz. They were extremely skilful and versatile. It is said that among them was a man called 'Azíz the Poet... (some verses follow).

L The SENÁBLA are the family of Sanbal ibn Gabr. They are a large Arab tribe.

LI The ḤADÁREB. I was told by Sídí 'Abdulla Báwazíz el Ḥaḍari that they came originally from Ḥaḍramaut, and were said to be a branch of the ḤAMŪM, who are nomads in Ḥaḍramaut, and that they emigrated thence to the Sudan in the days of el Ḥaggág ibn Yūsef, and settled among the BEGÁ until they became exactly as if they were BEGÁ themselves; and took up their abode at Sūákin, the well-known island on the coast of the Sudan near Abyssinia; and [he said that] they were called "the ḤADÁREM," deriving the name from "*ḥaḍra*," but from ignorance the ḍ was changed into d and the m into b, as can be understood, and they became the "ḤADÁREB."

LII The GA'ÁFIRA are a great tribe. Their descent is from Ga'afir el Ṭái, and it is said that their ancestor was Hátim el Ṭái. They are famous for their generosity, as he was.

LIII The MŪSIYYŪN are the family of Mūsa ibn Sa'id el Thaḫfi.

¹ reading المصايخ for المشايخ.

They are a branch of THAKĪF and numerous. In the Sudan they live like [nomad] Arabs.

LIV Among them was a powerful man called 'Ali ibn Gubára, and there is a story of him and the kings of the Arabs. It is said that Abu Ya'aqūb, one of the Arab Sultans, sent him to the king of el Takrūr with a letter written as follows, "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful, this from Abu Ya'aqūb to the Sultan of el Takrūr. If you want to preserve your self-respect and maintain your honour, submit to me: otherwise I will most surely equip¹ against you an army like locusts in swarm, who will lay waste your lands and loot your goods and take captive your sons and make an end of your women. So when you read this letter, you will have a correct idea of my dominion, and if you desire relief from ill and survival from annihilation, then subject yourself to me as I order you."

LV When this letter reached the king of el Takrūr he told his servant to beat him [*sc.* 'Ali ibn Gubára] and impale his companions. This was done; and that very night the Sultan heard [*sc.* one] say "If you slay this man, [*sc.* he will be avenged]"; and his vizier said to him "It is not the custom of kings to kill envoys nor punish them," so he ordered him to be released.

LVI Then, after releasing him, he mounted him on a horse and said to him "Go, tell yon Sultan that when Gog and Magog have obeyed him I will obey him: his wits are wandering: does he order me to obey him before I order him to do anything at all? He is one of those that carves the mountains with his fingernails." And when this message reached the king of the Arabs he turned to his troops and said "Is there any one of you I can send to deal with him?" And 'Ali ibn Gubára said "I have a prior right in this matter over all."

LVII Then [the king] equipped a force, to go with him, of 3000 cavalry and 2000 riflemen and 1000 bowmen and 1000 swordsmen using the short Moorish sword, and the expedition started.

LVIII And when they reached the land of el Takrūr, the two armies met, and God gave the victory [to 'Ali] and he returned in joy and happiness [from the field of battle]; and God the Almighty made him ruler of el Takrūr, and to this day the Sultans of el Takrūr are his descendants.

LIX Chapter mentioning the wonders of that land and its chief places.

BERBER is an immense village. It has had many rulers, including the giant dynasty of which each king began his reign as a true believer

¹ reading جهزت for جهرت.

and ended it a pagan. West of it is a great mountain called Gebel el Ruūs, where there are marvels that it would take too long to relate.

LX DONGOLA is a great place and its story is well known. It was conquered by 'Amr ibn el 'Āṣi.

LXI The people of Berber were converted by the people of Dongola; and there are there (*i.e.* in Dongola) great cities and islands encompassed by walls, and a great mosque built by 'Amr ibn el 'Āṣi and known as "the mosque of 'Amr," and the entrenchment (*khandaq*) made by Ibn 'Uḫba el Gábiri el Anṣári in the time of Ayyūb.

LXII Here ends the history of the Arabs who settled in the Sudan.

This history is the property of the *faqīr* Aḥmad ibn el feki Ma'arūf, and I finished writing it in *Gemád* 1277¹.

D 6 (NOTES)

III Cp. A 11, II and III.

"The pretended Sherif" is المشروف.

v The Arabic begins ... يذكر منهم من هناك السيد... but this is clearly corrupt, and should, I think, read ... يذكر منهم آل السيد.

Compare BA, CLXXIV for these FÁDNIÁ. "Fawádin" would be the normal Arabic plural formed from Fádin, the name of their ancestor.

The Arabic translated "He worried him... tracks" is

أزعجه ان الحق بقومك وستراني باثرك

For el Abwáb see D 3, 14 (note).

ix "That country" (ذلك الاقليم) is presumably the [northern] Sudan.

x Cp. A 11, VII. Contrast para. xxxix later.

xi This version of the origin of "Ga'al" is not, it is almost needless to say, in vogue among the GA'ALÍŦN themselves, though not uncommon in Dongola. Cp. A 3, VII, and see Robertson Smith, p. 196.

xii Cp. A 11, XLVIII. Balūla is the name of a village and ferry situated on a bend of the Blue Nile a mile or two below el Kámlín.

xiii Cp. A 11, LIV.

xv Cp. A 11, L.

xxiii Cp. A 11, LI.

xxv Cp. A 11, LII.

xxvi Cp. A 11, LIII.

xxviii Cp. A 11, LVI.

xxx *i.e.* the "GALLA."

xxxiii Cp. A 11, LVII.

xxxv Cp. A 11, LVIII.

xxxvii Cp. BA, CXXVI for MUKHALLAD.

xxxviii "YERÁBÍ'A" is a plural from Yerbū'a, which name occurs later in para. XLV.

'Abd el Malik ibn Marwán was the fifth Ommayyad Khalífa and died in 705 A.D. after reigning twenty years.

XXXIX Cp. AB, XXIII and CCXIII and ABC, XXII.

"'ABBASIYYŪN" is used here practically as the equivalent of "GA'ALIYYŪN." Contrast para. x.

The Fāṭimites conquered Egypt in 969 A.D. and were supplanted by the Ayyūbites in 1171 A.D.

XL Cp. A 11, LX and AB, XXVI.

XLI "And it is said..." is as follows in the Arabic, which appears corrupt:

ويقال ان فى طرف تلك الاجمة بينها وبين الحبش جبل يقال له اللوس
جبل عظيم وهم يتهمون فيه باصحاب اهل الكهف وهم اهل تلك الاجمة
يشتهرون بالحلقة

The Companions of the Cave (*Aṣḥāb el Kahf*) are the legendary "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus." Muḥammad borrowed the story from Christian traditions and introduced it as a revelation into the Qurān (*q.v.* Chap. XVIII. See also Sale's notes thereto, Hughes, p. 24, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall...*, Chap. XXXI).

El Lós is Gebel Kassala. See Werne (p. 217). "In former times the race of the Hallenga had, at the foot of the hill of Kassela-el-Lus, a great city... The true name of the hill is el-Lus, and the word Kassela is the name of a sainted Sheikh. The rock-dome of Kassela is surrounded by six pillar-like rocks; and hence the saying 'Kassela-el-Lus saba Rus' (Kassela-el-Lus of the seven heads)." Again of the caves in Gebel Kassala Werne (p. 245) says: "They are said to be inhabited by men of ancient days, spirits, and ghosts."

"*Ḥalayk*" may be a misprint for "*Ḥalank*." The proper names following are probably corrupt.

XLII Dárfūr and westwards are meant.

XLIII Cp. A 11, LXI.

XLIV The MASHÁIKH or MASHÁIKHA are meant. They claim descent from Abu Bukr el Ṣadīq, the first Khalífa of Islam. The unnamed Sheikh is probably Mugelli (*q.v.* A 2, XXXVII and D 3, 255).

XLVI YUÁSIFA is a plural formed from Yūsef, *i.e.* "sons of Yūsef."

XLVIII El Ḥaggág ibn Yūsef's date was 42-95 A.H. It was in 74 A.H. (693 A.D.) that he pulled down the temple of Mekka and restored it to its old pre-Islamic form. For this and the cruelties he perpetrated at this period see Ockley (p. 480).

XLIX It is not clear what "*those countries*" refers to: the Arabic is ...العرايين من تلك الديار واهلها. From para. LIX it seems the northern Sudan is meant.

L "*Sanbal*" and "*SENABLA*" are probably misprints for "Shanbal" and "SHÉNABLA."

LI Cp. A 11, LXII, from which it seems "*Bāwaziz*" (باوزير) is an error for "Abu el Wuzír" (ابو الوزير).

LII Cp. A 11, LXIII.

LIV There is little clue as to what war is referred to in this story. There

is no historical Sultan named Abu Ya'aqūb. In para. XLII "*el Tahrūr*" is apparently meant to represent any of the western states of the Sudan, and if the same is the case here the reference may conceivably be to the incident of 'Abd el Kerīm, the first Muhammadan ruler of Waddi, the grandfather of the Sultan Ya'aqūb and the conqueror of the TUNGUR. He reigned 1635-55 and was of a Ga'ali stock from near Shendi (see vol. I, pp. 68 and 198).

The Arabic translated "*you will have a correct idea of my dominion*" is اعلم انك قد وقفت على صراط ملكي—the word *ṣirāṭ* being literally "the [right] way" (see Hughes, p. 595).

LV The Arabic of this passage is as follows:

فلما وصل الكتاب الى ملك التكرور امر خدامه ان يضربوه وان يخرقوا رفقته ففعلوا فلما كان ذات ليلة سمع السلطان يقول لو قتلت هذا الرجل فقال له وزيره ما جرة عادة الملوك ان يقتلوا الرسل ولا يعذبوهم فامر باطلاقه

LIX "*It has had...pagan*" is

ولها ملوك كثيرة وكان فيها ملك جبار يعبد كل منهم جديداً ويكفر باخر

LX Cp. A 2, xxxiv; D 4, vi, etc.

LXI By "*the mosque of 'Amr*" is perhaps meant the mosque superimposed at Old Dongola upon the ruins of an ancient Christian church (see Budge, II, p. 372 and *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, I, p. 31). At Khandaḡ there is an old brick fort in the middle of the town, which may be alluded to here (see Gleichen, p. 29).

LXII The Arabic of this paragraph is

انتهى انساب العرب المبدون (*sic*) بالسودان و مالها الفقير الى الله احمد
بن الفقه (*sic*) معروف وقد فرغت من تحريره في جماد ١٢٧٧

MANUSCRIPT D 7

Introduction

VERSIONS of this work, which represents the only known attempt by a native historian to give a detailed chronological account of the FUNG and Turkish days, are by no means uncommon. General Gordon possessed a copy and presented it in 1881 to the British Museum, where it is numbered "Arabic 2345." It was no doubt from this same copy that Colonel Stewart had obtained most of the historical facts given in the *Report on the Sudan* which he wrote at Khartoum in February 1883.

Professor Budge similarly made use of this MS. in writing *The Egyptian Sudan*, and Na'ūm Bey Shuḡayr must have had access to this or another copy.

Mr Jackson has paraphrased yet another copy, and, by adding facts drawn from other sources, has woven the whole into the narrative he has entitled *Tooth of Fire* (published 1912). In the introduction he says he knows of eight copies in all, and mentions that one copy is in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

My own acquaintance with this work dates from 1907, when Sir F. R. Wingate, the Governor-General, showed me the rough translation of a copy found in Sennár by Sir R. von Slatin, the Inspector-General.

Notes I took from this MS., which I referred to as "*The Sennár History*," were incorporated in *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán* (published 1912).

The particular copy here translated was made for me at Omdurmán in 1914 from the MS. belonging to Mek 'Adlán of Sennár, the lineal descendant and heir of the FUNG kings. This had been temporarily borrowed for me by Mr S. A. Tippetts, the Senior Inspector of Sennár Province.

While engaged on editing this copy I found another in possession of the *feki* Muḡammad 'Abd el Mágid of Omdurmán. One of his pupils had made this copy for him in the *Mahdía* from the MS. in possession of the respected *feki* Hagyū wad Masía, the Ya'aḡúbábi, of Sennár Province.

The original work, to which there is no reason to attribute other than a single authorship, was undoubtedly based, so far as the FUNG

period is concerned, on those chronologies of the FUNG kings which were shown at Sennâr to Bruce in 1772 and to Cailliaud in 1821. The former was shown an "undoubtedly authentic" list by the *Sid el Kûm* ("Master of the Household"). The latter says "Je m'étais procuré, chez les érudits de la ville [Sennâr], plusieurs listes chronologiques des rois Fongis du Sennâr: mais, en les comparant entre elles, je doutais de pouvoir arriver à un travail satisfaisant: enfin, par l'entremise d'Ismâyl, j'en obtins une du roi Bâdy lui-même. Je puis donc garantir que la chronologie que je donne ici est plus exacte que celle de Bruce" (vol. II, 255).

The main difference between these two lists is that Bruce dates the accession of 'Omâra Dūnḡas, the first FUNG king, in 1504, and Cailliaud in 1484. The discrepancy is explained in an appendix, and the date 1504 may be taken as correct.

With one or more of these chronologies as a basis, and with the *Ṭabaḡât wad Dayfulla* (MS. D 3) for occasional reference and quotation, the original of the work which is here translated was probably compiled gradually during the *régimes* of successive Turkish rulers and completed about the time of Mumtâz Pasha (1871-1873).

Its author is unknown and its exact date is doubtful. The British Museum copy, it is said, "consists of 108 octavo pages and was written, and perhaps also composed, by Muḡammad Abû Bakr Makkî Aḡmad in 1879" (Budge, Preface, p. xi). It ends with the year 1871. One would suppose that Muḡammad Abu Bakr would have carried the history down to his own date had he been the composer and not merely a copyist.

Mr Jackson says that all the copies he has seen "seem to be derived from the account put together by Abd el Dafaa and an abstract of this, with a few alterations and additions, made by Zubeir wad Dawwa." He does not say to what year the narrative is in each case carried down. By "'Abd el Dafaa" he means Ibrâhîm 'Abd el Dâfa'i the elegist, who is twice mentioned in D 7 in the third person. Of this Ibrâhîm more anon.

The copy found by Sir R. von Slatin was made, as is stated at the close of it, on the 19th of *Sha'bán* 1322 A.H. (October 30, 1904 A.D.). The copy I have translated consists of 110 octavo pages and gives an account of events down to 1288 A.H. (1871 A.D.). That of Muḡammad 'Abd el Mâgîd ends abruptly with 1865.

None of these gives any direct indication as to the author's name, and *Mek* 'Adlân's evidence is practically worthless: he fluctuates between vague reminiscences of the *Ṭabaḡât wad Dayfulla* and "an unknown scribe" who may have lived in the lifetime of *Mek*

'Adlán's father 'Othmán or in the time of 'Adlán II, *i.e.* in the eighteenth century. He does not even know his own family history and has not the faintest idea whether the book was written by one man or half a dozen.

There is, however, internal evidence which makes it easy to guess at certain probabilities. In the first place, the author only describes in detail events that occurred in the Gezíra, from Sennár to Khartoum, and he is familiar with the geography of this region and the details of its administration.

It is also evident that he was frequently in Khartoum, for he is interested in the various buildings that were erected there, knows various junior officials, tells of visitors from Egypt, and knows exact dates of arrivals and departures.

Similarly he shows far more knowledge of the Blue Nile than of the White. Kordofán, Berber, Dongola, Kassala and other more distant provinces hardly come within his ken at all.

Again he speaks with exaggerated respect of Sheikh 'Abd el Kádír wad el Zayn, the Ya'aqūbābi, and represents him as having an almost supreme influence. Here there must be considerable exaggeration, for whereas several of 'Abd el Kádír's contemporaries are mentioned by travellers, I have seen no reference to 'Abd el Kádír, and his name is not universally remembered. No other secular Sheikh is spoken of in similar terms.

Another man upon whom the author heaps titles of respect is Sheikh Aḥmad el Ṭaib, the introducer of the Sammānía *ṭarīqa*, who lived a day's journey north of Omdurmán. Other holy men receive no more than passing words of praise.

He also indulges in gross adulation of Ga'afir Muḥzar Pasha, and abuses his successor Mumtáz Pasha with an almost equal lack of proportion. Other Governor-Generals are treated very leniently.

One also notes the author's familiarity with Turkish ranks and titles.

For the FUNG and the HAMAG he holds no particular brief, and of the history of the 'ABDULLÁB of el Ḥalfáya and the SA'ADÁB of Shendi he expressly mentions his ignorance. The successive Sheikhs of Khashm el Baḥr, near Sennár, are, on the other hand, fairly well known to him.

From a consideration of the above facts and other minor points one would say that the author of this history was perhaps by birth one of the YA'AQŪBÁB of Sennár, and by training a follower of the Sammānía *ṭarīqa*. He had an education better than the average, and was much in touch with the Turkish officials—as were the suc-

cessive heads of his family. Probably he throve most successfully in the times of Mūsa Pasha and Ga'afir Muḡhar Pasha, and was employed at Khartoum in some minor administrative position, or else was one of those tactful "vicars of Bray" who were always to be found attached to the suites of the secular dignitaries.

From his expressed opinion of Mumtāz one would hazard the opinion that he fell into disfavour during that Pasha's *régime* and completed his history after passing beyond his reach.

On the other hand, the author of ABC (para. xxi), speaking of the ḤAMAYDĀNĪA section of the GAMŪ'ĪA, says "Among them was the *feki* Ibrāhīm 'Abd el Dāfa'i, the author of the *History of the Sudan*"; and one notes that the family of the much belauded Sheikh el Ṭāib (*q.v.* in ABC, *Tree* 3) are very closely related to the ḤAMAYDĀNĪA. The history mentioned may certainly be assumed to be the one under discussion. Na'ūm Bey Shuḡayr, in his *History of the Sudan*, also speaks of "Sheikh 'Abd el Dāfa'i, author of the FUNG chronicle" (Part II, Bk. iv, Chap. 1, p. 73).

Thus, in support of the theory that Ibrāhīm 'Abd el Dāfa'i wrote it, we have (1) the tradition recorded by Mr Jackson and Na'ūm Bey and quoted above, (2) the express statement in ABC, and (3) the close relationship between Ibrāhīm and the founder of the Sammānīa *ṭarīḡa*.

On the other hand, (1) the history is carried up to a date between 1870 and 1880, and yet Ibrāhīm was composing elegies in 1809 and 1823 (see paras. CLXXXV and CCXXXV). (2) One would expect more references to the GAMŪ'ĪA and their *Meks* from a Gamū'i author, and a larger interest in the affairs of the GAMŪ'ĪA country along the west bank of the White Nile. (3) The tradition that Ibrāhīm 'Abd el Dāfa'i is the author is not by any means universal: my acquaintance with it is limited to the two quotations made above. (4) The general setting of the two passing references to Ibrāhīm in paras. CLXXXV and CCXXXV does not seem quite to suit the theory that Ibrāhīm was speaking of himself.

There is of course the possibility of a divided authorship, but there is no particular evidence to support such theory.

One can only leave the question of authorship doubtful, and say that, all things considered, the history is a very creditable piece of work. It is written in a simple and straightforward way, with a reasonable sense of proportion; and the author never loses the thread of his discourse.

Of the Turkish days he writes as a courtier, but it would have been unsafe, and less lucrative, to do otherwise: in fact he is at

times unexpectedly critical. He has rescued from oblivion the scanty records of many events that happened in the reigns of those kings of Sennár of whom little more than the names are recorded by Bruce and Cailliaud, and he has given us the only extant account of the Sudan in Turkish days as regarded from a native point of view. In addition, so far as I am aware, he provides the only connected narrative from which we can learn the names and dates of the successive Turkish Pashas and Beys who ruled the country, and he alone draws our attention to the experiments that were made in administrative decentralization between 1857 and 1862.

The account of Soba in pre-FUNG days (see para. 1) is evidently taken from the passage of Ibn Selím el Aswání preserved by el Makrízi and quoted above in Part II, Chap. 2.

I In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. Praise be to God...

Now this is a history of the lands of the NÜBA and relates who ruled them, beginning with the kings of the FÜNG, and what happened in their time [and] until this present day, and who succeeded them, and how their kingdom came to an end; but God Almighty best knows and judges of that which is hidden.

It is related in the histories which I have seen that the first of the kings of the FÜNG who was invested with the royal power was King 'Omára Dünkas, who founded the city of Sennár in 910 A.H.¹

Previously to his date the FÜNG had overthrown the NÜBA and made the city of Šóbá (*sic*) their metropolis; and in that city were beautiful buildings and gardens and a hostel occupied by the Muhammadans. Its site was on the east of the Nile, near to the confluence of that river with the White Nile; and the chief food of its inhabitants was the white *dhurra* known as *el ḡaṣṣábi*. Their religion was Christianity, and they had a bishop appointed by the prclate of Alexandria, as had the NÜBA before them. Their books were in Greek (*Rāmía*) but they used to commentate upon them in their own language.

II. These people were overthrown in the ninth century, and in those days there were no schools for the Muhammadans who lived among them and no observance of the Muhammadan law, so that it is even said that a woman might be divorced by her husband and married by another man on the same day without any purificatory period. This state continued until the coming among them of Maḥmūd el 'Araki from Egypt. He taught them some of the elements of Muhammadan law; he also built himself a hostel on the White Nile

¹ 1504 A.D.

between el Īs¹ and the ḤASĀNĪA, and lies buried there at the present day.

III Previous to this man's time there were certain learned men in the country, such as the AWLĀD DAYFULLA, whose tombs near Abu Ḥalīma, east of the Blue Nile, are well known, and Sheikh Idrīs walad el Arbāb, who was born in 913².

IV Islām first entered the land of the NŪBA in the Khalīfate of Hārūn el Rashīd el 'Abbāsi, but, as we mentioned, there was no real observance of the law (*el sharī'a*).

V Let us now return to our subject. The commencement of the reign of 'Omāra Dūnqas was at the beginning of . . . (a line of the text has been inadvertently omitted here, it appears) . . . the people collected round him and ceased not visiting him where he lay at Gebel Mōya, which is east of Sennār; and finally there came to him 'Abdulla Gemā'a of the KAWĀSMA Arabs, the father of Sheikh 'Agīb el Kāfūta the ancestor of the AWLĀD 'AGĪB; and they determined to make war upon the 'ANAG, the kings of Sōba and el Ḳerri.

VI So 'Omāra and 'Abdulla Gemā'a with their men went and made war upon the kings of Sōba and el Ḳerri and defeated them and slew them.

VII Then their people agreed that 'Omāra should be king in place of the king of 'Aloa, that is Sōba, because he was the more powerful ["elder" ?], and that 'Abdulla Gemā'a should take the place of the king of el Ḳerri.

VIII So ['Abdulla] went and founded the town of Ḳerri, which is by Gebel el Royyān on the east bank, and made it the seat of his kingdom; and likewise 'Omāra founded the town of Sennār, [so called because] previously a woman called Sennār lived there, and made it his capital. This was in 910³.

IX Now 'Omāra and 'Abdulla lived like brethren, but 'Omāra's rank had precedence over that of 'Abdulla if they were together in the same place; but if 'Omāra were absent 'Abdulla had exactly the same powers as were vested in 'Omāra; and this system remained in force among their respective descendants until the end of their rule.

X After the victory of the FUNG over the NŪBA, the latter scattered and fled to Fázoghli and Kordofān, with the exception of a few of them who were converted to Islam and mixed with the Arabs settled in their country. These at present are few in number and live in the neighbourhood of Shendi and Gerayf Ḳumr; and not many people

¹ reading *الليس* for *اليس*.

² 1507 A.D.

³ 1504 A.D.

know that these men are by origin NŪBA, for their language has become Arabic and their complexion assimilated to that of the Arabs as a result of cross-breeding with them.

XI And indeed the immigration of Arabs to the Sudan increased greatly, most of them belonging to the tribes of ĤIMYAR, RABĪ'A, BENI 'ĀMIR, KAḤṬĀN, KENĀNA, GUHAYNA, BENI YASHKUR, BENI KĀHIL, BENI DHUBIĀN, BENI 'ABS (viz. the KABĀBĪSH), FEZĀRA and BENI SELĪM.

XII And King 'Omāra continued living at Sennār, carrying on the affairs of state, until he died in the year 940¹ after a reign of 30 years.

XIII He was succeeded by his son 'Abd el Ḳādir, who reigned ten years and died in 950².

XIV After him reigned his brother King Nāīl, and he resided at Sennār like his father and brother, carrying on the government for twelve years. He died in 962³.

XV His successor was King 'Omāra Abu Sakaykīn, one of the royal family, and in his days died 'Abdulla Gemā'a, and in his place 'Omāra appointed his son Sheikh 'Agīb el Kāfūta as Sheikh of Ḳerri. And 'Omāra continued at Sennār, carrying on the government, until his death in 970⁴ after a reign of eight years.

XVI King Dekīn walad Nāīl then came to the throne. He was one of the greatest of the kings of the FUNG. He reorganized the administration in the best possible manner, and made fixed laws that no one of all the people of his kingdom might transgress; and to every district of his kingdom he appointed a chief; and to such as were wont to be seated in his presence he gave a definite order of precedence when they were so seated in the council chamber; and he ceased not to devote himself to the organization of his realms until, after reigning fifteen⁵ years, he died in 985⁶.

XVII He was succeeded by King Ṭabl, who followed in the footsteps of King Dekīn until his death in 997⁷ after reigning twelve years.

XVIII Ṭabl was succeeded by King Ounsa, who reigned ten years.

XIX Then King 'Abd el Ḳādir reigned for six years, and died in 1013⁸.

XX He was succeeded by King 'Adlān walad Āya, and in his reign Sheikh 'Agīb rebelled, and the king sent a large army against him and a battle was fought near Kalkól, and Sheikh 'Agīb was slain and his hosts routed, and his family fled towards Dongola. Then the king

¹ 1533 A.D.

⁴ 1562 A.D.

⁶ 1577 A.D.

² 1543 A.D.

⁵ reading "fifteen" for "twelve."

⁷ 1589 A.D.

³ 1554 A.D.

⁸ 1604 A.D.

sent to them Sheikh Idrís Muḥammad Aḥmad, who was noted for his piety, with a promise of immunity, and when they returned he lavished favours upon them and appointed the eldest of them, el 'Agayl, Sheikh of Ḳerri as his father had been.

XXI King 'Adlān continued reigning at Sennār until his death in 1020¹ after a reign of seven years; and in his reign flourished a number of holy men, such as Sheikh Idrís, whom we mentioned. This latter attained a remarkable age, for he was born in 913² and died in 1060³, and so lived 147 years. He was instructed by Sheikh 'Abd el Káfi el Moghrabi.

XXII So too, in the reign of King 'Adlān, there came [to the country] Sheikh Ḥasan walad Ḥasūna el Andalūsi. He had been visiting the Holy Places and Egypt and Syria for about twelve years, and then settled where he now lies buried; and his tomb is well known and much visited. His was, God bless him, an austerity of the first order though he was blessed with this world's goods in abundance.

XXIII During this king's reign too came Sheikh Ibráhím el Būlād from Egypt. He was the first to introduce and teach the *Mukhtaṣar* of Sheikh Khálil el Málíkí into the land of the FUNG, and through him God manifested many miracles.

XXIV There also came Sheikh Muḥammad el Miṣri and visited Sennār and Arbagi, and then he returned and settled at Berber and there taught all the sciences, and was made a judge, and as such conducted himself with continence and rectitude.

XXV Sheikh Tág el Dín el Bahári too came from Baghdád, and Šūfiism obtained great fame in the land of the FUNG through him.

XXVI And a certain Moghrabi of Tlemsan, too, inspired Sheikh Muḥammad walad 'Ísa Sowár el Dhahab, and from him this Sheikh obtained direction in the right way, and taught others many of the branches of knowledge.

XXVII After King 'Adlān King Bádi Síd el Ḳūm came to the throne, and reigned three years, and died in 1023⁴.

XXVIII He was succeeded by el Rubát, who continued living at Sennār until his death in 1052⁵.

XXIX After him reigned his son King Bádi Abu Duḡn. He was a man of bravery and generosity and high purpose. He raided the White Nile and engaged its inhabitants, who are called SHILLUK, and he invaded the mountains of Tekáli that lie west of the White Nile some two days' march. The reason of his invading Tekáli was

¹ 1611 A.D.

² 1507 A.D.

³ 1650 A.D.

⁴ 1614 A.D.

⁵ 1642 A.D.

that the king of Teḡali had attacked one of his friends who journeyed thither, and plundered his goods, and when told that the victim was a friend of the king of Sennár had replied "If the king of Sennár wants me on his account and crosses the wastes of Um Lamá'a, then let him do what he will."

XXX Now the desert spoken of by the king of Teḡali is difficult to cross owing to lack of water, but must be passed by one going from Sennár to Teḡali. And when the man returned to his friend the *Mek* Bádi he told him how his possessions had been plundered and what the king of Teḡali had said, and [Bádi] at once equipped his troops and said to his friend "When we reach the wastes of Um Lamá'a, let me know." And when they arrived there the man told him, and the king and all his men dismounted from their horses and crossed over on foot. Then they remounted and rode on until they reached the hills of the NŪBA; and there they slew many and took numerous prisoners and so proceeded until they came to Teḡali and laid siege to it.

XXXI And the king of Teḡali had fortified it against them, and he used to come out to meet them by day, and send them provisions by night; and when the king of Sennár saw the generosity of his spirit he made terms with him on the basis of a fixed tribute payable yearly by the king of Teḡali.

XXXII Then he returned to Sennár with the prisoners taken from the NŪBA and Teḡali, and on arriving there built a village for each different race of prisoners; and these villages surrounded Sennár like a wall to the east and west, and the inhabitants acted as troops for the aid and protection of the realm, and they bred and multiplied until the fall of the FUNG kingdom. Now each village was named after the race inhabiting it, for instance "Teḡali" and "el Kadero" and "el Kanak" and "el Kárku."

XXXIII And this king was a man of continence and piety and paid great respect to the men of learning and religion, and he used to send presents with the guide Aḥmad walad 'Alwán to the learned men of el Maḥrūsa; and his virtues became so famous among them that they celebrated him in many poems, including that in which Sheikh 'Omar el Moghrabi says... (thirteen lines of poetry follow)... This poem is a long one, consisting of about seventy lines.

XXXIV And the same Sheikh also said of him... (nine lines of poetry follow); and this also is a long poem of about sixty lines.

XXXV Similarly all the best men of el Maḥrūsa sang thus in his praise, and the evidence of these learned men is sufficient honour.

XXXVI Among the praiseworthy monuments he left are the great

mosque he founded at Sennár, and the royal palace. The latter consisted of five stories on the top of one another, and a number of buildings adjoining them for the storage of government equipment, such as arms and the like. He also built two halls [*diwánayn*] where he might sit in council, one of them outside the palace and the other inside its enclosure, and round the whole he built a vast wall and made therein nine gates, and to each of the great men of his kingdom he appointed a special gate for entry or exit thereby.

XXXVII Likewise he made a special hall for the great men of the kingdom, wherein they might sit to consider their business; and if one of them [*lit.* "this chief"] wished to enter the hall [*diwán*] of the king he must enter alone, unaccompanied by any of his people. But the ninth gate was reserved for the king himself, and no man might enter with him or go out by it, save only the king and Walad 'Agíb the king of Kerri.

XXXVIII All these gates opened from the same frontage of the wall, which formed a straight line, and in front of them was a roofed area supported by two pillars, and under it a high bench [*mustaba*] called "Dakka man Nádák" ("The bench of him that hath called upon thee").

XXXIX These buildings survived until the time of the late Effendína Ismá'il Pasha the son of Effendína el Hág Muḥammad 'Alí Pasha; but in his days the palace fell and all traces of it disappeared. All glory be to Him whose kingdom continueth for ever!

XL King Bádi continued at Sennár like his predecessors, applying himself to the work of his kingdom and to doing good until he died in 1088¹ after a reign of thirty-six years.

XLI After him his brother's son Ounsa walad Náṣir came to the throne, and in 1095², during his reign, there occurred a great famine, so that men ate dogs; and they called this year "*Um Lahm*" ("Mother of Meat"), and many folk died, and certain districts were devastated owing to the famine and small-pox.

And King Ounsa remained at Sennár until his death in 1100³ after a reign of twelve years.

XLII He was succeeded by his son the *Mek* Bádi el Aḥmar ("The Red"), and he was the first FUNG king against whom a section of his people revolted; for el Amín Arádib walad 'Agíb rebelled with about a thousand men of the FUNG and others, and appointed over them as *Mek* one named Awkal. And they designed to depose the *Mek* Bádi el Aḥmar and made ready for war, but he, though having only about forty-five horsemen, met them and routed them and drove them

¹ 1677 A.D.

² 1684 A.D.

³ 1688-9 A.D.

to a place called el 'Aṭshán, and slew el Amín Arádib, and returned victorious.

XLIII And in his days lived the pious saint Aḥmad walad el Turábi. And Bádi reigned, honoured and respected, until his death in 1127¹ after a reign of twenty-seven² years.

XLIV After him came to the throne his son Ounsa; and he gave himself up to frivolous amusement and the practice of immorality, until the news of his doings reached the FUNG in the south, namely the troops of Lūlū, and they determined to depose him, for it is they who depose and appoint whatever king they choose without any slaying.

XLV And when they reached their decision they moved northwards until they reached el Kabūsh near Sennár, and then appointed Nūl to rule as king, and sent word to king Ounsa saying "If you put your vizier to death we will confirm you in your old position and not oppose you." Then Ounsa did as they bid him, and after some demur slew his vizier and sent the herald and some of the chief men [*'omad*] of Sennár to request forgiveness in accordance with their promise. But they paid no attention to these and maintained their resolve to depose him; and when he had abandoned all hope he begged for immunity for himself and his family, and this they granted him, and his reign came to an end.

XLVI This was in 1130³, and he was the last of the line of FUNG kings who belonged to the royal family.

XLVII He was succeeded by King Nūl, a connection of the OUNSAḌ family on the mother's side. He did not belong to the stock of the kings who preceded him, but his appointment was merely agreed upon because he was a sensible man and an orthodox follower of the Faith. And indeed the common opinion of him was justified, for he showed himself just and steady in his conduct, and in his days the people had complete rest, so that they called him "El Nóm" ["Sleep"] because he was so just. He reigned until his death in the eighth month of 1135⁴.

XLVIII After him ruled his son King Bádi "Abu Shelūkh"; and he was the last of the kings who were powerful, for at the close of his reign the Sheikhs of the HAMAG overcame him, and the constitutional appointment of kings became a farce, and all power, whether of loosing or of binding, passed into the hands of the HAMAG.

XLIX Now the HAMAG are a section of those Arabs who are descended from the ANWÁḌ [*i.e.* NŪBA], or, as another account says, a branch of

¹ 1715 A.D.

³ 1718 A.D.

² reading ʿv for ʿc.

⁴ 1723 A.D.

the GA'ALIYYŪN EL 'AWADĪA, who are of the seed of our lord el 'Abbās ibn 'Abd el Muṭṭalib; but God knows best.

L In the reign of Bādi "Abu Shelūkh" the Abyssinians advanced to the number of about 100,000, and the king made ready the troops of Islam against them with all their equipment and their arms complete, and begged the men of piety and learning to strive in prayer for the victory of Islam, and [appointed] over the army el Amīn and some of the great men of the realm who were noted for their strength and skill.

LI There also joined them Khamīs, the chief of the FŪR troops, with a large army; and in command of the cavalry was Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak, the chief of the HAMAG.

LII Then they set forth with Islamic resolve and ardour, and the engagement took place east of the river Dinder, near 'Agīb, and a furious combat ensued, and men innumerable were slain; but God gave the victory to the troops of Islam and the Abyssinians suffered a terrible defeat.

LIII And the Muhammadans took great booty and a quantity of rifles and cannon and tents and horses, etc., and the fame of this victory spread throughout the world of Islam, so that embassies came [to Sennār] from the Ḥegāz and el Sind and el Hind, and people [immigrated] from Upper Egypt and Morocco and settled there.

And owing to the terror of this victory the Abyssinians never attacked or raided Sennār [again].

LIV [The news of] the victory of the Muhammadan troops also reached the [Sultan of] the Sultans of Islam and the Emperor of the mighty Emperors, and he rejoiced exceedingly, and his heart dilated with pleasure.

LV After the victory the army returned to Sennār and held festivities and thanksgivings, and the king gave alms to the poor and needy and showed humility and abasement before God Almighty.

LVI Now this battle befel in *Ṣafar el Khayr* 1157¹.

LVII And King Bādi reigned for a long time, and in the early and middle years of his reign he had a good and devout vizier who managed the affairs of state excellently until death overtook him, but then the king undertook the ruling of affairs, and his first act was to slay the remainder of the OUNŚĀB; and he changed many of the laws and the established customs, and invoked the aid of the NŪBA, and appointed them chiefs in place of the old nobility, and consented to an evil policy of plunder and slaughter, even going so far as to connive at the murder of (?) the well-known man of learning el Khaṭīb

¹ 1744 A.D.

'Abd el Latîf. And; not content with the wrongs he inflicted himself, he let his sons also commit deeds of injustice and malice. So in general the atrocities which he committed alienated the hearts of his people, and especially those of the FUNG nobility and others.

LVIII While things were thus he made ready a great army to fight the MUSABA'ÂT, and in command was his vizier Walad Tóma, and among the chiefs was 'Abdulla walad 'Agîb, and among the famous warriors was Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak. Thus he set forth with his army until he reached the MUSABA'ÂT, and a battle took place at a place called Kîhayf in the year 1160¹, and the commander-in-chief Walad Tóma and 'Abdulla walad 'Agîb were killed and the army took to flight. But Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak rallied them and exhorted them and put strength into their hearts, and they returned and met the MUSABA'ÂT a second time, and a furious struggle ensued, and Shammám walad 'Agîb and el 'Agayl his son were slain.

LIX Then the king was informed of all that had taken place in both encounters and of the determination and patience of Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak and how he had rallied the soldiers, and he sent word appointing him commander-in-chief in Walad Tóma's stead.

LX And when he had learnt of his appointment Abu el Kaylak returned to war against the MUSABA'ÂT and used all his endeavours until God gave him the victory over them and suffered him to turn them out of Kordofán; and this was in the early part of the year.

LXI Now there were with Abu el Kaylak a number of the FUNG nobles, and news reached them that during their absence the king had ill-treated their dependants, so they came before Sheikh Muḥammad and voiced their grievance against the king and asked for his consent to their deposing Bádi and appointing another. And after discussion he consented to their plan and took up the matter in complete accord with them.

LXII The same day he struck camp and set out for Sennár with such troops and great men of the FUNG, that is slaves of the king, as were with him. This was in 1174². And after he had crossed the White Nile he camped at el Ís³ and sent to Náşir, the son of the *Mek* Bádi, saying that if he came to him he would appoint him king.

LXIII And Náşir came secretly to Sheikh Muḥammad at el Ís⁴, and they took the [usual] oaths and assurances from him, and set out for Sennár taking him with them.

LXIV On arriving there they besieged the *Mek*, and [finally]

¹ 11747 A.D.

² 1760 A.D.

³ reading باليس for باليس.

⁴ reading باليس for باليس.

granted him immunity for his person and safe conduct to Sóba; and he left Sennár in abasement.

LXV And when they knew he had left they entered Sennár unopposed and fulfilled their promise to the *Mek* Náşir and made him king. This was in 1175¹.

LXVI In these days the power of the FUNG dissolved and the power, whether of loosing or binding, passed to the HAMAG, and Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak subdued the king and put to death numbers of the great men of the FUNG.

LXVII And *Mek* Náşir remained *Mek* at Sennár until 1182², but Sheikh Muḥammad then deposed him and exiled him to the village of Buḡera beyond el Támayn.

LXVIII After his expulsion the *Mek* Náşir sent to some of the FUNG and asked their aid to make war upon Sheikh Muḥammad; so [the latter] sent his brother's son Bádi walad Ragab and Aḥmad walad Maḥmūd, the Sheikh of the FŪĀRI, and a detachment of troops, and they came in unto [Náşir] and slew him; and they had found him with the *Qurán* on his right hand and his prayer-mat on his left, for he was a learned man, and his handwriting was beautiful, God have mercy upon him!

LXIX Náşir's death was in 1182², and thereupon Sheikh Muḥammad appointed his brother Ismá'íl, son of the *Mek* Bádi, king at Sennár; but all power remained in the hands of Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak.

LXX And [Ismá'íl] removed abuses and acted justly by his people and treated well the men of religion, so that in return they prayed for him, and God blessed him in his lifetime and his seed after him.

LXXI And in this year there befel a great famine, and it was known as "*Sannat el Kabsa*" ("The Year of Pressure"); and in 1185³ the river rose to a great height, and likewise in 1189⁴.

LXXII In 1190⁵ Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak died, may God have mercy upon him! And Sheikh 'Adlān walad Şubāḥi, the Sheikh of Khashm el Baḥr, also; and between these two there had been great affection.

Now [the latter] was a continent and temperate man, honourable and pious.

LXXIII After the death of Sheikh Muḥammad the Sheikhs appointed Sheikh Bádi walad Ragab, the son of Sheikh Muḥammad's brother, and when this was done the FUNG collected and came before the *Mek* Ismá'íl seeking to be relieved of Sheikh Bádi. But when

¹ 1761 A.D.

² 1768 A.D.

³ 1771 A.D.

⁴ 1775 A.D. (reading ٨٩ for ٨٢).

⁵ 1776 A.D. (reading ١١٩. for ١١٩٨.)

Bádi heard of this he exiled the *Mek* Ismá'il to Sūákin and put the *Mek* 'Adlán upon the throne in his stead.

LXXIV And the viziership of Sheikh Bádi was successful, and he treated the people justly and extended all the boundaries of the realm, and even surpassed his uncle Sheikh Muḥammad in boldness and might and strength and bravery.

LXXV In his days the SHUKRÍA Arabs rebelled, so he made ready his army and marched against them and killed Sheikh Abu 'Ali, the Sheikh of the SHUKRÍA.

LXXVI Then he sent Sheikh 'Agíb walad 'Abdulla and Sheikh Ḳandaláwi to Táka to make war upon the ḤALANḲA Arabs, and they did so, and Sheikh 'Agíb and 'Ísáwi were killed. Ḳandaláwi returned, but the SHUKRÍA opposed him on his way and slew him. This was in 1193¹.

LXXVII And Sheikh Bádi remained at his home, the village of Rufá'a, east of the Nile, until the SHUKRÍA had been brought into subjection. And while there he beat Násir the son of Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak violently with whips, and deposed Sheikh Muḥammad el Amín and sent him to el Ḳerbayn; and he also deposed Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Ali², the Sheikh of the district of Khashm el Baḥr, and appointed [in his place] Šubáḥi walad 'Adlán.

LXXVIII Then his cousins, the sons of Sheikh Muḥammad, changed their attitude towards him on account of his having beaten their brother, and asked him for permission to go to Sennár for the treatment of the illness which had resulted to their brother from the beating. And he gave them leave, and when they reached Sennár they began plotting war and entered into an agreement with the *Mek* 'Adlán and some of the great men of the FUNG whose attitude Sheikh Bádi had caused to change.

LXXIX There also joined them Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Ali, the Sheikh of Khashm el Baḥr district, and Sheikh Muḥammad el Amín, the Sheikh of Kerri; and they all assembled at Sennár and made known their rebellion, hitherto covert, against Sheikh Bádi, and took all the horses and arms they could find from the Arabs, and marched for el Dákhila against Sheikh Shanbūl and Sheikh Šubáḥi, whom Sheikh Bádi had sent to collect the tribute of the RUFÁ'A Arabs.

LXXX The forces met at el Dákhila and fought, and Sheikh Shanbūl was killed and Sheikh Šubáḥi taken prisoner alive, and all the horses and the arms that had been with them were captured.

¹ 1779 A.D.

² reading محمد ولد شيخ احمد ولد علي شيخ.

LXXXI Now as soon as ever they had resolved upon rebellion the news thereof had reached Sheikh Bádi, but he had not bothered himself until he heard that Sheikh el Amín walad 'Agīb was privy to the plot, but hearing this he said "Now it is war," for he knew that Sheikh el Amín was a match for him in bravery and strength; and he started at once and crossed the Nile and paused not, not even at Sennár, in his eagerness against them, until they met in battle.

LXXXII The commander of his troops was his son, and after a fierce battle his army and his son fled; and when he saw that he drew his sword and plunged into the [enemies'] army alone, and he asked every man he met [his name], and he would reply "So and so," and Bádi would pass on, until finally there met him Sheikh el Amín, and when questioned [as to his name] the latter replied "Muḥammad el Amín"; and when Bádi had made sure of this he struck him three blows, but they did him no hurt because his mail was strong and Sheikh Bádi struck blindly from the excitement of his anger.

LXXXIII Then Sheikh el Amín struck Bádi a single and surer blow, for his sword was sharp and his knowledge of warfare complete, and Sheikh Bádi tried to keep his balance upon his horse's back but could not, and fell to the earth.

LXXXIV And lying thus he called for his uncle's sons, Ragab and Násir and Idrís and 'Adlán and their other brothers, that he might give them his last instructions. Then Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Alí said to him "Are you even yet alive?" and smote him on the mouth with his sword, and he died.

LXXXV But when the sons of his uncle Abu el Kaylak came up they were exceedingly wroth with Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Alí for striking their brother as he lay on the ground, and thus were laid the foundations of the enmity between the sons of Abu el Kaylak and those of Aḥmad.

LXXXVI The death of Sheikh Bádi was in 1194¹, and he was succeeded as Sheikh and vizier by Sheikh Ragab walad Muḥammad, and the king, if he could be so called, was 'Adlán.

LXXXVII And Sheikh Ragab went to Kordofán and remained there besieging the mountains, and he sent his brother, Sheikh Násir, with about 700 horsemen to the Gezira to give battle to Sheikh el Amín at el Hilálá, which lies east of the Blue Nile.

LXXXVIII And when they came upon Sheikh el Amín he had with him only sixteen horsemen of his own family and slaves, but a fierce engagement took place and the troops of Sheikh Násir were routed and driven into the river.

¹ 1780 A.D.

LXXXIX When Sheikh Nāṣir had established himself in the Gezira he summoned Bādi walad Mismār, the brother of Sheikh el Amín, and made him Sheikh in the place of his brother.

XC This was in 1198¹; and when Sheikh el Amín learnt that it was the people of Arbāgi by whose influence his brother Bādi had been appointed, he betook himself to the SHUKRĪA and enlisted their aid, and with them attacked the town of Arbāgi and put its fighting men and such as were scattered in different parts to the sword, and razed it to the ground and left it desert, though it had been the fairest town in the Gezira, populous and prosperous in trade, with fine buildings and schools of learning and religion, inhabited by men of wealth and well stocked with provisions. But from that day forward it lay waste until now.

XCI While all this was happening Sheikh Ragab was in Kordofán, and his brother Ibráhīm, who was known as "Walad Salāṭīn," at Sennár with the king, acting for his brother, in charge of all his possessions.

XCII Then 'Adlán bethought himself of how the HAMAG had treated his father the *Mek* Ismá'íl and his grandfather the *Mek* Bādi, and sent for Sheikh el Amín and the AWLĀD NIMR; and they came before him, and he mustered his courage and arrested Ibráhīm walad Muḥammad by their advice, for when he had sought their alliance they had said to him "We will not agree unless you arrest Ibráhīm."

XCIII So he arrested him and the HAMAG who were with him and Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Alī and el Zayn walad Hārūn and el Amín walad Tiktak and Walad Ḳandalāwī and slew them all in the *fāsher*, that is in the market-place (*sūk*).

XCIV Then he fetched out the daughters of Sheikh Muḥammad and distributed them to the chiefs of the troops as slaves. This was in 1199². Now el Na'īsan, the famous poet, was living at Sennár at this time, and the king designed to put him to death because of his inclination towards the children of Abu el Kaylak, and menaced him with angry words; and he, seeing his death was intended, fled away to Kordofán; and so soon as he saw Sheikh Ragab he wept and sobbed and recited a number of woeful elegies wherein he described the slaying of Ibráhīm and the enslavement of the daughters of Muḥammad.

XCV And when Sheikh Ragab heard of the murder of his brother and learnt how he had been dishonoured, he set forth straightway with his troops; and there were with him the *Malik* Sa'ad ibn el Mek Idrīs walad el Faḥl and el Ḥāg Maḥmūd el Magdhūb, the worker of miracles.

¹ 1784 A.D.

² 1785 A.D.

XCVI And Ragab pushed forward until he reached the village of Shádli. And as they marched Sheikh Maḥmūd el Magdhūb used to say "O Sennár the flames have come upon thee!" and at times "The flood has quenched the flame!"; and on the eve of the battle he said "I and thou!"—referring to the [impending] death of himself and Sheikh Ragab.

XCVII And the armies met at a place called el Teras and fought, and Sheikh Ragab and el Hág Maḥmūd were slain.

XCVIII Now the sons of Sheikh Ragab were Muḥammad and Dóka and Bádi and Ḥasan and 'Ali and Ibráhím and Kamatu.

XCIX And it is said of el Hág Maḥmūd that after he had been buried the call to prayer used to be heard nightly at his tomb, for in his lifetime he was a *muedhdhin* ("one who calls to prayer").

C And when Sheikh Ragab had been killed his troops fled in disorder and reached the village of 'Abūd, and when they had camped there they were all of different minds and some said one thing and some another, but in the end they decided to scatter in flight.

CI Then the *feki* Ḥegázi Abu Zayd sent to them and bade them be of good heart and promised them victory and said he would inspire them; so they were reassured and made Sheikh Násir walad Muḥammad their Sheikh. This was in 1202¹.

CII And Sheikh Násir remained at el Tómat for two years and then moved to Ṭaiba Kandaláwi for a space.

CIII Meanwhile King 'Adlán was being treated for his illness, and [on his recovery] he prepared a mighty host and appointed to command it el Amín Raḥma walad Katfáwi, with whom were Muḥammad walad Khamís Abu Rída and a number of the great men of the FUNG.

CIV The armies met at a place called Intarahná and a fierce battle followed. The troops of the king were routed, but among the HAMAG was slain 'Ali walad Salátín, the son of Sheikh Muḥammad and brother of Ibráhím, a man renowned for his bravery.

CV And there was great slaughter among the troops of the *Mek*, and some of them were drowned in the river. And Sheikh Násir's men pursued them and drove them into Sennár. Then the *Mek* was exceedingly sorry that he had not accompanied his troops in person, and so great was his grief that he survived but a few days and then died.

CVI But Sheikh Násir encamped with his army at el Labayḥ and closely besieged the *Mek's* troops, and the population fell into dire straits, so that finally the *Mek's* army sallied forth to give him battle; but they were discomfited before any fighting actually took place,

¹ 1787 A.D.

and Nāṣir and his men entered Sennár and made great havoc there, and pursued the routed army to el Sáli, and then returned.

CVII This was in 1203¹, and from now onwards the FUNG ceased to have any authority or leadership, and their king was quite powerless: in fact the kings were like prisoners in the hands of the HAMAG, even as one of the 'Abbásid Khalífas said when their rule had fallen into decay and their power gone, "Ah! Is it not wonderful that one like myself should see even the least thing forbidden him, and, though the whole earth was once dependent upon him, have nought whatever of it in his hands?"

CVIII And in the same year Sheikh Nāṣir appointed Awkal king, but after a short space he replaced him by Ṭabl, and proceeded with the latter northwards to fight against Sheikh el Amín and Abu Rída.

CIX The armies met at a place near Shendi and *Mek* Ṭabl was slain and the Sheikh suffered a severe defeat.

CX Then he appointed Bádi king, and he too was killed at el Ḥalfáya, and at the same time was killed *Mek* Rubát, the nominee of Sheikh el Amín and Abu Rída. *Mek* Ḥasab Rabbihi was then appointed, but he too died.

CXI All this occurred in 1204², and in the same year Sheikh Nāṣir returned to Sennár.

CXII And in 1205³ Sheikh Muḥammad el Amín walad Mismár was killed by Abu Rída because the former had severely flogged Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agíb. [Sheikh Muḥammad] was residing at the village of Walad Bán el Nuḳá, and all his sons were away; so when they saw him all alone they determined to kill him, but they dared not openly attack him because he was known to be a man of great bravery and courage. But they went to work secretly and climbed on to the top of his house and pulled off the roofing and stoned him from a distance until he was dead.

CXIII The same year Sheikh Nāṣir made Nowwár king. And Nowwár remained at Sennár, and Sheikh Nāṣir perceived that he was a man of sagacity and strength, so he grew afraid of him and made haste to put him to death.

CXIV He then appointed *Mek* Bádi walad Ṭabl, who reigned until the time of the late Ismá'il Pasha, the son of Effendína Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha.

CXV Now at the time of his accession *Mek* Bádi was very young, but as all the power [of the FUNG kings] was now merged in that of the HAMAG I have not mentioned the exact length of time [each reigned].

¹ 1788 A.D.

² 1789 A.D.

³ 1790 A.D.

CXVI Sheikh Nāṣir was fond of amusement and play, and very capricious. It is even said that he never touched gold with his hand, excepting on one occasion, when it befel that one of his friends came to him and told him that he proposed going to the Ḥegáz; and Nāṣir opened his coffer and filled both his hands with gold to give it to the man, and he intended the man to hold out the flap of his robe so that he might bestow upon him lavishly; but the man held out [only] his two hands, so Nāṣir gave him what was in his own hands and no more.

CXVII And many tales are told of his generosity, and it is said that four kings who were all famous for their generosity lived at the same time, namely Nāṣir at Sennár, and the Sultan 'Abd el Rahman in Dárfūr, and Murád Bey in Egypt, and Aḥmad Pasha el Gazár in Syria, and each of the latter three had a larger empire than Nāṣir.

CXVIII And between him and el Ḥág Sulaymán walad Aḥmad existed complete friendship and trust, and when the latter came to him he used to honour him and bestow on him bountiful gifts; and he was, God have mercy on his soul, a man held in honour and respect.

CXIX Nāṣir continued in residence at Sennár, and Muḥammad walad Khamís Abu Rída at el Ṭurfáya, east of Sennár, paying no heed to Nāṣir but occasionally entering Sennár alone, by night and secretly, to have discourse with his friends, and then leaving it.

CXX Things remained thus for some time, and in 1211¹ Nāṣir crossed the river with his troops, accompanied by his brother 'Adlán, to attack Abu Rída; and a fight ensued and Abu Rída was killed and the villages on the east bank were looted and laid waste. But with all his generosity Sheikh Nāṣir was an oppressor and held not his hand from taking the possessions of true believers, but enriched one man by impoverishing another.

CXXI And in his time the *feki* Ḥegázi died of thirst in prison. A number also of the ḤADÁRMA were slain by the hand of his brother Ḥusayn. But subsequently he turned upon this brother and seized all the possessions and herds he had.

CXXII In his time, too, died the *feki* 'Abd el Rahman Abu Zayd, the pious and learned saint, and also that other holy man the *feki* Muḥammad Nūr Šubr.

CXXIII During the days of his rule, again, the Sultan Háshim walad 'Ísáwí and the sons of Sheikh el Amín, supported by FEZÁRA and BENI GERÁR, advanced into the Gezira; and Nāṣir went out against them and met them near Sírū. And they came to terms and all returned to Sennár excepting the BENI GERÁR, who went back

¹ 1796 A.D.

whence they came after Nāṣir had honoured them and given presents to their chiefs.

CXXIV Now Sheikh Nāṣir had entrusted the management of the kingdom to his vizier el Arbāb Dafa'alla, while he himself devoted his time to frivolity and amusement; and he had become infatuated with his slaves, and they took to oppressing the people without any hindrance from him, for he had given them orders that none of his brethren nor the chief men of the kingdom were to have access to him until they had applied to his vizier el Arbāb Dafa'alla.

CXXV And [the nobles] were thereby irritated, and the hearts of the people were alienated by the oppression they suffered; and his brethren for the same reasons threw off their allegiance to him and defied him. So they openly rebelled, and collected at 'Abūd and thereabouts, and were joined by all those whose purpose it suited that Nāṣir's rule should come to an end.

CXXVI This was in 1212¹; and when Nāṣir learnt of it he went out to fight them, and camped at el Sabīl and tried to win them over by the medium of men of learning and rank. He likewise sent to them their sisters the daughters of Abu el Kaylak; but they would have no truck with him at all on any condition save that he should resign the sheikhship. And when he saw there was no hope of winning them back to allegiance he returned to Sennār; and his brethren quitted 'Abūd and followed him until they reached el Buḡera, a village near Sennār. And when Nāṣir saw they were at el Buḡera he took some of his treasures and fled to the southern districts by night. And news of his flight reached them the following morning, and on receipt of it they entered Sennār.

CXXVII Then Idrīs remained at Sennār, and 'Adlān followed in [Nāṣir's] tracks as far as the village of Sirū, which lies west of the Nile, but failed to overtake him, and, hearing that he had made for Deberki on the river Dinder, and despairing of coming up with him, he returned to Sennār.

CXXVIII And Nāṣir remained near Deberki for a time and then moved northwards to seek protection with Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agīb.

CXXIX And when Nāṣir arrived Sheikh 'Abdulla gave him protection, and he stayed with him at el Ḥalfāya, and after a while he crossed the Nile and took up his abode at the village of 'Abūd.

CXXX But when his brethren heard of his whereabouts they set forth from Sennār and went to the village of Abu Ḥarāz, which lies east of the Nile, and camped there. And Idrīs remained at Abu

¹ 1797 A.D.

Ḥaráz and sent on 'Adlán with his slaves and some of the troops, but he took the precaution of including no HAMAG or FUNG among them for fear of disaffection.

CXXXI And when el Arbáb Dafa'alla, the vizier of Násir, got the news of 'Adlán and the dissension among the troops, he took his helmet off his head and went to meet 'Adlán's army and sought peace for himself.

CXXXII And Násir was captured without any bloodshed and taken back by 'Adlán to Abu Ḥaráz and handed over to Šubáḥi walad Bádi to be slain in revenge for the slaying of the latter's father Bádi walad Ragab. And Šubáḥi slew him and buried him at Abu Ḥaráz close by the tomb of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki. This was in the early part of 1213¹.

CXXXIII Idrís was then chosen to be Sheikh. He was a patient and brave man, kind of heart and just to the people, and by nature he loathed thieves and never inflicted upon them any other punishment than death, so that in his days the crime of theft was stamped out, and men left their possessions and their wares spread out in the marketplace all night and all day with no one to guard them, and yet nothing whatever was taken, and there was no fear unless it were that a dog might take some meat.

CXXXIV And complete contentment reigned, and Idrís was assisted by his brother 'Adlán in organizing his kingdom and quelling such Arab tribes as were rebellious and seditious; and indeed 'Adlán undertook no expedition but he returned victorious.

CXXXV Most of their efforts were directed against the nomad Arabs with a view to weakening their power of revolt, and in consequence the inhabitants of the villages enjoyed a period of peace.

CXXXVI Among the viziers of Idrís were el Arbáb Ḳurashi and el Arbáb Zayn el 'Ábdín walad el Sayyid el feki 'Abd el Gelíl walad 'Ámir and the *feki* el Amín walad el 'Ashá, but he did not entrust them with the management of his kingdom as his brother Sheikh Násir had entrusted it to his vizier el Arbáb Dafa'alla, preferring to direct affairs himself.

CXXXVII In consequence his position was strengthened, as the poet has it of a man who does his work in person . . . (a few verses follow).

CXXXVIII Then, when everything had been settled, Sheikh Idrís went in person to el Ḥalfáya, towards the close of 1214², to war upon Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agíb on account of certain words the latter had been reported as having uttered in favour of their brother Sheikh Násir.

¹ 1798 A.D.

² 1799 A.D.

CXXXIX And the armies met and a fierce battle ensued, until finally Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agib was slain and his troops routed.

CXL Then Sheikh Idrís offered them peace and appointed over them Sheikh Násir walad el Amín, who was still in power in the time of the late-lamented, the dweller in Paradise.

CXLI Now Sheikh 'Abdulla was a just ruler, an ardent follower of the faith and an observer of the *Kurán*; and during his rule he ordered that when women were married smaller dowries should be paid, and the result was an increase in the number of marriages and consequently of births.

CXLII It was he, too, who bade everyone in the market, even the butchers, when they heard the call to prayer, to assemble at the mosque for public worship; and this became a general custom and continued even after his death.

CXLIII Among his praiseworthy acts, again, was the extirpation of the robbers who were known as "el 'Akált": he caught them band by band and cut off their heads, and so stamped out theft and robbery in his days.

CXLIV Sheikh Idrís remained at el Háfáya and sent his brother 'Adlán with a troop of soldiers to the neighbourhood of Shendi, and 'Adlán, on reaching Walad Bán el Nuḳá, wrote to the *Mek* Muḥammad walad Nimr promising to sanction his appointment as king of the country of the GA'ALIYYŪN,—for the *Mek* Sa'ad had died.

CXLV And when the letter reached the *Mek* Muḥammad walad Nimr he was surprised at it and forgot how he and his brothers had acted in the time of King 'Adlán the Fungówi in the matter of enslaving the daughters of Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak, for in the hour of his fate he was blinded.

CXLVI So he and a number of his brothers and cousins and his son Idrís, who was still small, went out [to meet 'Adlán]; but Sa'ad and Nimr refused to go with them and fled away by themselves.

CXLVII And when King Muḥammad and his brothers and cousins and his son Idrís presented themselves, ['Adlán] imprisoned all of them, and *Mek* Muḥammad died in prison from the grievous weight of chains heaped upon him. And as for the *Mek's* son Idrís, his mother came and ransomed him for 300 *wukías* of gold. But of the rest of the prisoners only el Fahl was released, and he only at the intercession of el Hág Sulaymán walad Aḥmad.

CXLVIII 'Adlán then started for el Háfáya with the other captives, keeping Nimr and his companions, who offered no resistance, surrounded; but when it was dark Nimr and his companions escaped.

CXLIX Then the chiefs of the MAGÁDHÍB intervened to the end

that 'Adlân should return to Shendi; and at Shendi he appointed Musá'ad as *Mek*, and, this done, returned to his brother Sheikh Idrís at el Ḥalfáya with the rest of the captive AWLÁD NIMR. And after he had reached el Ḥalfáya and met his brother they proceeded to Sennár and there executed the prisoners.

CL In 1216¹ war broke out between the *Mek* Nimr and the *Mek* Musá'ad, and this war was called "The war of the 'Awálīb," and during its course 'Adlân went west and fought with the *Mek* 'Ísáwi and defeated him and brought him back captive to Sennár, where he died in prison.

CLI In 1217² occurred the war of the BAṬĀḤÍN and the SHUKRÍA, and Sheikh 'Awaḍ el Kerím Abu Sin, Sheikh of the SHUKRÍA Arabs, was killed.

CLII In the same year died el Ḥág Násir walad Matassi, a man of piety, and also the *feki* Mişri walad Kandı́l, a student of the Kúrán and a pious man; and also Sheikh Yüsef the son of Sheikh Muḥammad walad el Ṭerayfi. He too was a pious man, and the *feki* Aḥmad walad el Ṭaib and others composed elegies upon him.

CLIII We will now return to the history of the Sheikh. The historian states that Sheikh Idrís followed in the steps of his father Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak in justice and beneficence until he died in the month of *Gemád el Ákhir* 1218³.

CLIV He was succeeded in the Sheikhship by his brother 'Adlân, but the latter neglected his kingdom and exercised no vigilance in its affairs and gave himself up to pleasure. But he only ruled for the rest of *Gemád* and *Ragab* and *Sha'abán*, and on the 16th of *Ramaḍán* he was slain.

CLV And the manner of his death was thus. As soon as he became distracted from the affairs of state and ceased to give his attention to them, his foes roused themselves, and their ambitions were excited. The first to make a plot for his downfall was Muḥammad walad Ragab walad Muḥammad, who conspired with Kamtūr and the *Mek* Ránfi and some of the FUNG and some of Sheikh 'Adlân's own entourage. These dared not yet openly proclaim their revolt, but lay quiet awaiting an opportunity; and finally God willed the consummation of their hopes, for Muḥammad walad Násir "Abu Rísh," who was in great need of corn, moved from the village of el Kubr; and this man had had a brother named 'Ali, who was bold and reckless and used to abuse roundly all that 'Adlân did, and it was said—and God knows the truth—that 'Adlân had poisoned him: so then "Abu Rísh" left el Kubr and joined Muḥammad walad Ragab and

¹ 1801 A.D.² 1802 A.D.³ 1803 A.D.

the others who have been mentioned above, and their hearts were fortified and their backs strengthened because of their knowledge of the temerity and enterprise of Muḥammad "Abu Rīsh" in all matters of difficulty. Now on the night agreed upon by the conspirators 'Adlān was being wed to the daughter of Walad Guma'a and was filled with happiness and joy, and there was with him a clever man to whom news had come of the conspiracy, and this man quoted to him the following lines as a warning against being taken unawares . . . (two lines of poetry follow: the author then recounts how 'Adlān was none the less surprised and wounded, but got on his horse and rode off with his son Muḥammad, but fell dead at Sennār from his wounds) . . . And when the conspirators received news of this they went thither [to Sennār] and bore him into a compound that belonged to him and buried him there.

CLVI Then King Rānfi and Sheikh Kamtūr and Muḥammad walad Nāṣir all agreed to the appointment of Muḥammad walad Ragab, and he was made Sheikh, but the real power lay with Muḥammad "Abu Rīsh."

CLVII And the *Mek* Rānfi and Sheikh Kamtūr and Walad Ragab¹ and Muḥammad "Abu Rīsh" all remained at Sennār, but they were no longer of one mind, and, as God Almighty said, "You deem them to be together but their hearts are far apart."

CLVIII And the month of *Ramaḍān*, in the middle of which 'Adlān had been slain, had not passed before they were at open enmity. The KAMĀTĪR (*i.e.* family of Kamtūr) formed one party and the sons of Muḥammad [walad Nāṣir "Abu Rīsh"] the other, and they came to blows . . . (the author gives details of the fighting: Muḥammad walad Nāṣir and Muḥammad walad Ragab were ranged against Kamtūr; Kamtūr proved victorious; Walad Ragab was imprisoned at Sennār; Walad Nāṣir was wounded; and Kamtūr's followers took to looting at Sennār. Then the 'Ulema tried to effect a reconciliation and Kamtūr was persuaded to return the loot and release Muḥammad walad Ragab, but Muḥammad walad Nāṣir "Abu Rīsh" refused the overtures and gave battle to Kamtūr, late in 1218^a, and drove him across the river) . . .

CLIX And when Walad Nāṣir had won the victory he entered Sennār and put to death the *feki* el Amín walad el 'Ashá, the vizier of his uncle Sheikh Idrís.

CLX And the sheikhship was confirmed to his cousin Muḥammad walad Ragab in name, but in actual fact [Muḥammad "Abu Rīsh"] directed affairs entirely.

CLXI And [the latter] prepared to reside at Kassala, but when all was quiet again and the fighting had ceased, he entered Sennār and

¹ reading *وليد* for *وليد*.

² 1803 A.D.

put to death the *Mek Ránfi* and sent for the *Mek Bádi*, whom his uncle, Sheikh Idris, had deposed, and appointed him king. And Bádi remained king until the coming of the late Ismá'il Pasha the son of Effendína.

CLXII And in this same year 1218¹ died the famous and learned *feki* 'Ali Baqádi.

CLXIII Then Sheikh Kamtūr gathered together such of his family and relatives as remained with him and set out for Khashm el Baḥr, that is the east bank of the Nile, and settled there until the year '19², and in the latter part of that year he moved northwards.

CLXIV And when Walad Ragab heard of this he had Kamtūr pursued until he was forced to cross the Nile. And Kamtūr stopped at Omdurmán, and the '*Ulema* and men of religion intervened and prevented Muḥammad's people [from touching Kamtūr], so they returned to el Gedíd, while Kamtūr crossed over to the east bank and went back.

CLXV Meanwhile, Walad Ragab was camped at Walad Medani, and Walad Náşir went to Kassala [and stayed there] till the beginning of 1221³.

CLXVI Then Walad Ragab and Walad Náşir fell out until they came to be actually at war, and their forces met at a place called el Harába and attacked each other, and the *feki* Zayn el 'Ábdín walad el Sayyid was killed, and Walad Ragab was routed and driven to el 'Aylafūn. But Walad Náşir, instead of pursuing him, went home to Kassala and appointed as Sheikh his uncle Sheikh el Ḥusayn walad Muḥammad, while he himself with his slaves remained at Kassala enjoying and amusing himself.

CLXVII And Walad Ragab entered into correspondence with Sheikh Kamtūr and the family of Sulaymán ("Awlád Sulaymán"), and Sheikh Kamtūr and his brethren came and camped at Abu Ḥaráz, and with them the Awlád Sulaymán and the Awlád Shambūl, excepting Sheikh 'Adlán; and Walad Ragab met them there, and they entered into a compact to war upon Walad Náşir, and appointed as their king one called 'Agbán.

CLXVIII (The author describes how in the middle of the year both Walad Náşir and his brother died suddenly on the same day. The slaves of Walad Náşir and of [his uncle] 'Adlán [walad Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak] then fell to quarrelling together, as Walad Náşir had only left a small son and 'Adlán's slaves preferred their master's son Muḥammad. The two factions fought and 'Adlán's slaves fled and joined Muḥammad Walad Ragab and Kamtūr. With this new addition to his forces Walad Ragab then attacked

¹ 1803 A.D.

² 1804 A.D.

³ 1806 A.D. (reading 1551 for 1515).

Walad Násir's slaves, but he was defeated at Taiba Qandaláwi and el Hág Sulaymán walad Aḥmad was killed. Walad Ragab then fled to 'Aylafūn and Kamtūr to Abu Ḥaráz, and Walad Násir's slaves retired again to Kassala, via the village of Walad el Magdhūb, and made one Tayfara their ruler.)

CLXIX And among the sons of their masters the slaves had with them Muḥammad walad Ibráhīm walad Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak; and when they were returning after their victory this man asked their leave to make a raid on [the] BAQḤÁRA, and they gave him leave: so he parted [from them at] Walad el Magdhūb and raided [the] BAQḤÁRA and took some spoil, which he sent to the slaves at Kassala.

CLXX Then he met [the] FEZÁRA and entered into league with them to fight the slaves and accompanied them to el Khartoum, where they looted as they willed and slew Ibráhīm ibn el feki Muḥammad walad 'Ali, the *khalifa* of the *feki* Arbáb.

CLXXI Muḥammad walad Ibráhīm then went to 'Abūd and stayed there. The slaves meanwhile remained at Kassala in impiety and drunkenness and villainy; and all power, for loosing or for binding, was in their hands for eight months.

CLXXII (The author then tells how Muḥammad walad Ibráhīm was joined by many of the notables and made his plans. The slaves being apprised of this went to Sennár and put the family of Ragab in chains and took them to Kassala. Muḥammad then attacked them and killed a number and captured the rest. He put all the prisoners to death excepting Tayfara, who during his brief rule had done no harm in word or deed.)

CLXXIII Thus the power passed to Walad Ibráhīm, and he resided at Taiba Qandaláwi for a time and then moved to Um Ḍaraysa.

CLXXIV Meanwhile Muḥammad walad Ragab had been at el 'Aylafūn, but he now moved to Abu Ḥaráz and looted the FÁDNÍA Arabs.

CLXXV Then the 'ARAKIYYŪN came to him and told him that the loot had not belonged to the FÁDNÍA but to themselves. He, however, refused their request and reviled them, wherefore they named him "The Rough-tongued," and affairs came to such a pass that he attacked them and slew Sheikh Dafa'alla walad el Šāmūta and Abu 'Ākla ibn el Sheikh Yūsef, though he had but few troops with him; and his victory was so complete that they fell into¹ the grain pits (*maṭmūra*) and hid therein and were put to the extreme of shame.

CLXXVI Then Sheikh Muḥammad walad Ragab relented and left the 'ARAKIYYŪN and went towards el Ṭurfáya to meet Sheikh Kamtūr and seek his protection, and Kamtūr accorded it him because of the fear of Walad Ibráhīm that was in his heart; or rather, as soon as

¹ reading سقطوا for سقوا.

ever Walad Ibráhím made representations to him, he seized him [Walad Ragab] and sent him to him [Walad Ibráhím]. And when he arrived Walad Ibráhím handed him over to Muḥammad walad 'Adlán to be slain in revenge for his father ['Adlán]. So he was put to death, God have mercy upon him!

CLXXVII And when Walad Ibráhím had settled his affairs and got all the power into his own hands he rested awhile without any quarrels; but on hearing that Muḥammad walad 'Adlán had entered into an agreement with el Arbáb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad and the *feki* Medani walad el 'Abbás and others to attack him and throw off his sway, he seized the *feki* Medani and put him to death; but el Arbáb Dafa'alla received news of the execution and fled eastwards to Sába'a Dólb.

CLXXVIII Then Walad Ibráhím, with his vizier el Arbáb Ḳurashi and a body of his men, went to the village of Walad Bahá el Dín and sent for Muḥammad walad 'Adlán from the village of Borḳū; and when he arrived Walad Ibráhím and his vizier Ḳurashi took him into the *khalwa*, that is the place of worship of that pious man, and Ḳurashi began addressing him with rude and offensive words. Walad 'Adlán, however, replied in conciliatory and gentle terms, so finally Walad Ibráhím bade his brother cut his throat.

CLXXIX Now the slaves of Násir who were following Walad Ibráhím were standing outside the *khalwa*, and as soon as they heard the "cut his throat" they cast earth upon the heads of the slaves of 'Adlán, who had come with Muḥammad walad 'Adlán, and the latter at once drew their swords and took up their position at the door of the *khalwa*. And the slaves of Walad Ibráhím and the slaves of Násir wavered, for they were not averse to the appointment of [Walad] 'Adlán and detested Walad Ibráhím on account of his having handed over the charge of affairs to Ḳurashi. And the slaves of 'Adlán demanded Walad Ibráhím from them and threatened them and frightened them by saying they would loose their master Walad Ibráhím upon them or else burn them and him together in a fire.

CLXXX And Ḳurashi was very nervous and blustered greatly and showed his disquietude and fear; and finally they brought out Walad 'Adlán; and Walad 'Adlán saw the gulfs of death yawning before him and was terrified, and his breath was choked with the imminence of the destruction that was upon him, and he stood fascinated.

CLXXXI Now the horse of Walad Ibráhím with the king's caparisons upon it was standing near, and Abu Sulaymán the slave of 'Adlán shouted to him [Walad 'Adlán] "Why are you stupified? Mount the mare and plunge your sword into the hearts of these dogs who wished to kill you!" And when Walad 'Adlán heard him and realised what

was before him he sprang upon the mare as it stood and drew his sword.

CLXXXII Then the slaves of Nāṣir at once gathered round him, and he regained his confidence and ordered them to fetch out Walad Ibrāhīm and Ḳurashi from the *khawā* after taking away from them their swords. And the soldiers rallied to Walad 'Adlān and took Walad Ibrāhīm and his vizier Ḳurashi to the village of Borḳū; and on arrival [Walad 'Adlān] at once slew Ḳurashi, in accordance with the wishes of Nāṣir's slaves who were following him, and proceeded to Sennār accompanied by all the soldiers, and there imprisoned Walad Ibrāhīm in the house of his father's sister Mahayra.

CLXXXIII This all occurred in 1223¹, and the rule of Walad Ibrāhīm, which had lasted for sixteen months beginning from *Ragab* '23 ['22?], came to an end; and the power passed to Muḥammad walad 'Adlān, who slew all the sons of Ragab except Ḥasan, who was in the end destined to cause his death.

CLXXXIV He also put to death Muḥammad walad el Sheikh Idrīs, and many people who rebelled against him, and Muḥammad walad Ibrāhīm who had been held captive near el Manāḳil, and then he went in the direction of the White Nile and collected the remnant of the slaves of Nāṣir and a young son of his and slew them all. . . (The author adds further remarks as to the severe measures taken by Walad 'Adlān to consolidate his power). . .

CLXXXV And in the days of Walad 'Adlān, in '24², an epidemic was caused by yellow fever, and many people perished; and this illness was called by the natives "*el kik*," and among the notables who succumbed to it was el Ḥāg Muḥammad walad Nūrayn of the stock of Sheikh Ḥāmid walad Abu 'Aṣā, and the *feki* Muḥammad Nūrayn of el Ḥalfāya, the author of the *Biographies* (*lit. series*) of *the Saints of the Sudan* ("*Ṭabaḳāt el Awliyā bi'l Sūdān*"), who was mourned by Sheikh Ibrāhīm 'Abd el Dāfa'i in a very beautiful elegy of about twelve lines, beginning as follows: "Let the eye weep all its days with grief for the running of the river dry. He was rich in learning, a pontiff and son of a pontiff, a guest of God's own. Verily he has won prestige and glory in the earth."

CLXXXVI Early in 1225³ Muḥammad 'Adlān moved northwards to war against Sheikh Nāṣir walad el Amīn, and the latter heard of his coming and fled to Shendi. And Walad 'Adlān reached el Ḥalfāya and stayed there awhile accompanied by the *Mek* Bādī and his uncle Sheikh Ḥusayn and all his troops.

¹ 1808 A.D.

² 1809 A.D.

³ 1810 A.D.

CLXXXVII Then he returned to Sennár without having fought. In '26¹ occurred a war between the SA'ADÁB and the GIMÍ'ÁB in which was killed el Arbáb Bánuká [*i.e.* Bán el Nuḳá], a brave and noble and pious man; and a number of his cousins fell with him, and the remainder took to flight; and as a result of this war the power of the GIMÍ'ÁB was greatly enhanced and their heads were raised over the kings of the GAMŪ'FA and Walad 'Agíb.

CLXXXVIII In '27² Walad 'Adlán set out to collect tribute from the RUFÁ'A Arabs in the vicinity of Gebel Moya; and el Labayḥ fled from him but was pursued by the troops and overtaken, and some of his people were killed and much booty taken.

CLXXXIX In '28³ Walad 'Adlán went to el Ṭurfáya and stayed there awhile, and there came to him Sheikh Khalífa with a certain Effendi. And in the same year there appeared a comet, which was followed by a severe famine; and that year was called "The Year of Hardship" [*"Sannat el Gībīṣ"*].

CXC In '29⁴ died Sheikh Ḥasan ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Raḥman walad Bán el Nuḳá. He was the possessor of a library of books, all of which were lost at the time of Nimr's revolt in the Turkish days. There also died the pious el Ḥág Dafa'alla walad Ḍayfulla this year at el Ḥalfáya...

CXCI (The author describes how in the same year Walad 'Adlán, who was at 'Abūd, prepared to attack Nāṣir walad 'Agíb, the 'Abdullábi, at el Ḥalfáya. He was interrupted by news that the *Mek* Bádi was starting from Sennár against him and had enlisted the KAMÁTÍR, *i.e.* the AWLÁD KAMTŪR, to assist him. Walad 'Adlán therefore turned south and besieged the *Mek*, but a friendly agreement was soon reached and Walad 'Adlán visited the *Mek* at Sennár and was received with due honour. In 1231⁵ Walad 'Adlán resumed the offensive against Nāṣir walad 'Agíb and replaced him by Nāṣir walad 'Abdulla. This however was only a temporary move, as, on his return to Sennár, Walad 'Adlán ordered the reinstatement of Nāṣir walad 'Agíb.)...

CXCII And in 1232⁶ the most learned and pious Sheríf, the noble el Sayyid Muḥammad 'Othmán el Mírghani el Mekki, visited Sennár and met its rulers and called upon all men to follow his *ṭaríḳa*; but only a few people did so, and the rulers paid no heed to him but wished to test him by examination; so they brought forward the *feki* Ibráhím walad Bakádi, one of the most brilliant of the 'Ulema, to examine him. And the *feki* Ibráhím arrived at Sennár with a racking headache, and the pain increased until he died,—and this before he had ever met the Sherif.

¹ 1811 A.D.² 1812 A.D.³ 1813 A.D.⁴ 1814 A.D.⁵ 1816 A.D.⁶ 1817 A.D.

So the Sheríf left Sennár; and at that time his age was twenty-five years.

CXCH In 1233¹ there was a very high Nile and the village of el Bashákira on the east bank was swept away. This Nile was known as "The Nile of Abu Sin" because Ḥammad², the son of Sheikh 'Awaḍ el Kerím Abu Sin, was killed the same year by the BAṬĀḤÍN³. And the latter took refuge with the *Mek Nimr*, and Sheikh Muḥammad Abu Sin advanced against them with all his Arabs in a great army and prepared to make war on *Mek Nimr*. But the 'Ulema and religious Sheikhs intervened and prevented their fighting, so they returned to their own country.

CXCIV In 1234⁴ el Arbáb Muḥammad walad Dafa'alla walad Sulaymán was treacherously murdered by Muḥammad walad 'Adlán in order that he might marry his widow, who was very beautiful.

CXCV In 1235⁵ Walad 'Adlán plotted the death of Kamtūr in revenge for his father's death. . .

(The author tells how Walad 'Adlán fell suddenly upon Kamtūr, who was almost undefended, and slew him and the *feki* Aḥmad walad el Taib. He then returned to Sennár rejoicing at having now achieved his revenge on all who had participated in his father's death. Kamtūr's brothers then appointed Ḍerrár as Sheikh in place of Kamtūr and, in 1236⁶, while Walad 'Adlán was out collecting tribute from the Arabs, they attacked him by night in the house where he was. They were, however, detected by Walad 'Adlán's men and a fight ensued in which the latter lost heavily. Aided by the darkness Walad 'Adlán and his women broke through the wall of the house and escaped, and meanwhile great confusion prevailed among the combatants. In the morning, when it was light, the scattered forces of both parties reassembled and the fight was continued.) . . .

CXCVI And the party of Walad 'Adlán was victorious, and sent tidings of the victory after him; but he paid no heed, for he was consumed with shame at his flight. However el Arbáb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad Ḥasan, who had been one of those who stayed behind and brought the news of the victory, had speech with him and told him "There was no fighting like that which took place while you were there," and "They were only routed by fear of you," so that Walad 'Adlán was reassured by skilful arguments and took his men and went to Sennár.

CXCVII And after they had settled down at Sennár certain tidings reached them of the advance of Ismá'il Pasha the son of Effendína into their country; and they were thrown into great perturbation, and

¹ 1818 A.D.

³ reading بطاحين for بحطاجيون.

⁵ 1820 A.D.

² reading حميد for احمد.

⁴ 1819 A.D.

⁶ 1821 A.D.

each man began to look after his own interests, and the soldiers scattered in the attempt to prepare themselves for eventualities, so that Muḥammad walad 'Adlān was left at his village with only el Arbāb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad and a few men.

CXCVIII Then Ḥasan walad Ragab seized his opportunity and fell upon Walad 'Adlān by night with only five horsemen and a few of his relatives, and broke open the door and entered his house. And Walad 'Adlān came out and fought fiercely against them alone, and three times he repulsed them, but finally one of the relatives [of Ḥasan Ragab] struck him and cleft his leg while his attention was elsewhere. And when he collapsed they fell upon him with their swords and dispatched him and buried him in his house.

CXCIX Now the days of Walad 'Adlān were days of prosperity excepting only the "Year of Hardship"; and after his death they had no settled rule, and their councils were divided, and they fought among themselves in revenge, and scattered, and broke away from all control; but glory be to Him whose kingdom has no end and whose rule is everlasting!

CC Now as regards the Sheikhs of Khashm el Baḥr, among them was Sheikh 'Adlān walad Ṣubāḥi who was with Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak and died a few days after him.

CCI After him his brother's son, Sheikh Aḥmad walad el Sheikh Kamtūr, succeeded.

CCII He was deposed by Sheikh Bādi walad Ragab, who appointed Ṣubāḥi walad 'Adlān in his place.

CCIII Then Sheikh Aḥmad, who had been deposed, succeeded again and remained in power until Sheikh 'Adlān deposed him.

CCIV After him ruled Sheikh Muḥammad Kamtūr, who was killed by Walad 'Adlān. He was a gentle man, who never showed anger nor was insolent nor abusive; but if his anger was aroused he would curse the Devil. He had numerous brothers, all of whom were noble of character and withal brave and generous and well versed in their religion.

CCV And Sheikh Kamtūr was succeeded by one of them, namely his brother Sheikh Ḍerrār, in whose days the period of their eminence came to an end.

CCVI Of the successive rulers among the AWLĀD 'AGĪB and the kings of the SA'ADĀB I have no knowledge.

CCVII The kings of the FUNG who were possessed of power began with 'Omāra Dūnḳas and ended with the *Mek* Bādi walad Nūl, and after the reign of the latter all power, whether of loosing or of binding, was in the hands of Sheikh Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak and his family

until '36¹. Then Muḥammad walad 'Adlān was slain and their influence ceased and they no longer directed affairs, and it was even as Sheikh Idrīs walad el Arbāb had said, "In the end they will be divided and fight² among themselves and their rule will disappear and the Turks will conquer the country." So, too, the *feki* Hegāzi walad Abu Zayd, of the family of Sheikh Idrīs, foretold by shaking letters together that the days of the sons of Muḥammad [Abu el Kaylak] would end with Muḥammad walad 'Adlān.

CCVIII Now after the death of Walad 'Adlān dissension was rife, and they continued quarrelling during *Ragab* and *Sha'abān* until the country passed under the sway of Effendīna Ismā'īl Pasha, the son of the late Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha.

CCIX Now [Ismā'īl Pasha] arrived in the latter part of *Sha'abān* and camped on the west [bank] opposite el Ḥalfāya; and Sheikh Nāṣir walad el Amīn met him and submitted to him and was granted peace and presented with a splendid robe and left in his own country; but Ismā'īl Pasha took with him on his march to Sennār Nāṣir's son el Amīn and the kings of the SA'ADĀB, namely the *Meks* Nimr and Musā'ad. And he camped with all his forces and the boats which were accompanying him by river at Omdurmān. Then he crossed the river and camped at el Khartoum, and was met by the *feki* Muḥammad walad 'Ali, the *khalfā* of the *feki* Arbāb, and treated him with honour and granted him peace; and he did not stretch forth his hand against the districts which he crossed excepting only to obtain provisions.

CCX And [Ismā'īl Pasha] started from el Khartoum for Sennār on the last day of *Sha'abān*, accompanied by the *Kādi* Muḥammad el Assiūṭi, and el Sayyid Aḥmad el Baghli, the *Mufti* of the Shāfa'ites of the Sudan, and el Sayyid Aḥmad el Salāwi, the *Mufti* of the *Sayyids* of the Māliki sect, and camped at a village west of el Mesalamīa. Here he was met by some of the notables and granted them peace; and, after he had started, there met him Ragab walad 'Adlān and el Arbāb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad and tendered their submission, and to these also he granted peace and gave robes as he had done previously in the case of the kings of the GA'ALIYYŪN.

CCXI And before he reached Sennār the *Mek* Bādi and some of the HAMAG came and tendered their submission. . .

(The author mentions that honours and presents were heaped upon Bādi and his nobles by Ismā'īl, who entered Sennār on the 12th of *Ramaḍān*. A proclamation was then issued nullifying all complaints based on events previous to the conquest. Ismā'īl acted with the utmost fairness and won

¹ 1821 A.D.

¹ reading يتقاتلون for يتقاتلون.

all hearts by his justice, "for he heard the plaint of the poor man in person without any intermediary." Ragab walad 'Adlân was then sent with troops to chase Ḥasan walad Ragab, and caught him and brought him and some of his supporters back as prisoners: several of the latter were put to death at Sennâr.)...

CCXII Then he sent Muḥammad Sa'id Effendi with a force of soldiers and Sheikh Raḥma walad Raḥâla against *Mek* Idrîs el Miḥ-ayna, the *Mek* of the GAMŪ'IA, because the latter had not met him and he had heard of his looting villages. And they came upon him at his house on the White Nile and slew him and took his possessions and returned to Sennâr.

CCXIII And, when affairs were settled satisfactorily, the first taxes were imposed by the issue of an order for the classification of houses¹ [into three groups, namely] high, medium and smaller. Then he had lists made of slaves and flocks but did not impose any tax upon them; and he took nothing from the country except fodder for his horses. Early in '38² arrived His Highness Effendîna Ibrâhîm Pasha... (The meeting is described. The author says that in *Rabî'a Awal* both went south, but Ibrâhîm "returned in a few days and went to el Maḥrûsa." Ismâ'il meanwhile proceeded to Fâzoghli, where he captured the local chiefs and "expelled the merchants who resided there and imposed a tax of gold upon them.")...

CCXIV And while he was away in the *Gebels*, Dîwân Effendi Sa'id [imposed] taxation on the people with the compliance of the *mu'allim* Ḥannâ el Mubâshir and el Arbâb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad. On each head of slaves they made the tax fifteen *riḍls*, on each head of cattle ten *riḍls*, on each sheep (شاة) and donkey five *riḍls*. Meanwhile a false rumour spread that Ismâ'il Pasha had been killed in the *Gebels*... (The author describes how some showed sorrow and some joy and some withheld judgment. When Ismâ'il returned safe and was told of this he "punished no one for what he had done, but treated them with gentleness and mercy, as was the custom of his late-lamented father, and he put no one to death except Walad 'Agaylâwi, whom he impaled.")...

CCXV And Ismâ'il Pasha, on his arrival, found that Dîwân Effendi and el Mubâshir had apportioned the collection of the taxes to various employés, and appointed clerks, and arranged the assessments, and issued ledgers, and sent these employés out to the villages to collect the money. And from his compassion for the folk he was displeased at what had been done and called in the ledgers for alteration; but it was found that el Mubâshir had sent them to el Maḥrûsa.

So he sent Sheikh Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattâḥ after them, to bring them back, but Sa'ad failed to overtake them... (The author explains how Ismâ'il Pasha, since he had been unable to alter the amounts in the ledgers,

¹ reading منازل for منازل.

² 1822 A.D.

ordered special leniency in the collection of taxes. We are also told that as a result of the amount of fever in Sennár, Ismá'il Pasha, in 1237¹, moved with his court to Wad Medani. In 1238² troops were sent for Ḥasan walad Ragab, but he decamped. Several of Ismá'il's suite died this year.) . .

CCXVI In *Safar* 1238³ His Excellence moved northwards by boats, and when he reached Shendi the *Mek* Nimr and the *Mek* Musá'ad met him, and he requisitioned from them many things, and they were unable to provide them all and were afraid. So they made outward show of obedience to his orders, but asked for an extension of time, and engaged to fulfil his requirements before the time limit he appointed. They also begged him to leave his boats and honour them with his presence in the town. Accordingly he landed and camped in one of the houses at Shendi, unaccompanied by anyone except his *Mamlūks*. Then they fell upon him in the night and set fire to the house, and Ismá'il Pasha [*lit.* "the late-lamented one"] and his *Mamlūks* were burnt to death within. And, oh! To what deeds was the way thus prepared! Their act was the cause of the devastation of the land and the death of true believers, the shedding of their blood, the plunder of their goods, the dishonouring of their wives, the general ruin of the countryside, the captivity of the women and the children and the dispersal of the people into other districts.

CCXVII When the news reached Muḥammad Sa'id Effendi el Kadakhdár at Walad Medani, he collected his scattered forces, and fortified himself at Walad Medani, and sent Shama'dán Agha and Muṣṭafa Káshif with some mounted men to verify the report; and they reached el Khartoum and then returned to him with the facts.

CCXVIII Then el Arbáb Dafa'alla fled from Walad Medani and camped at 'Abūd, and bands of men rallied to him there . . .

(The author describes how an expedition was then sent from Wad Medani to 'Abūd but found the bird flown; so they laid the village waste and killed the local *khalifa*, Muḥammad walad 'Abd el 'Alīm, and returned.

El Arbáb had, meanwhile, gone south and joined Ḥasan walad Ragab, and the two of them collected an army at Abu Shóka. Muḥammad Sa'id then sent a second expedition, composed of SHÁIKIA and *Delattia*, which gave battle to the rebels at Abu Shóka and defeated them with great slaughter. Ḥasan Ragab, his uncle Ḥusayn and his son Muḥammad were among the slain. Much booty was taken, and the force returned triumphantly to Wad Medani.) . . .

CCXIX Now when the news of the murder of Ismá'il Pasha reached Muḥammad Bey Defterdár, who was at the time in charge of Kordofán, he at once started with some of his troops and a certain number of FÜR for el Abwáb, and [thence] proceeded, slaying and looting

¹ 1822 A.D.

² 1822 A.D.

³ 1822 A.D.

unceasingly, to el Metemma. There he found a number of people collected, and some of them came and asked him for peace, and he granted it to them. Then one of these same people sprang at him and wounded him with a spear that was in his hand.

Seeing this, the Defterdár ordered them all to be slain; but a few escaped. Then he went to the *feki* Aḥmad el Rayyaḥ in his *khalwa* and ordered all [there] to be burnt.

CCXX He next moved to Shendi and found the *Mek* Nimr had fled, so he returned along the east bank to look for Walad 'Agīb at el Ḥalfáya.

So far from finding them, however, he found el Ḥalfáya deserted; so he burnt it and passed on to Ḳubbat el Sheikh Khógali, but similarly found no one there. Then he crossed the river to Tūti Island and there slew many people.

CCXXI After this he went to el 'Aylafūn. Now he had been preceded there by some of his FŪR soldiery, and the people of el 'Aylafūn had come out and given battle to them. So when the Bey arrived he slew them all and burnt down the village and took prisoner slaves and freemen alike.

CCXXII Thence he marched along the east bank to Walad Medani. Now Walad 'Agīb was at this time living at Kutráng, and, as soon as he heard of what had happened at el 'Aylafūn, he quitted the village and left the river and camped at el Ḳubba and thence crossed over to Omdurmán with his men.

And there joined him the remnant of the HAMAG, who had survived the battle at Abu Shóka.

CCXXIII The Bey, meanwhile, went to Walad Medani with the captives of el 'Aylafūn and stayed there a short time and gave orders to Ḥusayn Agha el Gókhadár to proceed to the White Nile.

CCXXIV On his way thither Ḥusayn Agha passed through the villages of el 'Ádayk, and when he reached Walad el Turábi he turned eastwards, away from the river, and looted camels and sheep from the SHUKRÍA, and then went across to the White Nile and stopped at the camp of the GA'ALIYYŪN. And the troops raided the camps and took what booty they wanted. Then some [of the Arabs] begged for peace, and he granted it and ordered their flocks to be returned to them after they had accepted his conditions.

CCXXV Afterwards there came to him one of the soldiers and told him that the *feki* Faḍlulla, from the camp of the 'AḲÁḲÍR on the White Nile, was one of those who had raised their heads and stretched out their hands to slay the soldiers, for his brother had been killed.

So el Gókhadár enquired for the *feki* Faḍlulla, but could not

find him; and, having with him 72 men from the encampment of the GA'ALIYYŪN, he ordered their hands to be cut off; and the sentence was carried out on all of them, and in consequence some died, and others survived. Then he moved elsewhere.

CCXXVI The Defterdár, for his part, went to Kordofán, and then returned the same year to the country of the GA'ALIYYŪN.

CCXXVII And while the Defterdár was on his way to Kordofán, Walad 'Agíb and the HAMAG refugees who were with him were on the west bank at Omdurmán, and they were attacked there by 'Ali Agha el Buṣayli and some SHÁŪŪ and MOGHÁRBA troops, and they fled before them to the neighbourhood of Shendi and joined the *Mek* Nimr, and remained with him until they heard that the Defterdár was advancing from Kordofán.

Then they scattered, and some of them settled down at el Hilálía. And news of this reached el Kadakhdár Muḥammad Sa'íd, and he sent troops in boats who came upon them at early dawn and killed a number of them and put the rest to flight.

Then the soldiers returned to Walad Medani with the loot they had taken.

CCXXVIII And when the Defterdár Bey reached the country of the GA'ALIYYŪN, the *Mek* Nimr fled and camped at a place called el Naṣūb in the desert, but the Bey overtook him with a troop of Turkish and SHÁŪŪ soldiery, and a fight took place. And after many of the *Mek*'s men had been killed he was put to flight. This was a great battle, and much plunder was taken and many women and children captured.

CCXXIX Then the Bey returned with his loot and prisoners to Um 'Arūḵ and camped there; and so numerous were the captives that he made a thorn-enclosure for them and supplied it with water by means of a trench; and some of them died from the severity of the conditions and some were ransomed by Sheikh Bashír walad 'Aḳíd, and others were sent to el Mahrūsa.

CCXXX The survivors of the battle of el Naṣūb had, in the meanwhile, scattered in every direction, and the Bey now advanced from Um 'Arūḵ to fight them, that is Musá'ad and Walad 'Agíb.

CCXXXI And on his way he seized the *feki* Ibráhím 'Ísa, and with him one called 'Agíb walad Deḳays, and beat them and took them with him towards Abu Ḥaráz and kept them prisoners awhile and then released them.

CCXXXII And he continued the pursuit of the refugees until he overtook Musá'ad at a place called Makdūr, between the Dinder and the Rahad, and there he inflicted great slaughter upon them and took much booty and many captives. Now among the slain was Sheikh

Şáliḥ, one of the AWLÁD BÂN EL NUḤÁ, and their possessions were looted and the books of Sheikh Ḥasan were scattered [and lost]. This occurred early in 1239¹.

CCXXXIII The Defterdár now moved to Sabderát, and on his return thence directed the captives, both the freemen and the slaves, to be sent to el Maḥrūsa, and instructed Muḥammad Sa'id el Kadakhdár also to proceed to el Maḥrūsa with such as were left of the entourage of Effendina the late Ismá'il Pasha and all his belongings.

CCXXXIV And he appointed Kólali el Ḥág Aḥmad to act for him, and dispatched him to Walad Medani, while he himself returned to Um 'Arūḵ with el Sayyid Aḥmad Effendi el Saláwi and remained there.

And el Ḥág 'Abd el Ráziḵ was his clerk at this period.

CCXXXV On the 17th of *Ragab* of this year there passed away the Leader in the Way, the Authority on Sacred Law and Truth, the Leader of the Zealous, the Guide of the Seekers after Knowledge, Sheikh Aḥmad el Ṭaib ibn el Bashír, upon whom be the mercy of God; and Sheikh Ibráhím 'Abd el Dáfa'i composed a long elegy upon him, which contained the following lines: . . . (six lines of poetry follow) . . .

CCXXXVI At the end of that year the Bey ordered all the slaves whom he had acquired by requisitioning them from the people to be sent to el Maḥrūsa, and himself prepared to go northwards also, having heard of the coming of 'Othmán Bey Barungi to the Sudan. He stayed at Um 'Arūḵ until the arrival of 'Othmán Bey, and then proceeded to el Maḥrūsa, taking with him el Sayyid Aḥmad el Saláwi.

CCXXXVII This was in *Muḥarram* 1240²; and in *Şafar* of the same year 'Othmán Bey reached Omdurmán with his *Gehadla* troops—and this was the first time that the *Gehadia* entered the Sudan—and the *mu'allim* Mikháyil Abu 'Ebayd as a *Mubáshir*.

CCXXXVIII Then he crossed over to el Khartoum and was met by Sheikh Shanbūl³ walad Medani, and bestowed upon him honours and robes and appointed him Sheikh over all the lands from Ḥagar el 'Asal to the hills of the FUNG.

CCXXXIX There also met him Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Omar, and him he blew from a cannon's mouth.

CCXL He then left el Khartoum for Walad Medani, after appointing 'Othmán Agha el Khūrbaṭli, the Director of Military Supplies, to act for him, and ordering the *feki* Arbáb walad el Kánil to be blown from a cannon also. On his arrival at Walad Medani he put a large

¹ 1823 A.D.

² 1824 A.D.

³ reading شنبول for شبول

number of people to death with the cannon, and ordered el Sayyid Aḥmad el Baghli, the *Mufti* of the Shafa'ite Sayyids, to depart to el Mahrūsa.

These evil acts excited great discontent among all the people, and their hearts were alienated from him, and they loathed this occupation of the country.

CCXLI Then he ordered the payment of the taxes...

(The author describes the distress that followed: soldiers were sent out to collect the taxes, and in consequence most of the people fled far afield. Some fled to el Kēḏāref, and the officer who was sent after them overtook them there and shot them down in heaps. A drought and an epidemic of small-pox then both occurred and the people were reduced to eating dogs and donkeys, and corn rose to a piastre for a *roll*. Thus "half the population perished by the sword and sickness and famine." 'Othmān Bey is described as quite pitiless, and curses are hurled at him by the author.)...

CCXLII And el Khūrbaṭli 'Othmān remained acting as vice-governor, but his rank was that of a lieutenant whereas in the army were *Kāimākāms* [Colonels] and *Beykbāshis* [Majors] and *Yūzbāshis* [Captains], and these paid no attention to his orders or prohibitions, and each man acted as he pleased. Thus the people were ruined, for they had no ruler to care for them.

CCXLIII However this state of affairs did not last long, for God in his goodness relieved the people by the destruction of 'Othmān Bey and the advent of Maḥḥi Bey. 'Othmān Bey died in the middle of *Ramaḍān* 1240¹, and his lieutenant [el Khūrbaṭli] hid the fact of his death until he sent for His Excellence Maḥḥi Bey from Berber; and the latter came secretly, and camped on the east of the river near the village of Ḥammad for a few days, and then returned to Berber, and, after a short stay there, came back with all his troops and took up his residence at el Khartoum and stationed his men at el Kūbba. This was in 1241².

CCXLIV Maḥḥi Bey cancelled the taxation and prohibited the *Gehadīa* troops from the aggression they had practised in the time of 'Othmān Bey, and then he sent for the '*omdas* and notables and such religious leaders as were left in the Gezīra, and, when they arrived, he consulted them as to how best to serve the interests of the people and secure their means of livelihood and persuade them back to their lands. And each of those present gave his views, but he agreed only with the opinion of Sheikh el Zayn, who was at the time Sheikh of a *khut* (*i.e.* district); and him he honoured before all of them and gave a splendid robe, and bestowed on him the sheikhship of the

¹ 1825 A.D.

² 1826 A.D.

district of el Kū'a, and took him with him to the neighbourhood of el Qeḍāref to consult with him as to the necessary measures.

CCXLV And when Maḥḥi Bey entered el Qeḍāref he ordered corn to be sent to the Gezīra, as there was none whatever there... (The author describes how this saved the situation and how blessings were called down upon Maḥḥi Bey's head. He adds, however, that the soldiery, who were known as *el Bayrakta*, and who were camped at Qubbat Khógalí, were bad characters and destroyed the tomb and everything near it. He adds a list of several *fekis* who died this year owing to an outbreak of small-pox: they include "Muḥammad Nūr, the *khalifa* of Sheikh Khógalí.")...

CCXLVI And in the month of *el Ka'ida* of that year His Excellency Khūrshid Agha arrived as ruler of the Sudan; and Maḥḥi Bey met him at Omdurmán, and they stayed there awhile together...

(The author mentions a few unimportant circumstances of Maḥḥi Bey's departure and enlarges on the excellence of his rule, the soundness of his policy of repatriating those who had fled before the extortions of 'Othmán Bey, and his courtesy to the natives.)...

CCXLVII And in *el Higgsa* 1241¹ plentiful rains fell, at which the people rejoiced greatly, and counted it of good augury, and hastened to sow the crops.

CCXLVIII The same month Khūrshid Agha went up the White Nile and captured some booty and returned in safety. Then he went to Dár el Abwáb and arrested Sheikh Bashír walad Aḥmad 'Aḳíd and his brother Muṣṭafa and extorted great wealth from the former.

CCXLIX Now before his expedition up the White Nile he sent Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir with a promise of peace to Sheikh Idrís 'Adlán in the south; and Idrís was given safe conduct and brought back by Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir to meet Khūrshid Agha at Berber.

And Khūrshid Agha reassured Sheikh Idrís and bestowed great honour upon him, for since the time of Effendína Ismá'il Pasha Sheikh Idrís had met none of the rulers of the land, and had only come to him under promise of peace. Therefore Khūrshid Agha paid particular attention to him and invested him with the sheikhship of the FUNG mountains and gave him permission to remain there.

CCL Then Khūrshid Agha returned to el Khartoum and made an expedition against the Arabs of Walad el 'Igba round Sírū and returned in safety.

CCLI After this he collected the Sheikhs at el Khartoum to fix the official taxation, and bade them choose one who should be invested with the sheikhship over all of them and so be the medium between him and themselves. And they unanimously chose Sheikh 'Abd

el Qádir, and Khūrshid Agha at once issued a *firmán* to him making him Sheikh over all the other Sheikhs from Hagar el 'Asal to the far end of the FUNG mountains, and gave him a splendid robe and a sword of honour.

CCLII And when he had finished all he wished he fixed the amount of taxation per *feddán* with the universal consent of the Sheikhs.

CCLIII In *Muḥarram* 1243¹ he made an expedition against the DÍNKA, and thence proceeded to the FUNG mountains. . .

(The author mentions the death there of one of Khūrshid Agha's *mu'dwíns*, and speaks of them as an experienced company whose advice the Governor-General always took). . .

CCLIV In the same year trouble was caused by Sheikh Khalífa el 'Abádi walad el Hág, who showed himself disobedient and rebellious and came to Berber and attacked the troops stationed there.

And when the news reached Khūrshid Agha he at once started with a force of *Gehadía* in boats, and when he reached Berber he found the soldiers had killed Khalífa and the trouble had died down; so he returned.

CCLV In '44² he attacked the FUNG mountains in person and slew some of [the people of] Gebál Abu Ramla, and the hearts of the people of el 'Atísh were filled with respect for him, and some of those who had fled returned.

CCLVI Then Sheikh 'Abd el Qádir advised him to exempt the chief men among the people from taxation in order to obtain their goodwill in the development of the country. And he did so, and the result of this policy was apparent, for, as an example, if he exempted one of the *fekís* or chiefs from payment on ten *kada'as*, the man so exempted at once reassured the people and persuaded them to return to their lands, so that Khūrshid Agha obtained from them [the taxes on] one or two hundred *kada'as* or more: thus owing to his wisdom and the farsightedness of his advisers the development of the country progressed and the population increased.

CCLVII In 1245³ there was such a high Nile that the people were afraid of being drowned on their lands.

CCLVIII The same year Sheikh Aḥmad el Rayyāḥ el 'Araki came from Dár el 'Atísh. . . (The author tells how the Governor-General honoured him and sent him back with letters, to reassure the people of his district, and to promise them that he was coming to visit them shortly, and that such as came down from the hills he would pardon and such as did not he would put to death. He then went to el 'Atísh district and collected the people, many of whom came to meet him and others of whom he compelled to come in by force, and sent them, to the number

¹ 1828 A.D. reading ١٢٤٣ for ١٢٤٧.

² 1829 A.D.

³ 1830 A.D.

of 12,000 souls all told, under escort to their lands; and when the people saw that he was consulting their welfare they ceased all resistance and became loyal subjects.)...

CCLIX Then Khūrshid Agha returned to el Khartoum and began the building of the mosque in the same year, and ordered the people to build houses, for most of them lived in tents of hair-matting and cowhide and there were no buildings of brick, excepting those of the family of the *feki* Arbáb near the mosque and those of the families of the *Kādis* and of the *feki* Ḥammadnulla and those of the BUDANÁB¹.

CCLX Similarly he ordered work to be started on barracks for the troops and storerooms for the equipment of the *Gehadía*. The Government buildings, that is the present *hakimdária*, had been begun by Maḥḥi Bey...

(The author speaks of the energy shown in building the mosques and dwelling-houses. Some unimportant changes of personnel in the Government are also mentioned.)...

CCLXI In 1246² Khūrshid Agha made an expedition in boats against [the] SHILLUK and inflicted upon them such slaughter as had never been seen since the time of the *Mek* Bádi Rubát.

CCLXII In the same year died the *feki* 'Abd el Kādir walad Ḍay-fulla.

CCLXIII In 1247³ Khūrshid Agha made the Sabderát expedition and hemmed them in so strictly that they desired to submit and asked for peace: and Khūrshid Agha granted them peace and returned... (certain transfers of personnel are mentioned)...

CCLXIV The same year occurred a great earthquake, and the excellent Muḥammad el Magdhūb Kūmr el Dín, son of Sheikh Ḥammad walad el Magdhūb, died and was buried at el Dámer; and el Khur-batli Ḥasan Káshif, the ruler of el Ḥalfáya district and the White Nile, also died and was buried at Kūbbat el Sheikh Khógali.

CCLXV In 1248⁴ Khūrshid Agha went to Kordofál and returned... (In 1249⁵, the author says, Khūrshid Agha was promoted in rank by Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha: great rejoicings and festivities in the Sudan are said to have followed the receipt of this news.)...

CCLXVI In 1250⁶ Khūrshid Agha went to Kordofán and returned in safety. Then he visited Shendi, accompanied by the Grand *Kādi*, with a view to the settlement of the disputes that had arisen between Sheikh Bashír Aḥmad 'Aḳíd and the GA'ALIYYŪN people about the lands which the former had occupied. And His Excellence sent for all the Governors of Provinces, and they all assembled at Shendi and

¹ reading بدتاب for بدتاب.

² 1832 A.D.

³ 1834 A.D.

⁴ 1831 A.D.

⁵ 1833 A.D.

⁶ 1835 A.D.

held a meeting there at the end of *Dhū el Higga*, that is at the end of the year '50, and then he sent them back to their provinces. . .

CCLXVII (The author adds that early in 1251¹ Khūrshid Agha visited Dongola and thence proceeded to Egypt and met the Viceroy and came back again as Governor-General. As soon as he reached Khartoum he sent for all the *Kāshifs* and *Māmūrs* and Sheikhs, and they came and waited his will with great trepidation having heard rumours of conscription.) . .

And their fears increased as he kept silence for two days, for he was closeted with Sheikh 'Abd el Kādir and insisting upon taking the Arabs for the *Gehadīa*, while the Sheikh was begging him not to do so for fear the people would disperse and the land lie waste. And finally they agreed to call for the slaves, and when His Excellency had accepted this compromise he summoned the officials and Sheikhs who had come to el Khartoum and promised them that freemen should be exempt and decided the number of slaves which each district was to produce for the *Gehadīa*, according to its capacity.

CCLXVIII So all men were then reassured and ceased to fear, and began bringing in the slaves needed for the *Gehadīa*.

CCLXIX This same year the sun was eclipsed after the evening prayer and its light disappeared and it was divided into two halves, one dark and the other not, and it remained so until near sunset and then shone brightly again.

CCLXX The same year again His Excellency visited the southern mountains with his troops and busied himself there and collected many slaves, some of whom he enlisted in the *Gehadīa* to serve the Government, and others of whom he distributed to the *Māmūrs* or sent elsewhere.

CCLXXI Then he returned to el Roṣayreṣ and there awaited Muḥammad Effendi, whom he had sent with the *Gehadīa* to Dār el 'Aṭīsh as he had heard that the MAKĀDA had come down accompanied by Ragab walad Bashīr and killed the pious Walad 'Aruḍ and many people; and when the troops had arrived in Dār el 'Aṭīsh God had moved the hearts of the inhabitants not to fight, so Ragab walad Bashīr was taken prisoner and the troops returned in safety.

CCLXXII And in the same year Muḥammad Effendi was granted the rank of *Mīrālāi* and went with the Sudanese troops to the Hegáz.

CCLXXIII In '52², in *Ṣafar*, a violent wind blew for two successive days. On the first day it blew red; and this was after the time of the evening prayer, and it became very dark and then suddenly light again. On the second day the wind blew black and the air was darker

¹ 1835 A.D.

² 1837 A.D.

than on the previous day: this too lasted from the time of the evening prayer until the sunset.

CCLXXIV In the same year occurred a serious drought, and corn of any kind was unobtainable; but His Excellency the Ḥakimḍār issued a hundred *ardebs* of *dhurra* at his own expense to the poor and needy, and ordered a hundred *ardebs* from the Government store to be sold in the market to help the people. He also ordered prayers to be made for rain and attended them in person.

CCLXXV And in this year too the people were visited by cholera, which was known as "The yellow wind" [*el riḥ el aṣfar*], and so great was the mortality that in el Khartoum itself more than twenty corpses were taken out [for burial] daily.

CCLXXVI And when the epidemic was at its height the Ḥakimḍār went to Shendi and stayed there for some time. And from there he sent Ragab walad Bashír to el Khartoum, where he was put to death by being impaled.

CCLXXVII Now the notables who perished by this novelty were the *feki* el Snūssi ibn el *feki* Baḳādi, and the *feki* el Nakhl, the reader of the holy Kūrān at the village of Baḳādi, and the *feki* Muḥammad ibn el Ḥāg el Ṭaib, the *Imām* of the mosque at el Khartoum, and the *feki* Muḥammad 'Alī walad el 'Abbās, and Sheikh el Ṭerayfi ibn el Sheikh Yūsef, and Sheikh Muḥammad ibn el Sheikh Ḥasan walad Bān el Nuḳā, and Sheikh Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattāḥ el 'Abādi, and Sheikh Muṣṭafa, the *khalīfa* of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki.

CCLXXVIII This same year His Excellence pulled down the mosque which he had begun to build in '45¹, because it was too small: so, when el Khartoum increased in size as a settlement and the population multiplied, he demolished it down to its foundations, and began building on its site the present mosque, which is much more spacious.

CCLXXIX In *Ramaḍān* of this year Aḥmad Kāshif, the ruler of el Qeḍāref, made an expedition in the direction of the lands of MA-KÁDA, and slew many of them, and sent the captives to el Khartoum.

CCLXXX The same year appeared a great star in the middle of the day and sparks flew from it. Also an epidemic of fever broke out, which the people called "*Um Saba'a*" ("Mother of Seven"), and caused great mortality; and among the notables who died was el 'Awag el Darb el *feki* Muḥammad Barakát, a man well known for his generosity, descended from Sheikh Idrís. The fever was called "Mother of Seven" because most of those who were stricken by it died on the seventh day, and if one survived the seventh day he was saved.

CCLXXXI In 1253¹ Muṣṭafa Bey came as Governor of the whole of the Gezira of Sennár. He had previously been in Kordofán.

CCLXXXII In the same year there was an eclipse of the moon for about two hours and it became very dark.

CCLXXXIII This year too occurred the battle of Walad Kaltabū, which is a place near Ráshid, where the Abyssinians and the Muhammadan troops met and fought. In this battle was killed Sheikh Míri, the Sheikh of el Ḳallábát, and Sheikh Aḥmad walad 'Abūd of the SHÁFI'IA SOWÁRÁB cavalry and many men; and the major of the battalion, and 'Ali Agha el Ṣahbi, the *Sanjak* of the MOGHÁRBA, and the *Malik* Sa'ad of the SHÁFI'IA cavalry were all taken prisoners and ransomed.

CCLXXXIV And towards the end of the year the Ḥakimdár led a large expedition against the MEKÁDA, and left Sulaymán Káshif Abu Dáūd to act for him at el Khartoum.

CCLXXXV In *el Ḳa'ida* of the same year Mírmírán Aḥmad Pasha with Fírhád Bey, *Míralái* of the *Gehadía*, arrived with troops from el Maḥrūsa to assist the Ḥakimdár, and overtook him on the road as he was returning without having met the Abyssinians. Then they went back together to el Khartoum and stayed there until the beginning of 1254².

CCLXXXVI In *Rabī'a el Awal* 1254 dispatches came for Khūrshid Pasha, permitting him to go back to el Maḥrūsa and appointing Aḥmad Pasha to succeed him as Ḥakimdár of the Sudan.

CCLXXXVII So Khūrshid Pasha made all preparations for his family and belongings and set forth by boat; and this was a great sorrow to all the people, and when he bid them farewell they began to weep, and of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳádir it is even said that he abstained from eating or drinking for two days from grief at the parting.

CCLXXXVIII And when Aḥmad Pasha heard of the affliction of this Sheikh he sent for him and promised him all prosperity and happiness, until his grief was assuaged; for Khūrshid Pasha had recommended him strongly to his successor. And indeed Aḥmad Pasha fulfilled his promises, because he entrusted him with the whole direction of the Government and never issued a single order except by his advice, so that Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳádir had more influence than a Governor...

CCLXXXIX (The author describes how Aḥmad Pasha devoted himself to reorganization and efficiency and put a stop to unauthorized looting by the soldiery, so that the prosperity and security of the country increased greatly "and prices fell until the *ardeb* of *dhurra* could be bought for five

¹ 1838 A.D.

² 1838 A.D.

piastres." It is remarked that Khūrshid Pasha had collected the scattered natives, relieved the effects of past famines and stamped out sedition; but Aḥmad Pasha even surpassed him in the success of his measures and attained to great popularity, for he was fair-spoken, no lover of bloodshed, firm of will, sparing of words, and insisted on his orders being carried out without procrastination.)...

CCXC And he remained at el Khartoum for a time and set the affairs of the provinces in order; and then he went to the neighbourhood of Walad Medani, leaving behind him 'Abd el Kādir Agha to act for him at el Khartoum. And while he was away in those parts, in *Ramaḍān* of the same year, His Highness... Effendina Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha honoured the country with a visit and entered el Khartoum... (The author speaks of the Ḥakimdar returning, and the reception of him and the chief functionaries by the Pasha, and their joy thereat. Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha then went south with the Ḥakimdar "as far as the mountains of Fāzoghli," and held a reception for all the chief Sheikhs of the country, such as Sheikh Aḥmad Abu Sin, and presented them with robes.)...

CCXCI Then His Highness turned his attention to searching for mines and remained for some time in those parts. Afterwards he returned to el Khartoum, in the month of *el Ḥigga* in the same year, and after a short stay there returned to el Mahrūsa.

CCXCII The Ḥakimdar, however, remained awhile in the [southern] mountains and came back to el Khartoum early in 1255¹. Thence he proceeded to Dongola and stayed a few days there. He then turned back and reached Shendi, where he heard news of the flight of Aḥmad walad el Mek. So he pursued him accompanied by some troops and the *Malik* Kanbāl; but the latter was killed the same year.

His Highness then returned to el Khartoum.

CCXCIII On the 4th of *Showāl* in the same year died the learned Sidi Muḥammad el Bulaydi, the *Mufti*.

CCXCIV In 1256² the Ḥakimdar went to the neighbourhood of el Tāka with the *Gehadia* and cavalry composed of *Delatia*, *Moghārba* and *Shāiḳā*, and remained there till the district had submitted. Then he made it a *mudiriya* and appointed as governor Kūrkatli 'Omar Kāshif.

CCXCV The same year there was a very high Nile; and Aḥmad Ḥāshim, the vice-governor [*wakil el mudiriya*] died; and His Excellence Muṣṭafa Bey, the Governor of el Khartoum, returned from Kordofān to el Khartoum sick and there died.

CCXCVI After the return of the Ḥakimdar from el Tāka he appointed Ḥamdī Mūsa Bey *Mitrālāi* to succeed Muṣṭafa Bey as Governor of

¹ 1839 A.D.

² 1841 A.D.

el Khartoum and the whole of the Gezira of Sennar proper, and Hamdi Bey held this post during the lifetime of the late Ahmad Pasha.

CCXCVII Now H. E. the Hakimdár gave himself no rest, but was always visiting again and again the districts of his *hakimdária*, one time going to the [FUNG] mountains, and another to Kordofan and Tekali; and finally he returned to el Khartoum in 1257¹, and in *Ramadan* died there.

CCXCVIII After his death the affairs of the *hakimdária* fell into disorder, and confusion reigned owing to the division of the country into seven provinces, each one with its own *Amir Lewa* as Governor.

CCXCIX Then, the same year, came Menekli Ahmad Pasha as a reformer, but no reforms resulted and nothing was settled, for each governor concerned himself only with the work of his own province and failed to render full obedience to the reformer.

CCC For a time the latter stayed at el Khartoum: then he went to el Táka with the army, taking with him el Arbáb Muhammad Dafa'alla and Sheikh 'Abd el Kádír and Sheikh Ahmad Abu Sin.

At el Táka he took captive a number of the rebels and brought them back to el Khartoum when they were all executed.

CCCI And Menekli Ahmad Pasha stayed at el Khartoum until '61² and then proceeded to el Maḥrūsa in company with el Arbáb Muhammad Dafa'alla and Sheikh Abd el Kádír walad el Sheikh el Zayn...

(The author says the two Sheikhs were received in audience by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, and Sheikh 'Abd el Kádír made a speech of which the eloquence amazed the Pasha, who conferred upon him the decorations of a *Mirdái* set in jewels. The two Sheikhs were also shown round Cairo and Alexandria and other places.)...

CCCII Finally the Pasha appointed Khálid Pasha as their Hakimdár and recommended them to his care; and in *Muḥarram* 1262³ Khálid Pasha entered el Khartoum in company with those we have mentioned. There also accompanied him Sheikh Ibráhím el Hínami as *Kádi* over the whole Sudan. For awhile His Excellency stayed at el Khartoum: then he undertook a tour of inspection which took him into every quarter of his *hakimdária*. At one time he visited el Táka, at another the mountains of Fázoghli and the mines of Kassán, at another Kordofan and the mines of Shaybūn. And he remained in power as Hakimdár until the latter part of 1266⁴.

CCCIII Then 'Abd el Latíf Pasha came as Hakimdár in the place of Khálid Pasha, in *Rabī'a el Ákhir* of the same year, and the latter returned to el Maḥrūsa after 'Abd el Latíf Pasha had importuned

¹ 1842 A.D.

² 1845 A.D.

³ 1845 A.D.

⁴ 1850 A.D.

him [to do so] and repeated complaints had been made on the subject. In fact had not Sheikh 'Abd el Kâdir been charged to reply for the people on his behalf he would have been ruined.

CCCIV 'Abd el Latîf Pasha stayed at el Khartoum busying himself with hearing cases and petitions innumerable¹, and he did no other work unless it were what he did in the matter of renewing and beautifying the buildings of the present *hakimdâria*.

CCCV In his time Rufâ'a Bey, the Director of Schools, came, and with him *Kâdimakâm* Bayūmi Effendi and many Effendis and gentlemen; and the *Hakimdâr* continued at el Khartoum and never left it; and nothing happened in the *hakimdâria* except the dismissal of Sheikh Idris 'Adlân from the position of Sheikh of the [FUNG] mountains and the appointment of his brother's son 'Adlân in his stead, and the matter of Hasan Mismâr, the Superintendent of Customs, who was beaten and imprisoned, and what followed, and the dismissal of Hasan Khalîfa el 'Abâdi, who had been in charge of the road across the Abu Hammad desert, from the sheikhship, and his imprisonment, and what followed, and the appointment of his brother Husayn Khalîfa as Sheikh, and the granting to Sheikh 'Abd el Kâdir of the rank of *mu'dwin* of the *hakimdâria* in addition to his being *Sheikh el Mashâikh* of the whole of the Gezira, and the extreme deference paid to him, and also to Sheikh Aḥmad Abu Sin.

CCCVI Early in 1268² Rustum Pasha arrived as *Hakimdâr* of the Sudan and 'Abd el Latîf Pasha retired to el Maḥrûsa. In his days the Members of the Council, Mahr Bey and the others, visited the country; but his period of rule was short: in fact he stayed a few days in el Khartoum, visited Walad Medani district, returned thence sick and died at el Khartoum.

CCCVII In *Ramaḍân* of the same year Ismâ'il Pasha Abu Gebel was appointed to succeed Rustum Pasha. He came to el Khartoum and stayed there awhile, and then went to the district of Khashm el Baḥr. Thence he proceeded to the eastern districts, toured them awhile, and finally returned to el Khartoum until he was recalled in *Shabân* '69³.

CCCVIII He was succeeded as *Hakimdâr* by Selîm Pasha, who lay sick at el Khartoum until his recall at the end of *Gemâd el Awal* '70⁴.

CCCIX Selîm Pasha was succeeded by Sirri 'Ali Pasha Arnâôt: he never left el Khartoum except to visit Sennâr, and his rule was brief for he was recalled in *Gamâd el Akhîr* '71⁵.

¹ reading لا حصر لها for لا حضور لها.

² 1851 A.D.

³ 1853 A.D.

⁴ 1854 A.D.

⁵ 1855 A.D.

CCCX The next Ḥakimḍār was Garkas 'Ali Pasha. He stayed at el Khartoum for some time. And in his days Effendīna 'Abd el Ḥalīm Pasha honoured the country with a visit, but he did not remain for long, for cholera, known as *el riḥ el aṣfar*, broke out; and when the epidemic was at its height, namely in *Ragab* '73¹, the doctors advised a change of air for him, so he went by boat up the White Nile, and thence returned to Berber without leaving his boat once until he reached el Khartoum. From Berber he returned to el Maḥrūsa.

CCCXI Now this epidemic killed great numbers of the people and penetrated to every part of the Sudan; and among the notables who died from it was Sheikh Abd el Qādir el Sheikh el Zayn, *Sheikh el Mashātkh* of the Gezīra of Sennār and el Khartoum, a noble and good man, and one of the greatest in the land. He died at el Khartoum and was buried there, and every community was represented at his burial, as well as the Ḥakimḍār and the vice-Ḥakimḍār.

CCCXII There also died Sheikh Yāsīn, *Sheikh el Mashātkh* in Kordofān Province, one of the greatest in the land; and Sheikh el Ṭerayfi ibn el Sheikh Aḥmad el Rayyāḥ el 'Arakī; and the *fekī* 'Omar Baḳādi, the famous man of learning (God bless him!); and many of the nobles.

CCCXIII And 'Ali Pasha Garkas, after the departure of H. E. 'Abd el Ḥalīm Pasha, remained as Ḥakimḍār until the coming of Effendīna Muḥammad Sa'īd Pasha.

CCCXIV The last-named [returned] to Egypt in '73² after a short stay at el Khartoum, and [before] his return he dismissed the Ḥakimḍār and appointed Arákīl Bey el Armani Governor of the whole of the Gezīra of Sennār and el Khartoum on the 16th of *Rabī'a Thāni* 1273³.

CCCXV Arákīl Bey remained Governor until his death in '75. . .

(The author says he was a skilful and well-endowed statesman of kind disposition, and all went well during the first part of his rule because he took the advice of Sheikh el Zubayr, who had succeeded his father Sheikh 'Abd el Qādir; but mischief-makers caused a breach between them and el Zubayr fled to Cairo "and remained there as a *mu'dwin* in the Interior." Arákīl Bey then ceased taking the advice of any of the native notables of influence and increased his severity, so that he completely alienated most of the Sheikhs, and some of them even revolted and took to the hills). . .

CCCXVI In *Ragab* 1275⁴ Ḥasan⁵ Bey Salāma el Garkasi was appointed in his stead as Governor. This Bey was a man of bad natural attributes, coarse and rough, ignorant of statesmanship and unfitted for rule, but withal regular in his prayers, a keeper of faith and temperate.

¹ 1857 A.D.

² 1857 A.D.

³ 1857 A.D.

⁴ 1859 A.D.

⁵ reading حسيبر for حسيبر.

CCCXVII In *Muḥarram* 1278¹ he was recalled, and Muḥammad Rásikh Bey, the Governor of Kordofán, was appointed in his place.

He reached el Khartoum in *Ṣafar* of the same year.

CCCXVIII Rásikh Bey was fond of ease and enjoyment, and did no work except to begin building the fort which stands on the east bank of the Nile, opposite the fort of the *ḥakimdária*.

CCCXIX He was the last of the Governors (*Mudríyyūn*) who were restricted to the control of the province of el Khartoum and the Gezira.

CCCXX Only a short account has been given of these and of the Ḥakimdárs who were appointed after the late Aḥmad Pasha, for they made no great mark, and no important events happened [in their days]. We have therefore contented ourselves with merely enumerating them and recording their names. The real power of the *ḥakimdária* and its proper organization had ceased with Aḥmad Pasha; and in the same way the *régime* of the *Ḳáḍís* who were held in awe by the people and could speak authoritatively ceased with the late *Ḳáḍi* el Saláwi, and after him things fell into decay, and the *Ḳáḍís*, as has been seen, were mere names with no authority.

CCCXXI Rásikh Bey continued to hold the position of Governor until the good news was received of the appointment of His Excellence Mūsa Pasha as Ḥakimdár of the Sudan. And the people rejoiced at this news and were sure that it meant relief and security.

CCCXXII Mūsa Pasha arrived on the 4th of *Ṣafar* '79² at the joy and relief of all men, and after its time of trial the *ḥakimddria* regained its splendour.

CCCXXIII After the *firḥán* had been read, Mūsa Pasha sent for all the Governors and the Sheikhs of the provinces and the notables, and on their arrival at el Khartoum he thoroughly reorganized the system of Government and fixed the taxation... (The author explains how, in his care for the interests of the people, Mūsa Pasha made the yearly taxes payable in three instalments and caused each taxpayer to be provided with a *sirki* on which was entered the amount he had to pay and a note of each payment made to the *serráf*.)...

CCCXXIV He also created district *názirs* (*nuzár aḳsám*) and officials over the people, and as *názir* over all he appointed el Zubayr 'Abd el Ḳádir, who had been *Sheikh el Masháikh*. All this he did that the people might tread the paths of civilization and progress. He also ordered them to wear Turkish clothes.

CCCXXV (The author speaks of the improvement in the state of affairs occasioned by these reforms, and then mentions an expedition made by

¹ 1862 A.D.

² 1863 A.D.

Mūsa Pasha to the Abyssinian border, where, failing to meet the Abyssinians, he turned his attention to the AWLAD NIMR—who had retired there from Shendi after the murder of Ismā'il Pasha—and broke their power. He went on to el Táka, and finally returned to Khartoum the same year. There he received news of his promotion to be *Ferik*, and the event was duly celebrated by the populace.)...

CCCXXVI On the 3rd of *Muharram* 1280¹ Mūsa Pasha set out for el Maḥrūsa to meet His Excellence the Khedive and was greatly honoured and returned, after a short stay, to his *hakimdaría*, and el Khartoum was honoured by his arrival on the forenoon of a Friday in *Gemád el Ákhir* 1280...

CCCXXVII (The author now suddenly breaks off his history to say that he will give a short *résumé* of the events that happened during the *régimes* of Mūsa Pasha's successors.

CCCXXVIII He then recounts in fulsome language how in 1282² Ga'afir Muḥzar Pasha came to Khartoum with Ga'afir Šádiḳ Pasha, the new Governor-General, as the latter's *wakíl*, and at once proceeded to el Táka and repressed a rebellion there. On the 17th of *Showál* 1282³ he returned to Khartoum and by virtue of a *firmán* received from Egypt took the place of Ga'afir Šádiḳ Pasha as Governor-General. On the 18th of *Showál* the *firmán* was publicly read and a formal reception held, and the new Governor-General appointed 'Ali Bey Fadlī to be his *wakíl*.

CCCXXIX In 1283⁴ the Governor-General was summoned to Cairo and sent up the Red Sea to Maṣṣáwa on a mission of enquiry. After his return to Cairo he was sent back again to Khartoum in 1284⁵. His departure, journey and return were celebrated in a poem addressed to him by Sheikh el Amín Muḥammad, the Chief of the 'Ulema. He then remained at Khartoum and carried on the Government with great success. Eulogies of his modesty, generosity and other virtues are poured forth in a stream of nauseous adulation.

CCCXXX In 1288⁶ the catastrophe of his recall befel the Sudan, and universal grief was shown.)...

CCCXXXI And while they were distracted with uncertainty and conjecture and were relieving the tension by clinging to the ropes of hope, lo! they were overwhelmed with a great disaster and stricken by a terrible blow, by comparison with which their previous affliction was of no account, for in the month of *Ragáb* el Khartoum and its neighbourhood suffered a calamity such as had never been known, namely the appointment of one who was in every respect the opposite of his predecessor, and whose name [viz. Mumtáz, i.e. "Distinguished"] was completely distinguished [Ar. "*mumtáz*"] from his character; for his character was that of those men of whom God in His precious

¹ 1863 A.D.

³ 1866 A.D.

⁵ 1868 A.D.

² 1866 A.D.

⁴ 1867 A.D.

⁶ 1871 A.D.

Book spoke the words "Be ye separated¹ this day [from the righteous], O ye evildoers!"

CCCCXXXII This substitute, whose works were perversion and substitution, arrived on the 2nd of *Ramadan* in this year, and from the day of his arrival he terrorized the people by such wholesale injustice as had never been experienced by them individually or collectively at the hands of any of the rulers who preceded him, and as would, if mentioned, blacken the pages of the records and cause the heart of the historian to bleed for pity. Therefore we have drawn a veil over the details and recognized that to shroud the foulness of his deeds in a short summary is preferable to expounding them at length.

¹ reading امتزرو for امتزو.

D 7 (NOTES)

1 The first page of *Mek 'Adlân's* MS. is missing and the second page begins with "...*'el Kaşşâbi. Their religion...*" The first paragraph, as far as that point, is translated from Muḥammad 'Abd el Mâgîd's MS., which is to all intents and purposes the replica of that of *Mek 'Adlân*.

The description of Sôba bears a strong resemblance to that given in the tenth century by Ibn Selîm and quoted in Vol. I, p. 171 above.

For the date of the foundation of Sennâr see note to para. VIII.

Sôba lies a few miles upstream of Khartoum on the Blue Nile and is the ancient 'Aloa. It is described as follows by Abu Şâlih the Armenian, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. "Town of 'Alwah. Here there are troops and a large kingdom with wide districts, in which there are 400 churches. The town lies to the east of the large island between the two rivers, the White Nile and the Green Nile. All its inhabitants are Jacobite Christians. Around it there are monasteries, some at a distance from the stream and some upon its banks. In the town there is a very large and spacious church, skilfully planned and constructed, and larger than all the other churches in the country; it is called the church of Man-balî. The crops of this country depend upon the rise of the Nile, and upon the rain. When they are about to sow their seed, they trace out furrows in the field and bring the seed and lay it at the side of the field, and beside it they lay a supply of the drink called '*mizr*,' and go away; and afterwards they find that the seed has been sown in the ground and the *mizr* has been drunk. So again at the time of harvest they reap some of the corn, and leave beside the rest of it a supply of *mizr*; and in the morning they find the harvest completed; and they say that this is done by beings of a different order from ours." (Trans. Butler and Evetts, pp. 262 *et seq.*)

The churches were under the jurisdiction of the see of S. Mark at Alexandria.

Ruins to be seen at Kutrâng, Kasemba and other places (see Vol. I, p. 48) probably represent the remains of some of the 400 churches: they are in red brick and of a meagre description, almost level with the ground.

Alvarez, some four hundred years later, also records the existence of ancient Christian churches hereabouts. Yâkût, el Mas'ûdi and Eutychius all mention that the particular form of Christianity in vogue was the Jacobite or monophysite (see Abu Şâlih, p. 264, note).

The most flourishing period of the Christian kingdom of 'Aloa may have been between 1100 and 1300. Budge (Vol. II, pp. 303-306) gives a good *résumé* of the subject. A description of the ruins at Sôba may be found in Budge, Vol. I, 324, and a photograph of them in Peacock's *Report*, p. 6. A very full discussion of the whole question of Christianity in the

Sudan will be found in Letronne (*Matériaux...*), and reference should be made to Part I, Chap. 3 and Part II, Chap. 2 above for further information *re* Sóba and 'Aloa.

"A *hostel* occupied by the *Muhammadans*" is in the Arabic رباط معمورة بالمسلمين. See note to D 7, para. II, and see explanatory note in Vol. I, p. 171 *re* Ibn Selīm's use of the same word.

The spelling "Sóba" for "Sóba" is unusual and incorrect.

The *mizr* spoken of is the older form of the modern *merissa* (native beer). El Tūnisi (*Voy. au Dârfour*, p. 224) speaks of "le *mizr*, le *oumbulbul*, sorte de vin rouge." He explains it in a note (p. 426) as "une boisson fermentée et enivrante, tout à fait analogue au *bouza* qu'on prépare en Egypte." "*Bouza*" and "booze" are no doubt the same word and so both appear to be of the same derivation as the word "*merissa*."

"*Ḳassabi*" is the fine white variety of millet which is still grown in large quantities in the Gezira.

II This paragraph closely resembles D 3, v and D 3, 157 (*g.v.*).

The word translated "*hostel*" is again رباط. In D 3 the word used is قصر. In Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid's MS., in place of رباط له بنى we have بنى لهم رباط.

"*El Is*" is definitely written ايس in at least one copy. See D 3, 153 (note).

III By the AWLÁD DAYFULLA are probably meant the DAYFULLÁB, *i.e.* the family of the author of D 3.

For Idris el Arbáb see D 3, 141 and note thereto.

Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid's MS. gives 912 for 913.

v Cp. Jackson, *Tooth of Fire*..., p. 17.

vii Cp. Jackson, p. 22.

"*Because he was the more powerful*" is كونه هو الكبير.

VIII There is no warrant for deriving "*Sennár*" (سennar) from "*sin*" (سن, a tooth) and "*nár*" (نار, fire). Schoff (*Periplus*..., p. 61) identifies Sennár with the ancient Cyeneum. The author of the *Periplus* says that it is three days' journey inland from Adulis to Coloe (modern Kohaito), and from Coloe to the city of the Auxumites (*i.e.* Axum) "there is five days' journey more; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile through the district called Cyeneum and thence to Adulis." Cyeneum may correspond geographically with Sennár but it certainly does not philologically as the former is spelt *Kυνησιον*.

910 A.H. is the generally accepted date of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom: cp. Bruce. The original MS. may, however, have given 915 (910) in mistake for 910 (910), or the last of the three figures may have been indeterminate, for one other MS. I have seen gives 915, and another gives 910, and in the MS. here translated there is a marginal note to "910" implying that the text read "915" and that the copyist made the emendation: the note is الموافق لما تقرر 910.

x Gerayf Ḳumr, or Gerayf East, is on the east bank of the Blue Nile a few miles outside Khartoum. Jackson (p. 19) wrongly translate "*Gereif Gimri*"

x1 Cp. *A.-E. Sudan* (which reproduces Stewart's *Report...*), p. 229, where "Khamir" (خمير) is a mistake for Himyar (حمير), "Beni Abbas" (بنی عباس) for 'Abs (عيس), "Ziban" (زيبان) for Dhubian (ذبيان), "Ferára" (فزارة) for Fezára (فزارة), and "Shaker" (شكر) for Yashkur (يشكر).

The tribes mentioned are well-known Arabian tribes, frequently mentioned in the Sudan *nisbas*.

The BENI YASHKUR are a branch of KAYS 'AYLÁN (see Wüstenfeld, D and ABC, xxviii (note)). From the remarks of the author of ABC one gathers that the SHUKRĪA are intended here to represent the descendants of the BENI YASHKUR.

Of the 'ABS Burton says "Those ancient clans the Abs and Adnan have almost died out... The Abs, I am informed, are to be found near Kusayr (Corseir) on the African coast, but not in Al-Hijaz" (*Pilgrimage...*, II, 119).

xiii See note to BA, ccxvi for this and following paragraphs.

For the following chronology of the kings cp. Appendix 1, BA, ccxvi, D 2, II, *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, p. 328, Bruce, Cailliaud, Tremaux, Na'um Bey and Jackson, in all of which similar lists are given though the dates vary to some extent.

xvii Of Tabl Cailliaud says (Vol. II, p. 256): "fut tué à Chendy par les gens du roi de cette ville."

xx See remarks *re* the battle of Kalkól in the note to BA, ccxvi, and also D 3, 241 and 141.

xxi Sheikh Idris el Arbáb's biography is given in D 3 (No. 141): see also Jackson, pp. 27, 28.

xxii Hasan wad Ḥasūna's biography is given in D 3 (No. 132).

xxiii For Ibrāhīm el Bulād and "Khalīl" see AB, 89-101; D 3, 6, etc.

xxiv The biography of Muḥammad el Miṣri is No. 195 in D 3.

xxv Tāg el Dīn's biography is No. 67 in D 3.

xxvi Cp. D 3, VIII. The same words *قدم على* ("inspired") are used in both cases: see note to D 3, v. "*Obtained direction in the right way*" is *اخذ طريق القوم*.

xxviii El Rubāt was son of Bádi Sīd el Kūm (see Cailliaud, II, 256). In his reign the Abyssinians repeatedly invaded Sennār, but no mention is here made of the fact. An account of the circumstances will be found in the note to para. 1 and Appendix 2.

xxix In the text, as in that used by Jackson (*q.v.* p. 35), the people attacked by Bádi are called "Shakká" (شكا) and there is a marginal note saying "perhaps SHILLUK" (شلك). "SHILLUK" is certainly the right reading: cp. Stewart (*Report...*) or *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, p. 229.

xxxii Bruce noted this fact concerning the nomenclature of the villages round Sennār.

xxxiii The word "*el Maḥrūsa*" is used throughout D 7 instead of the usual "Miṣr" (Cairo): it means literally "the well-guarded," and is an epithet applied to any large town.

xxxvi Cp. Jackson, pp. 34 and 82.

Cailliaud (II, 258) in 1821 describes Sennār and says: "Au centre

domine l'ancienne résidence des aïeux de Bâdy. C'est une construction en briques cuites, élevée de quatre étages; abandonnée, ainsi que toutes ses dépendances, elle est déjà à demi délabrée."

Poncet in 1699 says (p. 19): "the King's Palace is surrounded with high Walls of Brick bak'd in the Sun, but has nothing regular in it. You see nothing but a confus'd Heap of Buildings, without Symmetry or Beauty."

XXXVIII Cp. Poncet (p. 19): "When we had almost past over the Court, they oblig'd us to stop short before a Stone, which is near to an open Hall, where the King usually gives Audience to Embassadors." Burton (*Pilgrimage*..., II, p. 31) uses the word "*dakka*" for a stone bench at Medina.

XLI "*Um Lahm*" is several times mentioned in D 3 (see Nos. 84, 88, 157, 165), and is similarly identified with 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.).

XLII Bâdi el Aḥmar would appear to be the king whom Poncet found reigning in 1699. Bruce gives his dates as 1701 to 1726, but I agree with Jackson (*q.v.* p. 98, note) in thinking those dates must be less accurate than the dates given by Cailliaud (1687-1714) or D 7. Poncet describes him thus: "That Prince is Nineteen Years of Age, black, but well shap'd and of a Majestick Presence, not having thick lips, nor flat Nose like the Rest of his Subjects." In other words, he was more of an Arab than a negro type and therefore likely to have been paler in complexion (*i.e.* "Aḥmar").

The rebellion referred to here and Bâdi's exploit are also mentioned in D 3, 153 (*q.v.*). Cp. Jackson, pp. 35-36. El Amīn Arādīb *walad 'Aḡīb* was presumably one of the 'ABDULLĀB of Kḥri. Cailliaud (II, 256) notes that Bâdi's vizier was Nāṣir el Tamāni.

XLIII The biography of this saint is given in D 3 (No. 125). From D 3 and the statements of his descendants it seems that his real name was Hammad and not Aḥmad.

The reading ٢١ is given, and not ٢٢, in other copies.

XLIV "*The news of his doings reached the FUNG in the south...*" etc., is as follows in the Arabic:

بلغت اخباره الي الفنج بالصعيد وهم جنود لولو فصموا علي عزله لانهم
هم الذين يعزلون ويولون من يريدوا في الملوك بدون قتل

Lūlū is not mentioned elsewhere: Jackson (p. 36) assumes it to be the commander's name.

The "*slaying*" referred to may be the ceremonial slaying of the king as practised at Sennār (*vide* Bruce, and cp. Vol. I, p. 50 and note to D 5 (a), VI), or the sense may be no more than the obvious one, that the military were all-powerful and that no one could oppose them.

XLV Cailliaud (II, 256) mentions that Ounsa died at Sennār of small-pox.

XLVII We have seen from the preceding paragraphs that the succession to the throne had been purely patrilinear. For the OUNSAḤ see BA, 214 and D 2, 1: they were the royal family.

XLVIII "Abu Shelūkh" (أبو شلوك) has been quite incorrectly called "Abu Shilluk" (أبو شلك) by several writers. Westermann is thus led into using the name as evidence of what may perhaps be taken as true

on different grounds, namely that the FUNG were racially an offshoot of the SHILLUK. "Shelūkh" are the cuts on the face used by most Sudanese Arabs: "*mushellakh*" is the usual adjective to describe one so marked.

The Sheikhs of the HAMAG, it will be seen, only usurped the royal functions in fact, but were very careful not to attempt to do so in name. They acted as "kingmakers," but in deference to public opinion never failed to insist upon the existence of a king of the royal house. Their position in some respects resembled that of the hereditary viziers under the fifth dynasty in ancient Egypt (*q.v.* Breasted, *Hist.*, pp. 113, 114).

XLIX Contrast D 1, CLXXX, and compare D 2, VIII and xxx.

"ANWAB" is a curious plural formed from "NÜBA."

L For this war with Abyssinia see Jackson, Chap. III, and Budge (Vol. II, p. 203). The latter says: "'Iyâsû I, 'Adyâm Sagad I, king of Abyssinia, invaded Sennaar because Bâdî had stopped certain presents which 'Iyâsû had sent to the king of France. A battle was fought on the Dinder river, and the Abyssinian army was defeated with great slaughter." As Budge says later that 'Iyâsû I was murdered in October 1706, and that Bâdî Abu Shelūkh reigned from 1724 to 1762, "'Iyâsû I" must be an error for "'Iyâsû II."

Jackson (p. 48) gives a variant translation of paras. L-LVI—not differing to any extent from D 7. We note, however, that the "el Amîn" of para. L was el Amîn Mismâr, the 'Abdullâbi, of Ḳerri. The only MSS. I have seen give simply "el Amîn."

The Abyssinian account of the war, as gathered from the Portuguese records, admits the defeat but shows that Sennâr was actually abandoned by Bâdî and that but for a brilliant manoeuvre carried out by Khamîs, the Fûr, the Abyssinians would probably have been completely victorious.

It may be as well to give here a brief historical *résumé* of the previous relations between Sennâr and Abyssinia. The first detailed record of these relations will be found in the *Historia Aethiopiae* of P. Petri Paez, who was a Jesuit father, born about 1564. (See Beccari, *Rerum Aethiop.*..., Vol. III, pp. 327-354, 370 ff.; and cp. Bruce, *loc. cit.*) 'Abd el Kâdir II had been on good terms with the great Abyssinian conqueror Susneôs ("Socinius") but had been deposed by his brother 'Adlân I. He fled to Tchelga, a frontier district of Abyssinia leased to Wad 'Agîb by a special arrangement (see Bruce, Vol. III, p. 300) and under the joint protection of the two, but was subsequently killed in a local rebellion. About 1613 we have Bâdî Sîd el Ḳûm, who had succeeded 'Adlân I and was son of 'Abd el Kâdir, sending a present of two indifferent horses to Susneôs: he appears not to have been satisfied with the treatment meted out to his father. About a year later, el Rubât having succeeded his father Bâdî, Susneôs, irritated by a number of incidents that had occurred, entered into a league with "Naêl filho de Agub" (Nâîl wad 'Agîb, an 'Abdullâbi?) and sent his generals to make a series of raids into the provinces of Sennâr (including Sûâkin), and considerable loot was captured yearly. In 1619, as the marginal summary puts it, "Melcâ Christôs, Ionaêl et Oald Haureât regnum Funye invadunt, pluribus praeliis hostes profligant, regem capiunt et, universa regione depopulata, a Suaquêm usque ad Fazcolô (*i.e.* Fâzoghli), inŕenti praedi

onusti ad Imperatorem redeunt." [Extracts from the Portuguese of Paez will be found in Appendix 2. See also Bruce, Vol. III, pp. 311-319.]

After the expedition just described, to quote Bruce (*loc. cit.*), "Still the vengeance of Socinios was not satisfied. The Baharnagash, Guebra Mariam," was commanded to march "against Fatima, queen of the Shepherds¹, called at that time Negusta Errum², queen of the Greeks. This was a princess who governed the remnant of that antient race of people, once the sovereigns of the whole country, who, for several dynasties, were masters of Egypt, and who still, among their ancient customs, preserved that known one, of always placing a woman upon the throne. Her residence was at Mendera, on the north-east of Atbara, one of the largest and most popular towns in it." Mendera, that is Mundera, was on the great east-to-west trade and pilgrim route, and its queen, the modern representative of Candace, derived her income from the fact. She surrendered to Guebra Mariam and was taken to Abyssinia but was released and sent back home with presents.

The Abyssinians no doubt considered Sennár, or at least that portion of the kingdom which was bounded by Abyssinia, as theoretically a subject state. For instance, Ludolfus, basing his history chiefly on the works of Tellez and the Jesuit memoirs, says in Bk. I, Chap. XVI (published 1681 and translated by Gent in 1684) that to the south Abyssinia is bounded by "the Kingdom of Sennar or Fund, governed by its peculiar king, formerly a tributary to the Abessines, but now absolute"; and in Bk. II, Chap. XVIII, we find "as for the king of Sennar, he has often revolted and made warr upon the Abessines."

Menelik II was of the same opinion so late as 1891: see note to D 1, CLXXXIII.

Between the reigns of el Rubât (died 1642) and Bádi "Abu Shelûkh" (*acc.* 1723) there seems to have been a period of comparative peace.

The el Amín walad Mismár mentioned here is not to be confused with the Muḥammad el Amín walad Mismár of paras. LXXVII *et seq.*: see Na'ûm Bey, *Hist. Sudan*, II, 99.

LI Khamis is mentioned by Bruce (Vol. II, p. 635): "Hamis, prince of Dar Fowr had been banished from his country in a late revolution occasioned by an unsuccessful war against Selé and Bagirma, and had fled to Sennaar, where he had been kindly received by Baady, and it was by his assistance the Funge had subdued Kordofan."

Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak was probably the greatest man that the Sudan produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His sons and grandsons were virtually supreme in the Gezira after his death until the Turkish conquest, and he himself not only conquered and administered Kordofan but also raised himself to the position of a dictator at Sennár.

I do not think that there can be much doubt but that he was one of the HAMAG by race, though Jackson (p. 51) says (rashly, I think) that the "general consensus of native opinion" is in favour of his being a Ga'ali, and quotes an account of him given by the *Mek* of the GAMŪ'IA from which it would appear that Abu el Kaylak's mother was HAMAG and his father a Gamū'i

¹ The BEGA tribes, that is.

² *I.e.* el Rûm.

(i.e. of Ga'ali extraction). The term "HAMAG" is often used as almost the equivalent of barbarians, and, on the other hand, in so far as the HAMAG have Arab blood in them, it is supposed to be derived from BENI 'ABBÁS (i.e. Ga'ali) ancestors. In fact, where some people would say that the GAMŪ'IA were partly HAMAG, the GAMŪ'IA put it differently and speak of the HAMAG (e.g. Abu el Kaylak) as being partly Ga'ali. There is, however, the possibility that Abu el Kaylak was called a Hamagi because of his mother belonging to that race. Such an example of the survival of a matrilineal system would be by no means anomalous.

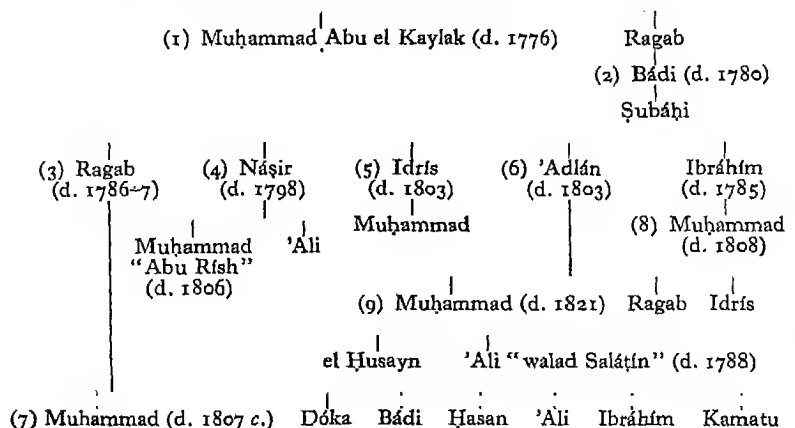
From Bruce (Appendix 28, p. 226) one would suppose that Abu el Kaylak was the son of Sheikh Šubāhi. The vizier 'Adlān is repeatedly referred to as his brother and in 1176 (1762 A.D.) wrote a letter of recommendation for Bruce signed "el Sheikh 'Adlān son of el Sheikh Šubāhi." But Šubāhi was the Sheikh of Khashm el Baḥr (see para. LXXII) and one of the KAMĀTĪR (RUFĀ'A), which Abu el Kaylak certainly was not, so it is evident that Bruce was simply misled by the use of the term "*akhu*." From para. LXXII it is clear that 'Adlān and Abu el Kaylak were bosom friends.

As regards Abu el Kaylak's career: in Appendix 46 (pp. 416-7) Bruce says (1772): "From these two provinces [viz. the Gezira and southern Kordofān] are all the riches of the kingdom; and they are both in the hands of the two brothers, Adelan, and 'Abd el Calec, who have killed two kings, and keep the third [i.e. Ismā'il] without forces or revenue."

Again, on p. 425, Bruce says: "News brought (Aug. 1st) that the people of Darfoor have marched with an army to take Kordofan, which, it is apprehended, they soon will do, being about 12,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot. There are at Kordofan about 1500 horse, with Mahomet Abou Calec; who, it is thought, will fall back on Sennaar, if not surrounded. . . ."

Browne, writing in 1793 from Dārfūr, says (p. 307): "A king of the name of Abli Calik is the idol of the people of Kordofān where he reigned about fourteen years ago and is renowned for probity and justice."

The following Tree, compiled from D 7, will be found useful in following the career of Abu el Kaylak's descendants:



The name "Abu el Kaylak" is alleged (by *feki* Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid of the 'OMARÁB, for whom see D 3, 113 note) to be more correctly "Abu Lakaylak." He explains "*Lakaylak*" as a diminutive of "*lak*," meaning 100,000, and says the nickname was given because Sheikh Muḥammad commanded 100,000 men. This, however, is not very convincing.

LVII 'Abd el Latíf el Khaṭīb's biography is No. 9 in D 3.

The text is corrupt here, reading thus:

.....وتجاري علي
علي فعل امور ذميمة من النهب والقتل حتى انه تجارا علي
الخطيب عبد اللطيف العالم المشهور وقتله

The MS. of Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid omits the middle line.

"*The FUNG nobility*" is كبراء الدولة من الفنج. Cp. paras. LXI and LXII.

LVIII Cp. MacMichael (*Tribes*..., pp. 9-11), and Jackson (p. 50) who adds el Amín Mismár (for whom see para. L) among the commanders. The FUNG army was probably composed largely of 'ABDULLÁB from Kerri if we may judge from the names "'Abdulla walad 'Agīb," "Shammám walad 'Agīb," "el Amín Mismár" and "'Agayl." Khamís the Fūr was probably assisting the FUNG in Kordofán during the war: see the first passage from Bruce quoted in the note to LI.

LXI "*FUNG nobles*" here is اكابر دولة الفنج: cp. paras. LVII and LXII.

LXII "*Great men of the FUNG*, that is slaves of the king," is كبراء الفنج وهم عبيد الملك: cp. paras. LVII and LXI.

It would appear that slaves had attained in Sennár to a position analogous to that of the *Mamlūks* in Egypt.

LXIV Cailliaud says (II, 256) that Bádi died at Sūákin.

LXVII Cailliaud speaks of Náṣir (II, 256) as "tué à el-Bouqra par Bády Ouáled Regeb."

LXVIII "*FŪARĪ*" may be a plural formed from FŪR: cp. "ANWÁB" in para. XLIX. Jackson (p. 59) says: "Ahmed wad Mahmud, Sheikh of the Furs." Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid's MS., however, gives "Kawaría."

"*Prayer-mat*" is موطا. Jackson (p. 59) translates "pen."

LXIX It was in Ismá'il's reign that Bruce visited Sennár. In the text Bruce speaks of him as "white in colour as an Arab," with short black hair; but in the MS. notes (Vol. VI, p. 417) he speaks of him ("the *mek*") as having "woolly hair and black flat features."

LXXI The reading '89 instead of '83 is adopted from another MS.

LXXII The reading "1198" as the date of Abu el Kaylak's death is obviously an error, as his successor died in 1194 A.H. (see para. LXXXVI). Two other MSS. to which I had access, and which agree with that here translated as regards other dates, give 1190.

As regards the relationship between Abu el Kaylak and 'Adlán see note to para. LI. Cp. also para. CC.

Feki Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid writes to me of 'Adlán walad Šubáhi: "He was one of the KAMÁṬĪR, a learned and pious man. His tomb is at

Sennár and is still visited. In times of distress people call upon him saying 'Yá 'Adlán, Wali and Sulṭán.' He has performed many miracles, and has a marvellous power of curing club-footedness (*el nabt*). If one has a club-foot and visits him on seven Saturdays, by God's leave one will be healed of it."

"*Khashm el Baḥr*" was the name given to the district bordering on either side of the river from Sennár southwards. Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid writes to me again on this subject: "It was the custom of the kings to grant to the man they put in charge of these villages the rank of 'Sheikh of Khashm el Baḥr,' and to the man they put in charge of the cultivable lands the rank of 'Sheikh of the lands of the villages of Khashm el Baḥr.' The inland villages, which water from wells, were called 'the rainland villages' (*hillál el kuṭr*) and also had two Sheikhs, one for the villages and one for the lands: the former was called 'Sheikh of the rainland villages,' and the latter 'Sheikh of the lands of the rainland villages.'"

LXXIII Of Ismá'il Cailliaud (II, 256) notes "mort du côté de Saouákin."

LXXV Abu 'Ali's full name was Abu 'Ali wad Muḥammad wad 'Adlán wad Náíl, Náíl being the ancestor of the AWLÁD NÁÍL section.

LXXVII Muḥammad el Amín (walad Mismár) was Sheikh of Ḳerri, an 'Abduḷlábí. He had apparently succeeded the Sheikh 'Agíb of para. LXXVI. Bádi his brother seems to have succeeded him, but when Bádi died, or was deposed, he again became Sheikh and did not die till 1790 (see para. CXII).

The reading "*Aḥmad walad 'Ali*" for "Muḥammad" is correct and occurs in other MSS.: cp. paras. LXXIX, CCI and CCIII and note to CCI.

Jackson gives (p. 61) "Mohammed wad Ali."

LXXXI El Amín walad 'Agíb is the Muḥammad el Amín of para. LXXIX, etc. (cp. note to para. L). "Wad 'Agíb" was practically the hereditary title of the 'ABDULLÁB.

LXXXIV "*His uncle*" is Abu el Kaylak. Jackson (p. 63) is in error in making el Amín give Bádi the *coup de grâce*. Such MSS. as I have seen all agree with the text as translated.

LXXXVI Ragab was son of Abu el Kaylak.

LXXXVIII Jackson (p. 63) makes Náṣir the victor. No MSS. that I have seen do so.

xc Cp. D 3, iv (note) and Jackson (p. 63).

xcI In para. civ it is Ibráhím's brother 'Ali who is called "Walad Saláṭín."

xcII The AWLÁD NIMR are the Ga'ali *Meks* of Shendi.

xcIII For "*fásher*" cp. el Tūnisi (*Voy. au Ouadây*, p. 98): "Le mot de Ouârah, chez les Ouadayens, est analogue au mot de Fâcher chez les Fôriens... Au Dârfour, la dénomination de Fâcher s'applique également à la grande place qui est devant la demeure du sultan... et à cette demeure elle-même. Ou donne encore ce nom, hors de Tendelty, à la ville, ou au bourg, ou au village où le sultan s'établit. Mais au Ouadây, le nom de Fâcher ne s'applique qu'à la grande place qui est devant le *palais*..."

xcv Sa'ad ibn el Mek Idris was the Ga'ali *Mek* of Shendi. According to Cailliaud's list (III, 106) he ruled for 40 years.

xcvi The Arabic of the three phrases given is

- (a) يا ستار جاتك نار.
 (b) النار طفاها السيل.
 (c) انا وانت.

c 'Abūd lies south-west of Wad Medani, in the Gezira.

ci Hegāzi's biography is given in D 3 (No. 133).

"Said he would inspire them" is اوعدهم بقدمه عليهم—a technical phrase for which cp. para. xxvi above.

civ Inṭaraḥnā is west of Rufā'a.

For 'Alī "walad Salāṭīn" cp. note to para. xci.

cvi From Cailliaud (II, 256) it seems that after 'Adlān's death his son Rubāt reigned for a month and was then put to death by Nāṣir at Sennār. See para. cx.

cvi The Arabic of the quotation is

ليس من العجايب ان مثلي يري ما قل ممتنعا عليه وتوكل باسمه
 الدنيا جميعا وما من ذاك شئ في يديه

cviii Awkal is said by Cailliaud to have reigned 18 months and to have been killed by Nāṣir at el Dāmer (Vol. II, p. 256).

cix Cailliaud (II, 256) says Ṭabl reigned a year and 5 months and "fut tué à Chendy par Ouālad-Agyb."

cx This Bādi is Bādi V. For Rubāt see note to cvi. Cailliaud omits Ḥasab Rabbihi.

cxii Cp. notes to paras. LXXVII and LXXXI.

cxiv This is Bādi VI.

cxvii See Na'ūm Bey (*Hist. Sud.* II, 87) for such tales.

The Sultan 'Abd el Raḥman el Rashīd reigned from 1785 to 1799. Murād Bey, the *Mamlūk*, was defeated by Napoleon's army in July 1798, made Governor of Upper Egypt in 1800, and died in 1801.

Aḥmad Pasha el Gazār was Governor of Acre at the time the French besieged it. He is said to have been "a monster of rapacity and cruelty" (Paton, I, 259).

cxviii "Came to him" is the technical قدم عليه (see note to para. xxvi).

cxx The author appears to fluctuate in his estimate of Nāṣir's character; or else remarks from another hand have been inserted in the text. The MS. of Muḥammad 'Abd el Māgīd agrees with that translated. Cp. para. CCCXVI.

ccxi Cp. D 3, 133. For "*Ḥusayn*" Jackson (p. 68) gives "Hassan." Such other MSS. as I have seen give "*Ḥusayn*."

ccxiii This Sīrū is north of Omdurmān, so "advanced into the Gezira" (دخلوا الجزيرة) is probably an error: the southern Sīrū (*q.v.* para. CCXVII) can hardly be meant here. It is too far from the FEZARA and BENI GERAR country.

Hāshim, the Musaba'āwi Sultan, had lately been expelled from Kordofān by the KUNGARA and had fled to Shendi. He was eventually put to death there by the *Mek* Nimr (see Burckhardt, and MacMichael, *Tribes*..., p. 63).

CXXIV See note to CLXXVII.

CXXVII Idris and 'Adlān were Nāṣir's own brothers. This Sīrū is on the west bank just south-west of Karkóg. Deberki is nearly due east of Karkóg.

CXXVIII This 'Abdulla walad 'Agīb is the one first mentioned in para. CXII. See also CXXXVIII.

CXXIX "*Gave him protection*" is اعطاه الزمام.

CXXXII Bádi walad Ragab had been actually killed by Aḥmad walad 'Ali, but (see LXXXIV) the latter was merely the ally of Nāṣir and the other sons of Abu el Kaylak. Aḥmad's grievance had been his deposition from the sheikship, but a more mortal quarrel existed between Bádi and Nāṣir on account of the former's having flogged the latter (see LXXVII). In the result Bádi was deposed and killed, and here we have 'Adlān handing over Nāṣir, his own brother, to Bádi's son for vengeance to be taken. Jackson (p. 69) gives "Sahi" (صاحي) or "Hyas" (حياص) for "Ṣubāḥi" (صباحي) which is obviously the correct reading.

Sheikh Dafa'lla el 'Araki is repeatedly alluded to in D 3.

CXL See para. CCIX. The reference (المرحوم جنتمكان) is to Ismá'il Pasha.

CXLI Jackson (pp. 70, 71) wrongly attaches the following description of 'Abdulla walad 'Agīb to "Agīb."

CXLIV The *Mek* Sa'ad was mentioned in para. xcv. According to Cailliaud's list (III, 106) Musá'ad (*q.v.* para. CXLIX) succeeded Sa'ad.

This is, according to tribal accounts, quite correct. The ruling family at Shendi were the SA'ADĀB, and Musá'ad inherited in due course. Then Muḥammad walad Nimr, also a Sa'adābi, rebelled and tried to enlist the aid of the HAMAG towards the realizations of his pretensions. The HAMAG (*i.e.* 'Adlān) played Muḥammad false as related in D 7; but his son Nimr (see para. CXLVI) escaped and took refuge with the SHUKRĪA nomads for a time, and then returned in 1801 (see para. CL) and relegated Musá'ad to an inferior position. Jackson (p. 71) has confused Muḥammad walad Nimr and his son Nimr walad Muḥammad. Cailliaud (copied by Budge, Vol. II, p. 206) made the error of allotting Musá'ad and Muḥammad each 13 years and not noting that they overlapped; and Jackson makes things worse by putting in definite dates (which Cailliaud did not), viz. Musá'ad 1778-1791 and Muḥammad 1791-1804. See Part III, Chap. 1 (*k*) on the subject.

CXLV See paras. XCII-XCIV. It had been on the advice of the GA'ALĪN of Shendi (AWLĀD NIMR) and others that the king had enslaved Abu el Kaylak's daughters.

CXLIX "*MAGADHIB*" = AWLĀD EL MAGDHÜB. Cp. D 1, CXXV; D 3, 123; and D 7, CCLXIV.

CL This *Mek* 'Isāwī was a Gamū'i, the eponymous ancestor of the ÍSĀWĪA section and nephew of Bábikr Sulaymán (*q.v.* note to para. CCXII).

CLI 'Awaḍ el Kerīm Abu Sin was the grandson of the Abu 'Ali of para. LXXV. His father was 'Ali, and his son was the well-known Aḥmad Bey Abu Sin (see para. CCXC and Part III, Chap. 2 (*d*)).

CLII Yūsef's biography is No. 256 in D 3.

CLIII "*The historian states...*" is قال المورخ (*sic* in each MS. seen).

CLV Muḥammad walad Ragab walad Muḥammad [*sc.* Abu el Kaylak] was 'Adlān's nephew.

"*Kamtūr*" is Muḥammad Kamtūr (see para. cciv) of Khashm el Baḥr (*q.v.* note to para. LI).

Bádi VI had been deposed by Idrīs walad Muḥammad (see para. clxi) and Rānfi set up in his place.

Muḥammad walad Nāṣir [*sc.* walad Abu el Kaylak] "Abu Rīsh" was 'Adlān's nephew.

CLVII The quotation runs *تحسبهم جميعا وقلوبهم شتي*.

CLXI So, too, Cailliaud (II, 257): "Rānfa régna 5 ans. Fut tué à Sennār par Mohammed Regeb. Le trône fut vacant pendant un an et demi, ensuite revint à Bādy, fils de Tabl."

CLXII 'Ali Bakādi is the *feki* whose biography is numbered 68 in D 3.

CLXIV The Gedid referred to is the village on the Blue Nile a little above Khartoum.

CLXV The text gives . . . *الي كسله الي اوائل سنة ١٢١٢ فتبارزوا*.

Another MS. gives . . . *الى كسلا وأقام بها في أوائل سنة ١٢١٢ تبارزو*.

CLXVI For "*Hardba*" (هرابة) Jackson (p. 73) gives Meheria (مهريّة). Muḥammad 'Abd el Māgid's MS. gives "Hawāwa."

CLXVII Sulaymān is presumably the Hāg Sulaymān Aḥmad of paras cxviii and clxviii.

CLXXV The 'ARAKIŪN had great religious influence owing to their alleged nobility of descent and the number of their *fekis*. See D 3 *passim*.

The emendation in the final sentence is adopted from another MS.

CLXXVII An "el Arbāb Dafa'alla" is mentioned in paras cxxiv, cxxxi and cxxxvi (*i.e.* about 1797). In this paragraph (clxxvii), *i.e.* about 1808, we have "el Arbāb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad" or "el Arbāb Dafa'alla." In para. cxcvi, *i.e.* in 1821, we have "el Arbāb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad Ḥasan"; and in paras cxcvii, ccx, ccxiv and ccxviii "el Arbāb Dafa'alla walad Aḥmad" or "el Arbāb Dafa'alla." Probably the same man is meant in each case. See note to para. ccxviii.

"*Arbāb*" is properly a title: see Jackson, p. 94, and cp. Poncet, p. 8: "The Erbab or Governour of this province. . . lives at Argo."

CLXXIX To cast earth upon a person's head is to show contempt for him. The Arabic is . . . *حشوا التراب علي*.

CLXXXIV It is noteworthy that all the five sons of Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak whose children are mentioned at all named their (eldest?) sons Muḥammad after Abu el Kaylak.

CLXXXV "*Yellow fever*" is *حمي صفراوية*.

Hāmid walad Abu 'Aṣā is No. 113 in D 3.

"*Muḥammad Nūrayn*" is either another form of, or a mistake for, Muḥammad Nūr, for whom see the introduction to D 3 and ABC, xi.

Ibrāhīm 'Abd el Dāfa'i is mentioned again as a poet in para. ccxxxv. He was possibly the son of that 'Abd el Dāfa'i el Qandil whose biography is in D 3 (No. 4). The question of his authorship of D 7 is discussed in the Introduction.

The Arabic of his verses is:

دع العين تبيكي دهرها بتوجد علي غضيض بحر كان بالعلم مزبدا
هو الحبر ابن الحبر ضيف الالهنا لقد حاز فخرا في الإناهم وسوددا

In Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid's copy, in the first line, غضيض occurs for غضيض, and in the second line we have نجل for ابن and الهنا for الالهنا. The sense is unaffected.

CLXXXVIII El Labayḥ was the Rufá'i Sheikh. His headquarters were at Káwa.

CLXXXIX "*Gibiṣ*" (جبص) is a purely Sudanese word, and is variously explained. The idea of stickiness seems to be primarily involved.

CXC Cp. para. CXXXII. Sheikh Ḥasan was the son of the 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Šálih ibn Bân el Nuḳá whose biography is in D 3 (No. 25). See Introduction to D 3.

CXCI Nāṣir "walad 'Agīb" is the Nāṣir walad el Amín of paras CXL and CLXXXVI: see para. CCIX. "Walad 'Agīb" was practically a hereditary title. Na'ūm Bey (II, 99)—followed by Budge (II, 204) and Jackson (p. 105)—gives three separate persons in succession (Nāṣir wad el Amín, Amín ibn Nāṣir and Nāṣir wad 'Agīb) by error for one.

CXCII El Sayyid Muḥammad 'Othmán el Mírghani was the great-grandfather of Sir Sayyid 'Ali el Mírghani, K.C.M.G. He entered the Sudan by way of Maṣṣáwa from Mekka in 1817 and visited Kordofán as well as Sennár. In Kordofán he married a Dongoláwía, and his son el Sayyid el Ḥasan was born at Bára. The shrine erected over the latter's afterbirth at Bára is described by Seligman in the volume of *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*. El Sayyid el Ḥasan visited Mekka and finally returned and settled at Kassala. His son el Sayyid Muḥammad 'Othmán II resided at Maṣṣáwa and died in Egypt in the Khalífa's time, leaving two sons, el Sayyid Aḥmad, who lives at Kassala, and el Sayyid 'Ali, who lives at Khartoum and Omdurmán. The Mírghanía *ṭarīqa* is a branch of the Khatmía.

CXCIII "*Aḥmad*" is given in the Arabic by error for "Ḥammad." 'Awad el Kerím Abu Sin had a number of sons, and the best known of them, Aḥmad Bey (see paras CCXC, etc.), lived on into Turkish days. One of Aḥmad Bey's brothers was named Ḥammad; and other copies I have seen give "Ḥammad" and say both he and his father "were killed by the BAṬÁḤÍN." The text of D 7 gives "BAḤṬÁḠIYYŪN" but no such people exist.

"*Religious Sheikhs*" is مشايخ الساجيد.

CXCV See para. CLV.

CXCVIII Ḥasan was Abu el Kaylak's grandson. Of him and Wad 'Adlán Cailliaud, who accompanied Ismá'il Pasha in 1821, speaks as follows: "Ces deux usurpateurs, ennemis l'un de l'autre... n'accordaient au roi légitime que la faible part qu'il leur avait plu de lui assigner. A'dlân [*i.e.* *Walad 'Adlán*] tenait sa cour au village de Moûna, où il tentait de se former une petite province: il avait le don de se faire aimer, et son parti était plus fort que celui de Regeb [*i.e.* *Ḥasan Ragab*]. Au mois d'avril, le bruit des brillans succès d'Ismáyl sur les Chaykyés et de l'approche de son armée, vint jeter l'alarme dans le Sennár. A'dlân et Regeb sentirent alors que leur

intérêt commun exigeait qu'ils réunissent leurs forces pour repousser un ennemi également redoutable pour tous deux. Ils formèrent donc une alliance momentanée, et prirent l'engagement réciproque d'agir de concert contre le pacha, tant que le danger subsisterait... Sur ces entrefaites, Regeb, abusant de la confiance d'A'dlân, conçut le projet de se débarrasser de son compétiteur par une lâche trahison... vers la fin de mai, A'dlân, livré au sommeil, fut assailli par une foule d'assassins qui enfoncèrent ses portes: il se lève, saisit ses armes, et se défend avec fureur; mais couvert de blessures, il succombe sous le fer d'Abdallah-Niknitt el d'Ibris-Ouâd-A'quindi, écuyers de Regeb, payés par lui pour commettre cet attentat. Regeb croyait alors avoir vaincu tous les obstacles; mais les troupes d'A'dlân... firent éclater l'horreur que leur inspirait une action aussi atroce... A Gondâl, le 1^{er} juin, ces mêmes troupes, commandées par le ministre d'A'dlân, en vinrent aux mains avec celles de Regeb... Regeb remporta l'avantage; mais cette victoire fut loin d'augmenter la force de son parti. Quelques jours après, ayant appris que l'armée d'Ismâyl avait passé le fleuve Blanc et qu'elle s'avancait sur Sennâr, Regeb ne songea qu'à fuir... et alla se réfugier dans les montagnes sur les confins de l'Abyssinie. Alors Bâdy... réunit à lui l'ancien parti d'A'dlân, et se porta au-devant du pacha jusqu'à Ouâd-Modyen [*i.e. Wad Medani*]." (Cailliaud, pp. 233-5.)

CC See note to para. LXXII.

CCI-CCII See note to para. LXXVII where Aḥmad is called "walad 'Ali."

CCVI See Part III, Chap. 1 (*k*) and Chap. 2 (*a*).

CCVII "*Foretold by shaking...*" is ترمز بحروف مقطعة—a method of divination.

CCIX Cailliaud's narrative (Vol. II, 192 *et seq.*) may be compared. Nāṣir walad el Amīn is Cailliaud's "Lod-A'guyb" (*i.e. Wad 'Agīb*): the two narratives agree remarkably closely as to Ismā'il's movements.

CCX The *Kādi* Aḥmad el Salāwī was known to Werne as he accompanied Aḥmad Pasha's Kassala expedition. Werne (p. 253) says: "This great Kadi is a hypocritical but intelligent Mograbin, drinks stoutly his wine in private... and... during Ramazan, when even the poor half-starved soldiers fasted, openly set them the fine example of eating and drinking before his tent."

CCXI See note to para. CXCVIII. Cailliaud mentions this expedition against Ḥasan walad Raḡab (Vol. II, 238 *et seq.*): it was under the command of Dīwān Effendi (*q.v.* para. CCXIV) and consisted of 400 irregular horse.

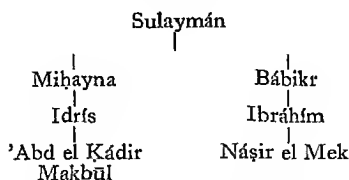
The murderers of Walad 'Adlân were put to death by impalement.

The *Mek* Bâdi is thus described by Cailliaud: "Il était vêtu d'une large chemise de toile blanche, les jambes nues, de longues sandales aux pieds, la tête couverte du bonnet particulier aux méliks [*i.e. the 'takla,' for a description of which see Vol. I, pp. 248 and 249*]... Bâdy est un homme de quarante ans environ, d'une taille moyenne, robuste, d'une figure pleine et agréable, ayant les cheveux crépus et le teint de couleur cuivrée, qui est celui de la race des Fongis." (II, 298-9.)

CCXII This is evidently the expedition referred to by Cailliaud (II, 307-8). It started on August 22nd and only took eighteen days. Cailliaud's

"Djamiélyehs" refers to the GAMŪ'fa. "Leur chef fut tué... on leur prit trois cents chameaux, beaucoup de boeufs, et de moutons."

Idris el Miḥayna was related as follows to the present *mek* of the GAMŪ'fa, Nāṣir:



The Muḥammad Sa'id Effendi mentioned is the same as the "Dīwān Effendi Sa'id" of paras CCXIV, CCXV, for Cailliaud mentions that "Divan Effendy" commanded this expedition.

CCXIII The reading منازل occurs in other MSS.

Cailliaud accompanied the expedition to Fázoghli (Cailliaud, Vol. II, Chaps. XXXVI-XLIII).

There is no other record, so far as I am aware, of the taxation fixed by Ismā'il Pasha: Cailliaud gives no information on the subject. There was no regular budget until 1881 (see Dehérain, p. 181), and nothing is known of the details of taxation previous to the time of Khūrshid Pasha (for which see Dehérain, p. 182).

A *riḍl* at present is worth, in the Gezira, 10 piastres (2s.), and in most other parts (e.g. Kordofān) 20 piastres. An exhaustive note on the subject of the currency in use in Egypt in 1845 is added to his edition of el Tūnisi's *Voyage au Ouaday* by Dr Perron (see pp. 675-682). Among the silver coins there were (1) the "*riḍl abu madfa'a*" (the Spanish dollar of Charles IV, value 20 pt. 28 paras), (2) the "*riḍl 'agūz*" (a worn and defaced coin), (3) the "*riḍl abu arba'a*" (the same as No. 1, except that IIII occurs instead of IV. Date 1798. "Très recherché au Soudan"), (4) the "*riḍl abu shubbāk*," or "*riḍl abu ibra*," or "*riḍl abu nuḡṭa*" (Austrian), (5) the "*riḍl abu ṭayra*" (Russian), the "*riḍl chinco*" or "*abu shagera*" (5-franc piece). Nos. 4 (the Austrian thaler, or talari) and 5 were also known as "*riḍl ḡushli*" (value 20 pt.).

Cailliaud writing of Berber in 1821 similarly says "Les piastres d'argent d'Espagne, sur-tout celles de Charles IV, y sont préférées: mais celles où le nom du prince est écrit Charles IIII, par quatre I, et qu'ils nomment 'réal France abou-arba...' obtiennent sur les autres un surcroît de valeur qui va à 2 francs et plus" (Vol. II, 118); and again (Vol. II, 296), writing of Sennār, "l'argent qui a cours dans le pays sont les piastres d'Espagne: mais ici, comme au Barbar, celles qui portent l'empreinte de Charles IIII, par quatre I, obtiennent une préférence marquée."

If the *riḍl* be reckoned at its very lowest possible value, viz. 10 pt., the taxation specified in para. CCXIV still appears almost unbelievably onerous, and to amount to something approaching confiscation.

As no mention is made of camels, which presumably were not taxed per head because there was no means of counting them, we may assume that a tribute was, in the case of the nomads, demanded from the whole

tribe. It may also be taken for granted that it was not paid and that the herds of the nomads were, practically speaking, spoils of war for any official who could catch them (see note to CCLXXXIX).

CCXIV The spread of the false rumours mentioned was described by Dîwân Effendi to Cailliaud (*q.v.* Vol. III, 75-76).

An insurrection actually occurred at el Ḥalfāya (*op. cit.* Vol. II, 93; cp. also Dehérain, pp. 94-96).

CCXV Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattāḥ (*q.v.* para. CCLXXVII) was one of the 'ABĀBDA.

A "mu'allim" was a clerk and a "mubāshir" a kind of superintendent.

For the move to Wad Medani in March 1822 cp. Cailliaud, III, 89.

CCXVI Several accounts of the murder of Ismā'il Pasha by *Mek* Nimr are extant. Cailliaud had parted from the Pasha, luckily for himself, and only heard of the murder when he arrived at Marseilles on 11th December 1822. He gives the following description, based presumably on the first account received in Cairo: "Arrivé à Chendy, il commit l'imprudence grave de s'éloigner de son camp, et d'aller dans un village voisin célébrer par un banquet nocturne, avec un petit nombre des siens, le bonheur d'être bientôt rendus à leurs foyers. Nimr où Nêmr, ancien roi de la province... avait voué à Ismā'yl une haine éternelle. A la faveur des ténèbres, il accourut à la tête de sa troupe chargée de matières combustibles, et en un clin d'oeil un vaste incendie enveloppa la maison où le jeune prince et ses amis dormaient dans une sécurité perfide. Il leur fut impossible de se frayer une issue à travers les flammes, et ils périrent suffoqués... Nimr prit la fuite avec ses complices, et se retira dans le Darfour." (Vol. III, 336, etc.)

The last detail is certainly wrong: Nimr fled towards Abyssinia not Dārfūr.

Rüppell was at Shendi in 1824 and gives a rather different account (see *Reisen...*, p. 111). Ismā'il Pasha gave Nimr two days in which to produce 1000 slaves as tribute. Nimr protested that this was impossible. Ismā'il struck him and threatened him with impalement, and Nimr pretended to give way. He then persuaded the Pasha to leave his boat and stay in the village, and, under pretext of furnishing fodder for the horses, piled masses of *dura* stalks outside the house where the Pasha was. When night came and Ismā'il and his companions were half drunk, Nimr set fire to the *dura* stalks, and Ismā'il and his friends were burnt to death.

Werne (1840) also gives the story with slight variations and additions: e.g. Nimr was given *three* days to pay the impost, and Ismā'il struck him on the face with his pipe-stem as he knelt asking for a longer period of grace (see Werne, p. 77).

Zaydān (II, 164) speaks of a time limit of five days and a demand for a boat-load of gold and 2000 men—modified finally to 20,000 *riḍls* of silver and 2000 men. Ismā'il was then persuaded to attend a dancing entertainment to which all the inhabitants also assembled, and at a given signal the straw was lit and the Pasha and his suite driven within its circle and killed.

The account given in D 7 is practically the same as that given by Rüppell.

Of Nimr himself Cailliaud (II, 300) says: "On m'avait prévenu de son

caractère hautain, de sa fierté: je le trouvai assis sur un *engareb* lisant le Coran... Nimir est un homme de six pieds; il a le regard dur, l'humeur sombre; il est réfléchi, plein d'orgueil et d'audace, studieux et dévot." See also note to CCCXXV.

CCXVII "*Kadakhddr*" is said to have been a title denoting "Master of the Household."

CCXVIII El Arbáb Dafa'alla (previously called "el Arbáb Muḥammad walad Aḥmad") is mentioned by Werne (p. 77). Speaking of Ismá'il Pasha's murder he says: "At the same time, the father of our Defalla [*q.v.* paras CCC, CCCI], Mohammed Adlan Defalla, Great Sheik of the Fungh, on the Gesira, murdered all the Turkish soldiers to be found in his countries." Our author omits this! Werne adds (p. 78) that this same el Arbáb Dafa'alla "fled from the Gesira, and, according to report, died in Habesch." See note to CLXXVII.

The family of el Arbáb Dafa'alla are said to have been SURŪRÁB, *i.e.* GAMŪ'IA, but they intermarried with the FUNG royal house (see note to para. CCC). Their headquarters were at el Surayba. Abu Shóka is a few miles south of Sennár (see Marno's map).

The people of 'Abūd were nearly all KAWÁHLA.

"*Delattia*" were irregular troops such as were later called Bashi Bazüks.

CCXIX Cp. Cailliaud, III, 337-8; Rüppell, III-2; Dehérain, 98; Werne, 77; and Budge, II, 212.

The Arabic of the last sentence is:

ودخل على الفقيه احمد الربيع في خلوته فامر بدققر جميعا

CCXX This "*Walad 'Agib*" is the Nāṣir walad el Amín of para. CCIX. For Sheikh Khógalí see D 3, 154.

CCXXII Kutráng is on the east bank of the Blue Nile below el Kámlín.

By "*el Kúbba*" is meant, as usual, the site of Sheikh Khógalí's tomb at Khartoum North. Werne's translator (p. 17) calls it "Chobba."

CCXXIV El 'Ádayk is a colloquial name for the Blue Nile.

CCXXV The 'Aḳáḳír are a section of GA'ALÍF.

CCXXVIII El Naṣūb is a hill in the Buṭána between the Blue Nile and Kassala Province.

CCXXIX Bashír walad 'Aḳíd (*q.v.* para. CCLXVI) was one of the MÍRAFÁB of Berber.

Um 'Arūḳ ("mother of roots") was properly a large *ḥardz* tree and gave its name to a site on the west bank of the White Nile close to the site of the present *Commandantia* of Omdurmán.

CCXXXII See para. CXC.

CCXXXIII Sabderát is just east of Kassala. Werne (pp. 217-8) refers to this expedition. Sabderát was destroyed and the population put to the sword.

CCXXXV Cp. para. CLXXXV for Ibráhím 'Abd el Dáfa'i.

Sheikh Aḥmad el Ṭaib ibn el Bashír's tomb, built in 1906, is at the village, called after him "Sheikh el Ṭaib," on the west bank some twenty-five miles below Omdurmán. He introduced the Sammánía *ṭaríḳa* into the Sudan. He himself adopted it, when at el Medína, from its founder "el Sammání." Sheikh el Ṭaib's descendants speak of themselves as

GAMŪ'īa, but it is said that as a matter of fact the Sheikh's father, el Bashīr, was a Baza'ī from Kordofān who married one of the GAMŪ'īa of the SURŪRĀB section and settled permanently on the Nile.

Sheikh el Ṭaib's full name was Aḥmad el Ṭaib ibn Bashīr ibn Málík ibn el feki Muḥammad ibn el feki Surūr.

"*El Sammānī's*" full name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd el Kerīm, and he is alleged to have been a Qurashi. He was born in 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.) at el Medīna and was taught by Sheikh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān el Kurdi. He was then instructed in the tenets of the Khalwatīa *ṭarīqa* by el Sayyid Muṣṭafa ibn Kamāl el Dīn el Bekri and adopted it. Later he founded the Sammānīa *ṭarīqa* himself. It was so called because he was by trade a seller of *samm* (fat). He died in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.). Cp. also Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, I, 162.

CCXXXV Cp. Budge (II, 213), who says 'Othmān Bey succeeded in 1825. *Muḥarram* is the first month of the year and *Ṣafar* the second.

The *Gehadla* were trained troops drawn by the Turks from subject races. They were not irregulars as were the "*Delatla*": see para. CCLXVII. For "*Mubdshir*" see note to CCXIV.

CCXXXVIII Budge (*loc. cit.*) has mistranslated and misunderstood the Arabic.

Sheikh Shanbūl walad Medani, or an ancestor of the same name, was eponymous ancestor of the "SHENÁBLA" of the Gezīra. These are not to be confused with the quite distinct SHENÁBLA nomads of Kordofān, but are connected with the KAWÁHLA. Their ancestor is said to have come from Ṣubā in Yemen. Arbāgi was their headquarters. Medani the son of Shanbūl was killed in 1883 with Hicks Pasha.

CCLXIII Ḳubbat Khógalī was the usual military camping place. It was healthy, and troops could easily be marched thence to Berber Province (cp. Werne, p. 17).

CCLXIV This Sheikh el Zayn was great-grandson of the el Nūr walad Mūsā Abu Ḳussa whose biography is in D 3 (No. 217). He was a Ya'aḳūbābī and his full name was el Zayn walad el Sheikh Sálīm (see Jackson, *Yacubabi Tribe...*).

El Kū'a (or el Kí'an)—meaning literally "a bend" or "elbow" (*sc.* of the river)—is a district on the Blue Nile south of Sennár.

CCLXV For "*Bayrakla*" some copies give "*Baraykla*". The literal meaning is probably "standard-bearers" (*i.e.* *Barakddarla*).

CCLXIX Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳádir was the son of the Sheikh el Zayn of para. CCLXIV (cp. Jackson, *Yacubabi Tribe...*, p. 3).

Idris walad 'Adlān was met by Werne, who calls him (1840) "After Aburow [*i.e.* *Abu Róf*] the most powerful ruler in the peninsula" (p. 161).

Idris walad 'Adlān was a brother of the Muḥammad walad 'Adlān who was murdered by Ḥasan Ragab (see Cailliaud, II, 238).

CCL The Arabs meant are the ḤAMMADA, Sheikh Abu Gin's people.

The Sírū mentioned is the one near Sennár.

CCLII "*He fixed...*" etc., is ربط الاموال على الفدان. A *feddān* = 1.038 acres (5024 square yards).

CCLIII The date 1243 (for 1247) is given in the other MSS.

CCLIV Khalifa was Sheikh of the 'ABÁBDA.

CCLV El 'Aṭīsh lay between Roṣayreṣ and Lake Tsana in what is now Abyssinia. It was the headquarters of a *Kāshif* (see Werne, p. 197).

CCLVI A *ḡada'a* is about $5\frac{1}{3}$ *feddāns*.

When Muḥammad 'Alī reproached Khūrshid Pasha for not sending more money to him the latter replied "When my Sennárians cultivate ten times as much as they do they will still only have corn and beasts and no money to give you." Khūrshid Pasha had pleaded their poverty, to which the Pasha's reply had been "They have two Niles and I only one: make the lazy work as I do in Egypt and they will become rich" (Brun Rollet, *Bull. Soc. Geog.* 1855, ix, p. 367, quoted by Dehérain, p. 168).

Between 1830 and 1838 the taxation rose to 3,125,000 francs, and between 1838 and 1842 to 5,000,000 (Dehérain, pp. 182, 183).

CCLIX Ḥammadnulla is presumably the Ḥammadnulla walad Malák of D 3, 128.

"*Budanāb*" for "*Budatāb*" is adopted from Muḥammad 'Abd el Mágid's MS. They are a section of MAḤASS and their present representatives live at Burri on the outskirts of Khartoum: cp. ABC, vi.

The making of Khartoum into the official capital of the Sudan dates from this time (1830). In 1822 a permanent military camp only had been made there (Dehérain, p. 117, quoting Werne, *Expedition zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil*, pp. 44-5). Cp. also Holroyd, p. 167. He visited Khartoum in 1837. It had then 15,000 inhabitants and many houses "built of sunburnt bricks."

CCLXII 'Abd el Kádir walad Ḍayfulla was a Gamū'i (FIRḤÁB section, ḤAMAYDÁNÍA subsection). He is buried at el Debba in Gayli district.

CCLXIII This expedition was a failure and Khūrshid Pasha suffered defeat. Aḥmad Pasha in 1840 said to Werne (*q.v.* p. 8): "First Darfur, and now Taká, will pay no tribute, nor have they done so since Churschid Pascha was in the Chaaba (the forests where he was defeated)." The enemy had been the HADENDOA under Sheikh Muḥammad Dīn "the defeater of the Turks under Churschid Pasha" (Werne, p. 55). . . "It seemed to us most wonderful that the Haddenda, a tribe that numbers over 80,000 fighting men, did not set on us, and give us a lesson such as Churschid Pascha had received from them" (p. 176). . . "The fatal defeat of Churschid Pascha, in which he also lost two guns, to recover which a whole battalion, save one or two men, were sacrificed" (p. 177). Khūrshid Pasha managed however to get 3000 head of cattle and some cash as tribute (see Werne, p. 109).

CCLXIV Ḥammad walad el Magdhūb is No. 123 in D 3.

"*The ruler of . . . Nile*" is حاكم اقليم الخلفاية والبحر الابيض.

CCLXXI "*Makáda*" is a synonym for Abyssinians or Abyssinia. Werne uses the word *passim* in this sense. See, too, his remarks (p. 247).

CCLXXV The cholera evidently spread westwards. El Tūnisi speaks of it ("*el haoua el-asfar*") in Wadái in 1838 (*Voy. Darfour*, p. 283).

CCLXXVI Ragab walad Bashír is said to have been one of the 'ABDULLÁB.

CCLXXVII El Senūssi was no doubt the son of the Baḡádi who is mentioned (No. 68) in D 3 and in para. CLXII above.

Muḥammad ibn el Hāg and Muḥammad 'Ali were MAḤASS, el Ṭerayfi was an 'Araki and Sheikh Muṣṭafa the same.

Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattāḥ's son, Sheikh Ḥasan, was a *Ḳāḍī* in Dongola a few years ago, and died on the pilgrimage.

CCLXXX The village of 'Awag el Darb opposite el 'Aylafūn is called after the man here mentioned. "*Sheikh Idrīs*" is Idrīs wad el Arbāb of el 'Aylafūn.

CCLXXXI The Gezīra of Sennār comprised all that "the Gezīra" does now. The term is so used (*e.g.*) in Marno's map (1870). Muṣṭafa Bey was of course subject to the Governor-General (*Hakimḍr*): his title as given here is "*Mudṭr 'alā 'umūm gezira Sennār.*" See note to paras CCXCV, CCXCVII, CCCXIV and CCCXVII.

CCLXXXIII Sheikh Mīri is mentioned by Werne (p. 75): he says (in 1840) "Under their lately deceased Sheikh Myri, who possessed more than ninety suits of chain armour... the Tokruri [*i.e.* the TAKĀRĀR] enjoyed a pretty considerable power, highly dangerous for their frontier neighbours, as they had also for warfare about a hundred muskets, a large number for these lands; but since Sheikh Myri's death they have sadly declined in power and force." Mansfield Parkyns also mentions him (II, 357).

'Ali Agha is also mentioned (Werne, p. 144): "Ali Aga, whose family name is Sobi, leader of 300 Magrabins..." He was "wofully slashed in an attack by the Turks on Makada. Never have we seen on any skull such severe scars..." He was "descended from one of the principal families of Fez."

Of the *Malik* Sa'ad Werne (p. 160) says "The Schaigies every morning wait on the old Sheik Melek Saat, and kiss his hand. They never steal or make a prize of anything, without preserving the best of it for him, and in all ways provide for and attend to him, as if he was still in possession of his old rank and dignities." And again (p. 137) "The Schaigie Melek Saat, whose father yet [*sc.* 1840] rules the old Dongola, had received, a month before the present chasua [*i.e.* the expedition by Ahmad Bey to Kassala], some hundred blows of the stick at the order of the Pascha."

CCLXXXIV Sulaymān Kāshif was a Circassian. He led Ahmad Pasha's White Nile exploration expedition. He lived at Kerreri (see Werne, pp. 14, 62, 63, 186, etc.).

CCLXXXVI Ahmad Pasha was a Circassian, "stolen from his native land when only six years old" (Werne, p. 156).

CCLXXXIX From the nomads in the east Ahmad Pasha used to demand 20 pt. poll-tax on adult males and a tenth of all produce and animals (see Werne, p. 61).

CCXC 'Abd el Kādir Agha is probably Werne's "Abd el Kader, the jovial Topschi Baschi," the commandant of artillery (Werne, pp. 28, 139).

Ahmad Abu Sin was the greatest of the SHUKRĪA Sheikhs: he attained to the rank of Bey and was given practically complete control over the Arab tribes in and east of the Gezīra. Werne describes him (p. 54) as "a handsome large man, with noble countenance, and his character is described by all as vigorous, able, and generous."

Baker's description of him is also worth quoting: "He was the most

magnificent specimen of an Arab that I have ever seen. Although upwards of eighty years of age, he was as erect as a lance, and did not appear more than between fifty and sixty; he was of Herculean stature, about six feet three inches high, with immensely broad shoulders and chest; a remarkably arched nose; eyes like an eagle, beneath large, shaggy, but perfectly white eyebrows; a snow-white beard of great thickness descended below the middle of his breast... As a desert patriarch he was superb, the very perfection of all that the imagination could paint, if we would personify Abraham at the head of his people" (*Nile Tributaries...*, p. 111).

CCXCII Kanbál was a Sháiki. Werne says of him (1840): "Even now, though dead, Kamball still lives in the people's mouths: they have a great number of songs about him, in which he is described, on account of his cruelty and savage deeds, constantly wandering round, without grave, rest, or peace, as the punishment of his crimes. He was shot in the back, most likely by the soldiers of Achmed Pascha, in a fight between them and the Schaigies of Melek Hammet" (Werne, p. 177).

Werne himself, however, speaks of Kanbál as "a distinguished soldier, an honest man, and general favourite, and from his generosity to the poor, ever in debt." He was extraordinarily brave and much valued by Aḥmad Pasha. "After his death the Pascha himself took charge of his infant son, had him educated, and allows him 500 piastres a month" (p. 179). This son was the lately deceased Bashír Bey Kanbál who was "*mudáwin* of Arabs" in Kordofán.

"*Hammet*" is the same as Aḥmad walad el Mek. He did not submit to the Turkish government but fled for the Abyssinian border. The Pasha took Kanbál's Sháiki in pursuit and rode himself with them from Berber to Abu Ḥaráz, where "*Hammet*" was captured: he was not however put to death.

CCXCIV It was this expedition which Werne accompanied. Its object was primarily to collect tribute from the HADENDOA. "I need money, much money—want it most badly," said Aḥmad Pasha to Werne. He also hoped to open up the Abyssinian trade routes and conquer that country (Werne, p. 8). He took with him about 10,000 regulars, and about the same number of irregulars and camp-followers (Werne, p. 197). The expedition was conducted in a perfectly haphazard manner but the ḤALANĀ and HADENDOA submitted eventually and the town of Kassala was founded (see Dehérain, pp. 108–110; Lepsius, *Letters*, p. 200; Werne *passim*; and Budge, Vol. II, pp. 214–217).

CCXCV This Muṣṭafa Bey is the man mentioned as Governor of the Gezira of Sennár in para. CCLXXXI. As we see from the next paragraph and para. CCCXIV the control of the two (Khartoum and the Gezira) was generally vested in one man.

CCXCVIII The seven provinces, according to Budge (II, 217), were Fázoghli, Sennár, Khartoum, Kassala, Berber, Dongola and Kordofán.

CCCXIX "*Reformer*" is "*munazam*" (منظم). It is not certain from the text and the context whether the author intends to say that Menekli Pasha was made Governor-General (*Ḥakimddár*) as were his predecessors and successors, or that an experiment was being made in decentralization, which was abandoned as a failure and tried again in 1856 (see para. CCCXIV).

According to Lepsius, who writes in 1844 (January), Aḥmad Pasha Menekli was "the new Governor of the Southern Provinces." Lepsius also says "On the sudden death, by poison, of Ahmed Pasha, the governor of the whole Sudan, at Chartûm... the south is divided into five provinces, and placed under five pashas, who are to be installed by Ahmed Pasha Menekle" (*Discoveries in Egypt...*, pp. 133-135).

ccc This el Arbâb Muḥammad Dafa'alla is the son of the el Arbâb Dafa'alla mentioned previously, and is the man mentioned by Werne as accompanying Aḥmad Pasha's Kassala expedition in 1840. Werne calls him (p. 37) "Mohammed Defalla, a great Sheikh of the neighbourhood of Wollet-Medina... his relations of the old royal family have whole heaps of such" (*sc.* armour as that he wore). Again Werne says (p. 76) "Defalla has already given many causes for suspecting his fidelity and both his own and father's names are too often connected with that of Nimr."

He is referred to as "our herculanean neighbour" and "our fat friend." His command consisted of 150 men (p. 78). He married Naşra, the sister of Idrîs walad 'Adlân (see Werne, p. 160).

cccii The "*mines of Shaybûn*" were once famous. Russegger in 1838 (p. 200) says "The bed of every stream in the vicinity of Jebel Sheibun and Tira... exhibits a gold-bearing alluvium." As a matter of fact Mr S. C. Dunn tells me that at Shaybûn itself there was never any gold; but the people of Shaybûn, the SHAWÂBNA, used to get it from the north side of Gebel Kinderma, a day's journey away. The Arabs thought the gold was from Shaybûn itself.

Khâlid Pasha was Governor-General when Petherick visited Khartoum. He was "a veteran soldier of the Syrian and Arabian wars... by birth a Greek" (Petherick, *Egypt...*, p. 127).

cccv Rufâ'a Bey and Bayûmi Effendi were both members of the first educational congress held in Egypt in 1836 under the presidency of Mukhtâr Bey. A portrait of Rufâ'a Bey is extant (see Zaydân, II, 192-193).

Hasan Khalîfa and Ḥusayn Khalîfa were sons of the Khalîfa mentioned in para. CCLIV.

"Mu'dwin of the Ḥakimddria" = Nâib Ḥakimddr = Assistant Governor-General.

"*Sheikh el Mashâtkh*" or "Sheikh of Sheikhs" was a rank invented by the Turks (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 33). 'Abd el Kâdir's authority would be confined to the Gezîra and north of Khartoum and would not extend, *e.g.*, to Kordofân (cp. paras CCCXI and CCCXII).

cccx "*Garkas*" or "*Sharkas*" = "Circassian."

By "*'Abd el Ḥalîm Pasha*" is meant Prince Ḥalîm Pasha, who visited the Sudan during Sa'id Pasha's viceroyalty of Egypt. Zaydân (II, 202) says "In his [Sa'id Pasha's] days certain privileges (امتيازات) were conferred on the Sudan, and Prince Ḥalîm Pasha was appointed as its Governor-General (*'Ḥakimddr*)."

cccxii For Yâsîn (*i.e.* Yâsîn Muḥammad Dôlîb) see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, p. 33). He was a Dôlâbi of Khorsi, the grandfather of the *feki* Dardîri of D r

'Omar Bakádi was presumably a relative of the men mentioned in paras CLXII and CCLXXVII.

CCCIV The author of D 7 is quite precise and consistent as to this administrative change. It seems from D 7 that after the conquest of the country a Governor-General (*Hakimdár*) was appointed with practically absolute powers. Subject to him were the Governors of Provinces. This system remained in force until the death of Aḥmad Pasha in 1842, Khartoum and the Gezira forming a single province.

Then (para. CCXCVIII) the Sudan was divided into seven provinces, without (it is implied) any Governor-General.

Later in the year, according to D 7, came Menekli Pasha and attempted some reforms without much success. What these reforms were remains vague, and Lepsius (see note to para. CCXCVIII) throws little light on the matter. But in any case decentralization seems to have failed, and with the succession of Khálid Pasha in 1845 the Governor-Generalship was certainly revived. On this point there is no contradiction and Petherick, *e.g.*, speaks of Khálid Pasha (1845-1850) as "Governor-General." There can also be little doubt that D 7 is correct in saying that Khálid Pasha's six successors were all Governor-Generals.

But in 1857 (says D 7) came Sa'id Pasha and appointed Arákíl Bey, not Governor-General, but only "Governor of the whole of the Gezira of Sennár and el Khartoum" (مدير عموم جزيرة سنار والخرطوم); *i.e.* the other governors of provinces were independent of him. Arákíl Bey's successors, Ḥasan Bey and Rásikh Bey, we are told, held the same position; but apparently it was a failure, as Mūsa Pasha was in 1863 made Governor-General (see paras CCCXIX and CCCXXI). If these facts are true they have generally been overlooked as Arákíl Bey and his two successors always appear in lists of "Governor-Generals of the Sudan." The fact that they alone were Beys (the usual rank of a provincial governor) while all the rest were Pashas lends strong support to the account given by D 7.

Petherick, in spite of his having called Khálid Pasha (1845-1850) "Governor-General," writes in 1859 as follows (see *Upper Egypt...*, p. 128): "The town of Khartoum contained two different administrations, one the Governor-Generalship, and the other the Local Authority of the province, with a population of about sixty thousand inhabitants. Since the visit of the present Viceroy to Khartoum in the year 1847, the Governor-Generalship has been abolished, the governor of each province now communicating directly with the Minister of the Interior at Cairo."

The state of affairs described was no doubt true of 1859 (though it was altered in 1863 when Mūsa Pasha was given the Governor-Generalship); but it seems that the provincial governors had not been independent since 1847 but only since 1857.

Arákíl Bey was a brother of Nubar Pasha and a Christian Armenian. In 1862 his body was disinterred and sent to Egypt (see Petherick, *Travels...*, p. 77).

For el Zubayr see note to CCCXXIV.

CCCXVI Other MSS. correctly give "*Ḥasan*" for "*Ḥusayn*."

CCCXIX The Arabic is as follows:

هو ءاخر المديريون الذين انفردوا بولاية مديرية الخرطوم والجزيرة

See preceding note.

CCCXX For el Saláwi see para. CCXXXVI.

CCCXXI Baker's description of Mūsa Pasha Hamdi is as follows: "This man was a rather exaggerated specimen of Turkish authorities in general, combining the worst of oriental failings with the brutality of a wild animal" (*Albert Nyansa*, p. 8). He was originally a Circassian slave bought by a Turk in Cairo market. He entered the army, was caught by the Arabs in the Syrian war, and escaped. He was then sent to the Sudan and rose in turn to be a colonel of infantry, Governor of Khartoum, *aide-de-camp* to the Governor-General, a commander of irregular cavalry, Governor of Dongola, of Berber, and of Kordofán. He was dismissed the service for inhuman treatment of prisoners, but was later appointed Governor of Kena in Egypt, Chief of Police in Cairo, President of the Council, and finally Governor-General of the Sudan and a general of division for operations against Abyssinia and the White Nile. Murder and torture were no more to him than pastimes. (See Petherick, *Central Africa...*, Vol. I, pp. 51, 52, 147.) To judge from Baker's and Petherick's descriptions of the Sudan in this man's time, the reforms described by D 7 are purely chimerical.

CCCXXIV A *ndzir* is properly an overseer.

Of el Zubayr 'Abd el Kādir (*q.v.* CCCXV above) Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe...*, p. 4) says that after his return from Egypt "he was made President of the Court of Appeal by Jaafer Pasha but later served for about four years as Sub-Governor of Sennār with the rank of Bimbashi. He quarrelled with his Governor Yusef Pasha (some time between 1879 and 1882) and both were recalled to Khartoum; but on the outbreak of the Mahdist movement he offered to raise a battalion in Sennār. He accordingly went to Sennār but was so unpopular with the people that the Government decided to remove him quietly: he was put on board a sailing-boat by night but in midstream the sailors threw him overboard and he was drowned at the age of 59 in the year 1885."

CCCXXV Cp. Baker (*Nile Tributaries...*, pp. 140, 278-280): "Mek Nimmur" (the son that is of the man who killed Ismā'īl Pasha) "was a most unpleasant neighbour to the Egyptian Government, and accordingly he was a great friend of the King Theodorus; he was, in fact, a shield that protected the heart of Abyssinia... Upon several occasions expeditions on a large scale had been organized against Mek Nimmur by the Governor-General of the Sudan; but they had invariably failed; as he retreated to the inaccessible mountains..." In March 1862 Baker visited Nimr: "Since our departure from the Egyptian territory, his country had been invaded by a large force, according to orders sent from the Governor-General of the Soudan. Mek Nimmur as usual retreated to the mountains, but Mai Gubba and a number of his villages were utterly destroyed by the Egyptians" (p. 444)... "Mek Nimmur's territory was an asylum for all the blackguards of the adjoining countries..." (p. 451, and cp. Werne, p. 78). Baker found him "a man of about fifty, and exceedingly

dirty in appearance" (p. 458). Baker interceded, on his return, with Mūsa Pasha for Nimr, but Mūsa Pasha "declared his intention (1862) of attacking him after he should have given the Abyssinians a lesson, for whom he was preparing an expedition in reply to an insolent letter that he had received from King Theodore . . . upon a question of frontier . . . Mūsa Pasha subsequently started with several thousand men to drive the Abyssinians from Gallabat . . . but upon the approach of the Egyptians, they fell back rapidly. . . . The Egyptians would not follow them, as they feared the intervention of the European powers" (pp. 559-561).

cccxxvii Other MSS. correspond.

cccxxviii *Feki* Muḥammad 'Abd el Māgid's MS. breaks off with the mention of the repression of the rebellion in Kassala (Táka).

cccxxxi The quotation is from the 36th chapter of the Ḳurán (Sale, p. 333).

APPENDIX I

The Chronology of the Fung Kings

A

N.B. *Br.* = Bruce; *Ca.* = Cailliaud; and MS. refers to D 7 in the following.

	Name of King (MS.)	Date of accession (MS.)				
1.	'Omára Dūnḳas ("' <i>Amru ibn 'Adlān</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1504	Bruce	1504	Cailliaud 1484	42 years
2.	¹ 'Abd el Ḳādir I ibn 'Omára Dūn- ḳas	1533	"	1551	Cailliaud	10 "
3.	¹ Nāfil ibn 'Omára Dūnḳas	1543	"	1534	"	12 "
4.	'Omára Abu Sakayḳīn ("' <i>ibn 'Omdra Dūnḳas</i> ," <i>Ca.</i> ; " <i>Amru ibn Ndīl</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1554	"	1559	"	8 "
5.	² Dekīn walad Nāfil ("' <i>Ṣḥīb el 'Ada</i> ," <i>Ca.</i>)	1562	"	1570	[Cailliaud inserts Dôrah	17 "
6.	² Ṭabl I ("' <i>ibn 'Abd el Ḳādir</i> ," <i>Br.</i> , <i>Ca.</i>)	1577	Bruce	1590		8 "]
7.	Ounsa I ("' <i>ibn Ṭabl</i> ," <i>Ca.</i>)	1589		1593	"	12
8.	'Abd el Ḳādir II ("' <i>ibn Ounsa</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1598		1606	"	3
9.	'Adlān I "walad Āya" ("' <i>ibn Ounsa</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1604		1610	"	4
10.	Bādi I, "Sīd el Ḳūm" ("' <i>Abu el Rubāt</i> ," <i>Ca.</i> ; " <i>ibn 'Abd el Ḳādir</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1611		1615	"	7
11.	el Rubāt ("' <i>ibn Bādi I</i> ," <i>Ca.</i> , <i>Br.</i>)	1614		1621	"	27
12.	Bādi II ibn el Rubāt, "Abu Duḳn"	1642		1651	"	37
13.	Ounsa II walad Nāṣir (nephew of "Abu Duḳn")	1677		1689	"	12
14.	Bādi III ibn Ounsa II, "el Aḥ- mar"	1688-9		1701	"	27
15.	Ounsa III ibn Bādi III	1715		1726	"	3
16.	Nūl ("' <i>ibn Bādi</i> ," <i>Br.</i>)	1718		1729	"	4
17.	Bādi IV ibn Nūl, "Abu Shelūkh"	1723		1733	"	40
18.	Nāṣir ibn Bādi IV	1761		1766	"	8
19.	Ismā'īl ibn Bādi IV	1768		1769	"	7
				(Bruce's chronology ends with 1772)		

¹ Bruce and Cailliaud give these two in inverted order.

² Between these two Bruce and Cailliaud insert "Douro" or "Dôrah" or "Dâour" (see note).

	Name of King (MS.)	Date of accession (MS.)			
20.	'Adlān II	1776-8	—	Cailliaud	12 years
	¹ Rubāt ("ibn 'Adlān II," Ca.)	1788			30 days
21.	¹ Awkal ("ibn Ounsa," Ca.)	1788			1 yr, 6 mths
22.	¹ Ṭabl II	1788-9			1 yr, 5 mths
23.	¹ Bādi V ("ibn Dekhn," Ca.)	1789			1 year
24.	² Ḥasab Rabbihi	1789			—
25.	Nowwār	1790			1 year
26.	Bādi VI walad Ṭabl II (first reign)	1790			6 years
27.	³ Rānfi	(date not given)			5 "
28.	³ Badi V walad Ṭabl II (second reign)	1803, deposed in 1821			16 "
					"335 années de règne" (Ca.)

¹ Rubāt was a pretender appointed in antagonism to Awkal, Ṭabl II and Bādi V, or to Bādi V alone (see paras CVIII to CX).

² Omitted by Cailliaud.

³ Between 27 and 28 Cailliaud inserts an interregnum of 1½ years.

B

The dates as given by Na'ūm Bey correspond with those of the MSS., with the immaterial proviso that, in converting the Muhammadan date to the corresponding Christian date, a difference of one year frequently appears (*e.g.* Na'ūm Bey "1505," MS. "1504," etc.). This is owing to the fact that the first or last day of the Muhammadan year does not coincide with that of the Christian year, or, in other words, any given Muhammadan year falls partly in one Christian year and partly in another.

Professor Budge accepts Na'ūm Bey's dates (Vol. II, pp. 201-204).

Between Dekhn and Ṭabl I (Nos. 5 and 6) Bruce and Cailliaud insert a third king. Bruce speaks of him as "Douro," son of Dekhn, with a reign of three years (1587-1590). Cailliaud gives "Dôrah ou Dâour, fils de Dakyn... 8 ans." Mr Jackson, in his appendix (*Tooth of Fire*, p. 98), gives "Dudu" and adds a note "also given as Duda, Daru, Dor, and Dora." The Arabic transliteration of these names in the order given is as follows:

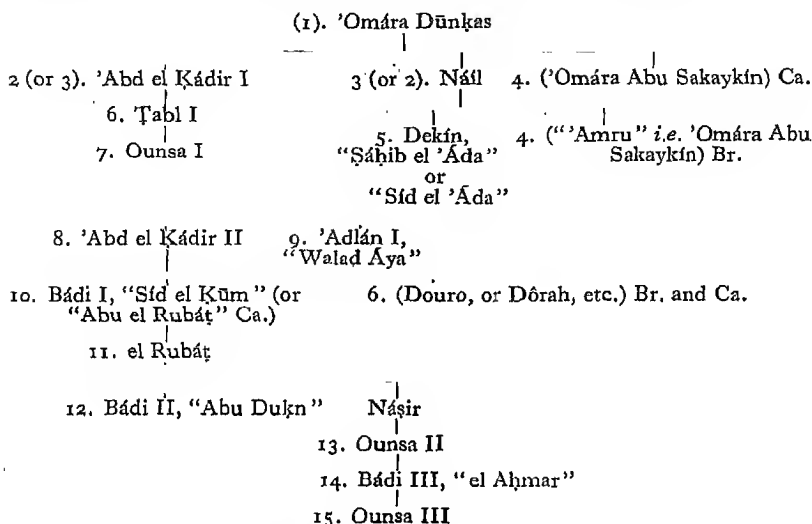
دورو دورو داور دودو دوده درو دور دورو

It would therefore appear not unlikely that the king's name was Dāūd, *i.e.* داود

He was probably omitted by an oversight of the author. As he was the son of the preceding king, and not a mere usurper, it is unlikely that he was left out from any ulterior motive.

D

Adding together the information to be gathered from Bruce, Cailliaud and the MS., as to the relationships between the first fifteen or sixteen kings, we obtain the following genealogical tree of the OUNSA'B.



The 16th (or 17th) king, Núl, was only connected with the above on his mother's side (see para. XLVII, MS.).

E

In place of the date 1504 (the date of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom) Cailliaud gives 1484, and he is alone in doing so. He then states the numbers of years that each king (including "Dôrah") reigned: the total down to 1821 A.D. he gives as 335 years; but in adding up this total he omits 6 months + 5 months + 30 days, so 336 years would be more correct. To this must be added the interregnum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years in the time of Ránfi, which Cailliaud mentions but does not include in the total; and the result is 337 to 338 years.

The dates of accession are not given except in the case of 'Omára Dūṅkas.

Now it is very suspicious that if 337 be subtracted from 1821 the result is 1484. I say suspicious advisedly, because, in the first place, one notes that the period from 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.) to 1236 A.H. (1821 A.D.) covers 327 lunar years, namely the period given in the MS., and that, if eight years be added on account of the inclusion of "Dôrah" ("Douro," etc.) as given by Cailliaud, we arrive at 335 lunar years, namely the number quoted by Cailliaud. The period from 1504 A.D. to 1821 A.D. covers only

318 solar years. Secondly, the length of each reign must have been given in lunar years in the Arabic MS. consulted by Cailliaud, and if Cailliaud had wished to give in each case the exact equivalent in solar years he must have used fractions (which he did not do), or the total would have necessarily been wrong.

Thus, apparently, we have Cailliaud obtaining the figure 1484 A.D. by subtracting 337 lunar years from the solar date 1821 A.D., and not noticing that 337 lunar years only equal 327 solar years.

He also adds 12 years to 'Omāra Dūṅkas's reign. Bruce and the MS. only give 30 years, but Cailliaud gives 42. The above, I think, accounts for the difference between the date 1504, which I take to be correct, and Cailliaud's "1484"; and it vitiates Cailliaud's chronology¹.

¹ Of the chronological list he accepted Cailliaud says (Vol. II, p. 255): "Je m'étais procuré, chez les érudits de la ville [Sennār], plusieurs listes chronologiques des rois Founjis du Sennār":... (etc., as quoted in the introduction). "Enfin... j'en obtins une du roi Bādy lui-même..."; and to this Cailliaud adds in a note "Elle était écrite en arabe: j'en dois la traduction à l'obligeance de M. Agoub, professeur d'arabe au collège royal de Louis-le-Grand." So if there is blame to be apportioned perhaps M. Agoub rather than Cailliaud should be the scapegoat.

APPENDIX II

Extracts from the Portuguese of C. Beccari's "Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX." (12 Vols.)

EXTRACT I

From Paez, *Historia Aethiopiae*, Vol. III, pp. 353, 354. Susneôs lays waste Sarquî (Çarquî¹) and enters into a league with Náíl: this in the reign of el Rubât ibn Bádi at Sennár.

Depois foi caminhando devagar e entrou em sua corte de Gorgorrâ; e nam esteve alli mais que duas semanas, porque logo tornou a sair e foi pollo caminho de Tacuça e Tancâl a terra que chamam Gunquê, e dalli mandou chamar a Naél filho de Agub, com que primeiro tinha concerto, e como veio, beixou o pe ao Emperador e prometeo do servir dalli por diante e nam tornar mais a seu senhor Urbât rey de Senaar, e o Emperador lhe deo ricos vestidos e pecas de ouro e *depois (*sic*) guiou Naél ao Emperador ate chegar a terra del Rey de Fûnye e deo na terra Çarquî e matou muytos e cativou suas molheres e filhos e queimou suas casas. Fez isto o Emperador por cinco causas. A primeira porque, mandando elle muyto ricas peças de presente ao Rey de Badê, elle nam respondeo como debia, e mandou dous cavallos muyto ruins. A 2^a, porque deo Naél nas terras que pertecem a Dambíâ e fez muyto dano e, mandandolhe dicer o Emperador se fora aquello com seu consentimento ou nam?, ouvindo este recado, calou e nam respondeo. A 3^a, porque Alêb criado do Emperador fugio pera elle come muytos cavallos e lebou os atabales de Maçagá, e o Emperador lhe escreveo que nam detivese la seu criado, que elle lhe perdoava, e que, se nam quisesse vir, que lhe mandase os atabales, e elle nam quis facer huma cousa nem outra. A 4^a, porque, indose a gente Chucên a Çarquî, os agassalhou e depois os seus lhe ficeram muyto maltratamento e nam lhes deixaram enterra seus mortos sem que pagasem, pollo que elles quiseram facer amizade com seu senhor o Emperador e, quando vinham, deram nelles os de Çarquî e mataram muytos e tomaram suas molheres e filhos. A 5^a, porque, vindo pera o Emperador a may de Joseph filho de Gibarâ, a tomou a gente de Çarquî e nam a deixaram passar. Por tod estas cousas se enfadou o Emperador e fez amizade com Naél e destruiu as terras del Rey de Badê sugeto a el Rei de Senaar.

*Translation*²

Afterwards he went away slowly and entered his district of Gorgorrâ, but he did not remain there more than two weeks, for he then left and went by Tacuça and Tancâl to the country called Gunquê, and thence summoned

¹ In the index "Çarquî" is described as "regio in regno Funye."

² With this passage compare Bruce, Vol. III, Bk. III, pp. 311-319.

Náíl walad 'Agíb, with whom he previously had an agreement. When Náíl came he kissed the foot of the Emperor and promised to serve him from thenceforward and never more to return to his liege lord Rubát the king of Sennár. The Emperor gave him rich garments and ornaments (?) of gold, and Náíl afterwards accompanied (?) the Emperor until he reached the land of the king of FUNG and descended on the Çarquî¹ country and killed many and captured their women and children and burnt their homes. This the Emperor did for five reasons. The first because, when he sent the king of Bádi [King Bádi?] many costly presents, the latter had not replied as was due but had sent two very poor horses. The second because, Náíl having raided lands belonging to Dambia and done much damage, and the Emperor having sent to him [the king?] to ask whether this was with his consent or not, [the king?] on receipt of the message kept silence and made no reply. The third because, when Aléb², the Emperor's servant, absconded to him with many horses and took with him the kettledrums of Maçagâ, and when the Emperor wrote to him not to detain the servant, and said that he would pardon him, and that if he was unwilling to come back he should send him the kettledrums, [the king] was unwilling to do the one thing or the other. The fourth because, [when some Chucên people came?] to Çarquî, he gave them lodging but subsequently illtreated [them?] grossly and would not allow them to bury their dead unless they paid, because they wished to make friendship with his lord the Emperor; and when they arrived the Çarquî people fell upon them and killed many of them and took captive their women and children. The fifth because, when the mother of Joseph son of Gibarâ was on her way to the Emperor, the people of Çarquî took her and would not let her pass. For all of these reasons the Emperor was exasperated and made friendship with Náíl and laid waste the lands of the king of Bádi [King Bádi?] subject to the king of Sennár.

EXTRACT II

Paez, Vol. III, p. 370.

The Abyssinian generals make war on the FUNG and take much booty: this in 1618.

Estando ainda o Emperador em Çalabaçâ, lhe chegou carta do Cantiva Za Guiorguís, em que decia que tinha dado em as terras Bertâ, Caebâ, Batêl e outras que senhorea el Rey de Funye Erobât e que cativara muytas molheres e meninos, queimara suas casas e tomara muyto fato. Depois soube o Emperador como Erobât mandara muita gente de pe e de cavallo pera que guardassem a terra de Çarquî. Tambem lhe disseram como o Abuna Isaac, a quem tinha mandado pera Ethiopia o patriarche de Alexandria abba Marcos, morrera da terra de Senaar muyto tempo depois que o tomou Erobât; o que Emperador sintio muyto e alevantou logo de Çalabaçâ e foi caminhando ate Dabolâ, e dali mandou a Jonaél com muita gente a as terras Gemâ e Çabên e dando nellas tomou muytas vacas e fato e tornou, e o Emperador alevantou logo de Dabolâ, passou por Béd e foi a terra Tançal e mandou a Jonaél, ao Cantiva Za Guiorguís e a Caba

¹ Bruce, *loc. cit.*, "Serke."

² Bruce, *loc. cit.*, "Alico."

Christos com muyta gente de guerra pera da na terra de Çarquî, e chegando la em sete dias, o seguinte muyto cedo se puseram em ordem e os del Rey de Funye estavam ja aparelhados com muytos cavallos e gente de pe; mas, dando batalha *foram desbaratados os Balôus e morreram muytos e a Jonaêl lhe trouxeram 326 cabeças e tomaram muytos cavallos, malhas, capacetes, espinguardas, atabales e camelos e tornaram com grande alegria onde estava o Emperador que os recebeo com muyta festa, mas dalli a 8 dias morreo de fevre o Cantîba Za Guiorguîs, e o Emperador o chorou muyto, porque o amava e era seu pãrente; e assi pus em seu lugar por Cantîba de Dambiâ a seu filho mais velho.

Translation

While the Emperor was still at Çalabaçâ there reached him a letter from the Cantîba Za Guiorguîs in which the latter stated he had attacked the lands of Bertâ, Caebâ Batêl and others which were under the rule of Rubât the King of the FUNG and had captured many women and children, burnt their houses and taken much booty. The Emperor learnt later how Rubât had sent many footmen and horsemen to defend the district of Çarquî. He was also told how the Abuna Isaac, to whom the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent Abba Marcos to Ethiopia [*? Whom Abba Marcos the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent to Ethiopia?*] had died in [*lit. "from"*] the land of Sennâr a long time after Rubât had seized him. The Emperor felt this greatly, and at once started from Çalabaçâ and journeyed as far as Dabolâ, and thence sent Jonaêl with a large force to the districts of Gemâ and Çabên; and he fell upon them and took many cows and goods and returned. Then the Emperor at once set forth from Dabolâ and, passing by Bêd, went to Tançal district and despatched to Jonaêl the Cantîba Za Guiorguîs and Caba Christos with a large body of troops to attack the land of Çarquî. And he [Jonaêl] reached [Çarquî] in seven days and on the following day very early set forth his array. And the troops of the king of Sennâr were already standing ready with many cavalry and footmen. But when battle was joined the Balôus were routed and many were killed and 326 heads were brought to Jonaêl, and many horses and suits of mail and helmets and muskets and camels and drums were taken, so that they returned with great elation to the place where the Emperor was, and he received them with lavish entertainment. But eight days later the Cantîba Za Guiorguîs died of fever; and the Emperor sorrowed greatly for he loved him like a father, and so appointed in his place as Cantîba of Dambiâ his eldest son.

EXTRACT III

Paez, Vol. III, p. 372. The Emperor, after wintering at Gorgorra moves to Debaroâ. In 1619 Melcâ Christôs and others invade the Sennâr territories in force.

Partindo Abeitahûn Melcâ Christôs e Jonaêl, foram como o Emperador lhes mandou e, chegando destruíram todas as terras de Funye, matando e cativando muyta gente e tomaram muytos cavallos e armas e atabales, e chegando a Abromelâ (com ser serra tam forte que, revelandose huma

vez a gente daquella terra contra el Rey de Dequin, veio elle com todo seu poder e nam a pode entrar e assi se tornou). Elles a subiram por força de armas e mataram muytos e tomaram alli seu Rey e o trouxeram presso e chegando ao Emperador com grande festa e alegria lhe presentaram aquelle Rey com os escravos, armas e cavallos que tomoram em suas terras. Tambem Dêye Azmâch Oald Haureât foi como lhe mandou seu senhor e, caminhando 19 dias, chegou a Ateberâ terra de Fûnye e logo domingo antes de meio dia deo nella e venceo ao capitam que alli estava, e fugindo elle, mataram muytos dos seus e cativaram suas molheres e filhos de maneira que tudo ficou despovoado e tomaram muyta prata e ouro, peças e vestidos ricos, muytos camellos, espingardas, malhas e capacetes, e tres pares de atabales, com o que todos os do exercito ficaram cheos, e assi lhe succedeo ao Emperador Seltân Çaguêd o que o nem hum de seus antecessores, porque em huma mesma semana destruiu desde Çuaquên ate Fazcolô, de onde tiram o ouro, cumprindolhe nosso Senhor o que desejava. Como Dêye Azmâch Oald Haureât teve esta victoria, tornou logo dando graças a Deos. . . . Por estas victorias, que Deos N. Senhor deo ao Emperador de Çuaquên ate Fazcolô, fez grandes festas e deo muytos louvores ao Senhor, de quem lhe vieram tantas merces. E nisto se occupou ate o mes de mayo de 1619.

Translation

Abeitahûn Melcâ Christôs and Jonaël set forth as the Emperor had ordered them and on arrival laid waste all the lands of the FUNG, killing and capturing many people and taking many horses and arms and drums; and reaching Abromelâ (which was so strong that on one occasion, when the people of that country had fared against the king of Dekín [King Dekín?], he came with all his power but was unable to effect an entry and so returned), they subdued it by force by arms and killed many and there captured its king and brought him prisoner to the Emperor with great celebration and joyfulness and handed him over together with the slaves and arms and horses taken in his country. Also Dêye Azmâch Oald Haureât, as commanded by his lord, journeyed 19 days and reached Atbara [in?] the FUNG territory and at once, on a Sunday, before noon, fell upon it and defeated its local chieftain and put him to flight and killed many of his people and captured his women and children in such manner that the whole district was depopulated, and took much silver and gold, pieces of cloth and rich garments, many camels, muskets, suits of mail and helmets and three pairs of drums, so that all the troops were sated. Thus the Emperor Sultan Çaguêd [*i.e.* SUSNEÔS] was successful beyond all his predecessors, for in a single week he wrought destruction from Sûâkin to Fázoghli, whence they bring gold, understanding what Our Lord desired.

When Dêye Azmâch Oald Haureât had won this victory he returned forthwith giving thanks to God. . . (*descriptions of festivities, etc., follow*). . . For these victories which Our God granted to the Emperor from Sûâkin to Fázoghli he made great festivity and offered many thanksgivings to the Lord from whom had come to him so great favours. In this he occupied himself until the month of May 1619.

INDEX

- N.B. 1. *Where figures are in italics the reference is to notes.*
 2. *The references are generally in groups of three. The first (Roman figures) denotes the Part, the second (ordinary figures) denotes the chapter, the third (Roman) denotes the section.*
 3. *T. = a tribe, S.T. = a sub-tribe, Ar.T. = an Arabian (non-Sudan) tribe, G. = a "gebel," V. = a village, W. = wells, R. = river.*

- 'Abábdá, T., *Passing refs. to*, I, 3, v;
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 vi and xi; D 7, CCXIV and CCLIV.
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 'Abábsa, T., *Refs. in native MSS. (Part*
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 'Abádla, S.T. of Ma'dála, III, 2, XXXII.
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 'Abádla, S.T., III, 1, xv and XVIII.
 'Abbás, Beni; 'Abbásá; 'Abbásiyyūn, T.,
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 'Abd el 'Alí, S.T., III, 3, x.
 — — 'Azím Bey el Khalífa, III, 9, II.
 — — Báki 'Abd el Kádír, III, 1, XVI.
 — — ibn Faḡa, D 3, 25.
 — — — walad Kuways, D 3, 1.
 — — — el Wáli, D 3, 2.
 — — — el Zurḡáni, BA, XLVIII; D 3,
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 — — Dáfa'i, Sheikh, D 3, 3.
 — — — el Kándíl, D 3, 4, 237 and 240.
 'Abd el Gelfí Muḥammad Dafa'alla, B 1,
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 — — Hádi Muḥammad Dólib, II, 2,
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 — — Ḥalím Pasha, D 7, CCCX and
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 — — — ibn Sultán "Walad Baḥr,"
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 — — Kádír I (ibn 'Omára), king, D 7,
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 — — — II, king, D 7, XIX.
 — — — Agha, D 7, CCXC.
 — — — el Bakkáí, D 3, 6 and 73.
 — — — walad Dayfulla, D 7, CCLXII.
 — — — el Gílání; Kádíría sect, BA,
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 — — — ibn Idrís, D 3, 7, 230 and 236.
 — — — Pasha, III, 2, v.
 — — — walad el Sheikh el Zayn, D 7,
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 — — Kádíría, S.T., AB, tree.
 — — Káfi el Moghrabi, D 3, 10; D 7,
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 — — Kays, Ar. T., II, 1, xv.
 — — Kerím ibn 'Agíb, D 3, 8.
 — — — ibn "Yáme" (Gáma'i), Sultan,
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 — — Latíf, Beni, S.T., ABC, 2nd tree.
 — — — el Khatíb, D 3, 9; D 7, LVII.
 — — — Pasha, D 7, CCCIII, CCCIV and
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 — — Mágid, *Awlad*, D 3, 113.
 — — — ibn Ḥammad el Aghbash,
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 — — Maḥmūd el Nófálábí, D 3, 11.
 — — Malik ibn Marwán, *Khalífa*, D 6,
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- 'Abd el Nūr ibn Obayd, D 3, 12.
 — — — Raḥīm ibn 'Abdulla el 'Araki, D 3, 13 and 34.
 — — — el Bura'i, D 1, CLXXVI.
 — — — ibn Gābir, BA, CCV; D 3, 17.
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 — — — ibn Gābir, BA, CCV; AB, XCIX; D 3, 17, 23, 34, 144, 156, 172 and 254.
 — — — ibn Ḥāg el Dwayḥi, D 3, 18.
 — — — ibn Ḥammad el Aghbash, D 3, 15, 20, 118 and 143.
 — — — ibn Ḥammadtu, D 3, 15, 21, 118, 135, 164, 181 and 241.
 — — — ibn Ibrāhīm walad Abu Malāḥ, D 3, 22.
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 — — — el Rashīd, *Sultan*, I, 4, XX; D 7, CXVII.
 — — — ibn Sālīḥ Bān el Nuḥā, D 3, 25, 89 and 226.
 — — — walad Ṭerāf, C 8, XXXIII; D 3, 26.
 — — — Rāzīk Abu Ḳurūn, D 3, 3, 27, 58, 73, 202, 229 and 242.
 — — — Šādīk ibn Ḥusayn, D 3, 28.
 — — — Salām el Begāwī, D 3, 132.
 — — — "Sawāk el Rakā," D 3, 127.
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 'Abdsalāmāb, S.T., ABC, XVIII.
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 — — — ibn Ḥammad el Negīd, D 3, 29 and 126.
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 — ibn 'Awaḍ el Kerīm, III, 2, XIV.
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 — ibn el Ḡahm, II, 2, XV.
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- 'Abs, *Beni*, Ar. T., II, 1, XII and XIII;
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- Abt; 'Abta; 'Abtā; 'Abtīyūn, S.T.,
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- "Abtāh," A 11, XIV.
- Abu el 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, II, 2,
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- 'Ali walad Muḥammad, III, 2, XIV;
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- — el Ṣadīq, II, 1, XIII; III, 2, XXXIV;
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- Gin; Nās Abu Gin, III, 2, v, VI,
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- — — ibn Sāliḥ, D 3, 4, 47, 59, 89,
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- — — el Shādhali, D 1, CLXXVI;
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- 'Abūdi, *feki*, D 3, 54.
- 'Abūdāb, S.T., BA, clxxii; ABC, 1st tree; A 11, xxix and lxxv.
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- 'Abūdiñ, S.T., III, 9, II.
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- Actum, *battle of*, I, 1, xviii.
- 'Ad; "'Adites," Ar. T., I, 1, xvi; II, 1, iii; ABC, II; D 1, lxiii and clx.
- 'Adād, *el*, BA, cciv.
- 'Adalāb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree.
- 'Adālīn, S.T., III, 10, 1, II.
- Adane, I, 1, xix.
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- 'Adiliyyūn, D 6, xli.
- 'Adlān wad Āya, *king*, D 3, 29, 141 and 241; D 7, xx to xxvi.
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- 'Adlān wad Muḥammad Abu el Kaylak, D 7, lxxxiv, cxx, cxxvii, cxxx to cxxxiv, cxlii, cxlviii to cl, cliv, clv, clviii and cciii.
- wad Sa'id, III, 2, xv.
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- 'Adnān, *Arab ancestor*, II, 1, 1; BA, cxxxv and ccxxxix; AB, iii, xi, xix, xxv, xxviii to xxx and ccxxvii; ABC, xxv; A 1, lii; A 2, ii, iii, xlii and xliii; A 3, viii; A 6, iii; A 8, ix; B 1, xxvi, xxviii and xxix; D 2, xli.
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- 'Adwān, Ar. T., II, 1, xii.
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- 'Afāt, *el*, V., III, 4, vi; D 1, cxiii and cxix; D 3, 131 and 222.
- 'Affanāb; 'Affanāb, S.T., BA, lxxxiii; ABC, 4th tree; B 1, tree.
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- Afrīkūs; Ibn Afrīkī, I, 1, xvii and xviii.
- 'Afša, S.T., BA, cxvi; ABC, 4th tree.
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- 'Agaylāb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree.
- 'Agbān, D 7, clxvii.
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- 'Agīb, *Awlād* (see "'Abdullāb").
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- 'Agfb el Mángilak, *or* el Káfuta; "Sheikh 'Agfb," III, 2, ix; BA, CCXVI; D 3, VI, 23, 29, 60, 67, 69, 93, 121, 126, 141, 195 and 241; D 5 (a), III; D 7, v, xv and xx.
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- 'Aidáb; Awlád 'Aid, S.T., III, 1, VI; III, 2, App.; AB, CCXIX and tree; D 5 (c), XXXII.
- S.T. of Shákhla*, III, 1, XXIX; III, 4, vi.
- S.T. of Habbánia*, III, 3, VIII.
- 'Aidháb, *Port of*, II, 1, VIII, XIV and xv; II, 2, XXXVII.
- Aihala, D 1, XXVI.
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- 'Aisháb, S.T., III, 2, xiv.
- 'Akaba, II, 1, VI.
- "'Akáid," D 3, VIII and 52.
- 'Akákir, D 7, CCXXV.
- 'Akálin, S.T., III, 2, vi; ABC, 4th tree; C 9, x; D 1, x; D 2, XXI.
- 'Akálit, D 7, CXLIII.
- 'Akázáb; 'Aktázab, S.T., BA, CXC; D 1, CXVI; D 3, 222; D 5 (d).
- Ak-hal, *Awlád el*, S.T., D 1, CCXXV; D 3, 222.
- Akhmám, II, 1, VIII and App.
- "'Akáka," D 3, 73.
- 'Akil, *Beni*, S.T., BA, CCXVI and CCXXVIII.
- 'Akk, *Ar. T.*, II, 2, II; D 3, 67.
- 'Ákláb, S.T., D 1, CII; D 3, 42.
- Akoi, *Awlád*, S.T., III, 2, XVIII, XIX and XXV; III, 3, App. (tree 4); BA, CXI; ABC, 4th tree; D 1, CXLVI.
- Akshūm (see "Axum").
- 'Akúdáb, S.T., D 5 (c), XXXII.
- 'Alálik, S.T., III, 3, XIX.
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- 'Alátid, S.T., BA, CLXXI; A 11, xxx.
- 'Alayka, S.T., III, 2, XXXI.
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- 'Ali, *Awlád, Tribe in Libya*, III, 4, IV; ABC, XXXVIII.
- walad Abu Duḡn, D 3, LVII.
- ibn Abu Ṭálib, I, 4, ix; II, 2, vii, xi and xxv; III, 2, I and x.
- Agha el Buṣayli, D 7, CCXXVII.
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- Bába, II, 2, XVII.
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- walad Barri, D 3, 52, 58, 66, 73, 101, 148, 178, 241 and 242.
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- 'Alī walad Dhiāb, D 3, 59.
 — Dīnār, *Sultan*, III, 2, xxxi; III, 2, II, xiv, xv and xviii.
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 'Amārna, T., III, 2, xiii; BA, xcvi; AB, tree; B 1, tree; D 1, xcvi.
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 — walad el 'Ashā, *el*, D 7, CXXXVI and CLIX.
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 — walad Mismār, *el*, D 7, I and LVIII.
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 'Amri, *el*, V., III, 1, xxvii.
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 'Anāḥa, S.T., C 8, xxvi.
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- 'Arifla, S.T., III, 2, XVIII and XXIV;
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- 'Arsalmanfa, S.T., AB, tree.
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- Asirra, S.T., III, 1, VIII; III, 3, IX, X and XVI.
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- Aswán, I, 2, XXV; I, 3, XXI; II, 1, IX, XIV and XV; II, 2, XV, XXIII, XXIV, XXXI, XXXII, XLV, XLVII, XLVIII and LIII; ABC, XLIV and App.; D 4, X.
- 'Aṭāfa, S.T., D 6, XXIV.
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- 'Áthir, T., AB, CXXXVII.
- 'Aṭla, *Beni*, Ar. T., III, 2, VIII; III, 4, V. (And see "'Aṭwla.")
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- 'Aṭiāt, T., III, 4, V.
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- 'Aṭīsh, *el*, D 7, CCLV, CCLVIII and CCLXXI.
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- 'Awadāb, S.T., III, 1, XVIII; ABC, 3rd tree.
- 'Awadīfa, S.T., III, 1, V and XIX to XXIII; BA, CLII; AB, tree; ABC, XX and 3rd tree; A 2, tree; A 3, tree; D 2, VIII; D 7, XLIX.
- 'Awag el Darb el feki Muḥammad Barakāt, *el*, D 7, CCLXXX.
- 'Awáida, S.T., III, 1, XXIX; III, 4, VI to VIII.
- 'Awáidāb, S.T., III, 4, VII.
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- 'Awámirāb, S.T., B 1, tree.
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- 'Awaydāb, S.T., C 8, XXXVI.
- 'Awaydāb, S.T., A 9, III.
- Awgāb, S.T., BA, CLXIV.
- Awkal I, *king*, D 7, XLII.
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- Awriḥa, S.T., A 11, XXVI and XXVIII.
- 'Awūda "Shakāl el Kāriḥ," A 2, XLIV; D 3, 66 and 191.
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- 'Ayadā, 'Ayādā, S.T., III, 2, XX and XXIX; D 1, CXXXVII.
- 'Aydai; 'Aydag, *el*, V., D 3, 60 and 67.
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- 'Ayn, *el*, W. and G., I, 2, XXXI; ABC, XXI.
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- 'Aynāb, S.T., D 5 (c), XXXIII.
- 'Ayyūbites, II, 1, VI and VII; II, 2, XVIII and XXIX to XXXIV.
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- Baal-Ava, I, 3, XVI.
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- ibn Núl "Abu Shelūkh," *king*, AB, LXXXII and LXXXIII; D 3, 2 and 9; D 7, XLVIII to LXIV and CCVII.
- walad Ragab, D 7, LXVIII, LXXXII to LXXXVI, CXXXII and CCII.
- ibn Rubát, *or* Arbát, *king*, AB, LXXXIII; D 3, 84, 132, 141, 191, 209, 236, 241 and 259; D 7, XXIX to XL and CCLXI.
- Sid el Kūm, *king*, D 7, xxvii.
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- Bádimyá, D 1, CCVI.
- Badín Island, III, 1, xxv.
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- Badr, *Awlād*, S.T., A 3, XXXIX.
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- Bádráb, S.T., ABC, 3rd and 4th trees; C 8, xxxiii; D 5 (b), 1.
- Bag, T., AB, CXXXVII.
- Bagála, Ar. T., D 1, xxxiii.
- Bagháda; Baghadda, III, 2, xviii; BA, CVII; ABC, 4th tree; B 1, tree.
- Baghdád, II, 2, XIII, XVI, XVII and XXI; III, 2, xviii; ABC, XXII; D 5 (c), 1 to III.
- Bágíg; Begágíg, T., AB, CXXXVII; C 9, XXIV.
- Bagila, Ar. T., II, 1, II; II, 2, VIII; D 1, XXXI, XXXII, XLI, XLV and LXXXII.
- "Bahári, el" (*see "Tág el Dín"*).
- Baharía, S.T., III, 3, xix.
- Bahgáb; Bahígáb, S.T., BA, CXCI; D 5 (d).
- Báhila, Ar. T., II, 2, VIII; D 1, XI, XLVII and XLVIII.
- Bahíra Province, II, 1, VII, XIV and App.
- Bahíráb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree.
- Bahkar, S.T., C 1 (a), xiv.
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- Bahnasá, II, 1, App.; II, 2, III; A 11, LIV; D 6, XIII.
- Bahr el 'Arab, R., III, 3, XII and xv.
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- *Beni*, Ar. T., II, 1, VIII.
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- Bahrayn, *el*, II, 1, xv; BA, LIV; D 1, LVIII and LIX.
- Bahrte Mamlūks, II, 1, VII; II, 2, XXXV.
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- Kagūbáb, S.T., D 2, vii.
- Káhil, *Beni*; Káhila; Káhiliyyūn, Ar. T., II, 2, xlix; III, 5, 1; D 1, xxxviii and xxxix; D 7, xi. *See also* "Kawdhla."
- Kahlán, Ar. T., II, 1, i and ii; II, 2, viii.
- Ḳahtán; Ḳahtánite, Ar. T., *Early immigration to Egypt and Sudan*, I, 1, xvi et seq.
- Ḳ. *tribes in Arabia and their entry into Africa after Islam*, II, 1, i to x; II, 2, xxiii.
- In native MSS.*, ABC, ii and ix; D 7, xi. *See also* "Ḳimyar."
- Ḳáid, *Awldd*, S.T. of *Messiria*, III, 3, xiii.
- S.T. of Risayhdt*, III, 3, xvi.
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- Ḳáidáb; Kálláb, S.T., BA, cxvi and clxxi.
- Kaitinga, S.T., I, 4, iv and App. 5, 1.
- Kajja, *Wadi*, I, 4, xvi.
- Kajjar; Kajjara, T., I, 4, ix.
- Kákmur ibn Ibráhm, D 3, 148 and 237.
- Kalábsha, V., I, 2, xiii and xxviii.
- Kalaka, V., III, 3, viii; D 2, xxxvii.
- Kalákla; Kálákla, BA, xciv; C 8, xxxiv.
- Kalálif, S.T., ABC, xxvii and xxxv.
- Kalámín, S.T., A 11, xxxiii.
- Kaláün, *Sultan*, II, 1, xiv and xv; II, 2, xl to xlii.
- Kálíáb, S.T., III, 1, v; BA, clxix; ABC, xii.
- Kalidürüth, II, 2, v.
- Ḳalingáb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree; B 1, tree.
- Ḳalīb Province, II, 1, xiii.
- Kalkála, S.T., ABC, xxviii.
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- Kaltáb, S.T., BA, clxviii.
- Kalüh, S.T., ABC, xxxv.
- Kamáláb, S.T., III, 5, v; C 1 (a), xii.
- Kamátir, S.T., III, 2, vi and xi; C 9, x; D 2, xxiv; D 7, lxxii, clviii and cxci. *See also* "Kamtir."
- Kámil "el Moghrabi," *el*, AB, v.
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- Kamflát, S.T., D 1, cxxv.
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- Kelb, Ar. T., II, 1, II and VI; II, 2, VIII and I; III, 3, IX; D 1, XXIII and CCIV. *And see* "Keldb."
- S.T., BA, CXXVIII.
- Kelba, S.T., III, 2, XXXII; BA, CLXXXVI.
- Kená, V., BA, CXCVIII and CCIII; D 1, CXXI.
- Kenána, T., *General account of Ar. T.*, II, 1, XI.
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- S.T. of Gima'a*, III, 1, XXXV.
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- Kenánáb, S.T., C 8, XVI.
- Kenánfa, S.T., D 1, CXX.
- Kenáwin, S.T., BA, CLXXI; ABC, XVI.
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- Kenín, T., I, 4, XXIV. *See also* "Tiwdrék."
- Kerádim, *chief*, III, 4, IX.
- Keráfáb, S.T., AB, tree.
- Kerámia, S.T., III, 5, v; C 1 (a), v; C 1 (b), v.
- Kerayn, *Awlād el*, S.T., AB, tree.
- Keraynat, S.T., BA, LXXXII.
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- Kerenbes, *king*, II, 2, XLIV and XLV.
- Kerímfa, S.T., BA, XCI; ABC, 4th tree.
- Keringáb, S.T., III, 13, VI.
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- Kerriáb, S.T., A 11, XXVI.
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- Kersa, II, 2, XXXI, XXVI and XLI.
- Kersáwi, S.T., A 3, tree.
- Ketáma, T., I, 1, XVIII; II, 1, XIV and App.; II, 2, XXV, XXVII and XXVIII; D 1, CLXXXV.
- Ketayna, *el*, V., D 2, XII.
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- Khadámáb, S.T., A 11, XXXVIII.
- Khadráb; Khidráb, S.T., BA, CLXVIII; ABC, XII.
- Khafága, T., D 1, XIII.
- Khagaysáb, S.T., ABC, 4th tree.
- Khaglát, S.T., BA, CXVI.
- Khálabbká, T., BA, LIII.
- Khalábsa, S.T., C 1 (b), XVIII.
- Khalafía, S.T., III, 5, v; C 1 (a), VIII.
- Khalafulláb, S.T., III, 2, XXXIV; C 8, XVII.
- Khálid Pasha, D 7, CCCII.
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- Khálidáb, S.T., D 5 (c), XXXVIII.
- Khalífa el 'Abádi walad el Hág, D 7, CCLIV.
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- Khalífate, *the, assumption of by Turkish Sultan*, II, 2, XXXVI.
- "Khalíl"; Khalíl el Málikí, AB, LXXXIX, XCIV and XCVII to XCIX; D 3, VI *et passim*; D 7, XXIII.
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- Khamis, *of Dārfūr*, D 7, LI.
- Khamsát, S.T., III, 4, XXI.
- Khandak, *el*, V., III, 1, VI; D 4, III; D 6, LXI.
- Khanfaria, S.T., BA, CLII; AB, tree; ABC, 3rd tree; A 2, tree; A 3, tree; A 4, tree.
- Kharga Oasis, I, 2, X and XXVI; I, 3, XI; II, 1, App.; II, 2, XXIV.
- Khartoum, III, 11, III; ABC, VI; C 4, II; D 2, VIII; D 3, 115 and 128; D 7, CLXX, CCIX, CCX, CCXVII, CCXXXVIII to CCXXXIX *passim*.
- Foundation of*, D 7, CCLIX.
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- Khashm el Baḥr, *district*, D 7, LXXII, LXXVII, LXXIX, CLXIII, CC to CCV and CCVII.
- Khashumáb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree.
- Khaṭá, T., D 1, XLIII.
- Khat'am, Ar. T., D 1, LXXXII.
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- Khawábír, S.T., III, 2, XXXI.
- Khawábira, S.T., BA, XC; ABC, LIII.
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- Khawárig, *sect*, II, 2, XII.
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- Khayrulla, *Awlad*, S.T., ABC, LVI.
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- Khazá'ala, S.T., B 1, tree.
- Khazar, T., D 1, LXXVI.
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- Khazrag, *el*, Ar. T., II, 1, II; II, 2, VIII; III, 11, II; BA, XXIV; ABC, II and IX; D 1, LXXXIII.
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- Khuzá'a, Ar. T., II, 2, VIII; D 1, XLII, XLVI and LXXXIII; D 6, XLVIII.
- Khuzám; Khuzáma, T., I, 4, XVI; III, 3, III, XV and XIX; ABC, LII; D 1, 1.
- Khuzayma, Ar. T., BA, XXXI; A 3, IV; D 1, I and LXXXV.
- Kláb, S.T., C 8, XVII.
- Kibbaysháb, S.T., III, 4, VII.
- "Kik, *el*," ABC, XI; D 7, CLXXXV.
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- Kimayláb, S.T., III, 5, V.
- Kimr, T., I, 4, XIV to XVI and XXI.
- Kinaynáb, S.T., C 8, XVI.
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- Kitláb, S.T., III, 1, IV and V; BA, CLXIII; ABC, XII; A 11, XXVI.
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- Koróbát, S.T., III, 4, XXI; III, 8, IV; ABC, LII.
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- Ragab, V., C 8, XXVII.
- Kū'a, *el*, *district*, D 7, CCXLIV.
- Kūákír, S.T., BA, LXXVI; ABC, 4th tree.
- Kubbán, *el*, V., I, 2, XIII; II, 2, XV and XXXIX.
- Kubbat Khógali; *el* Kubba, V., III, 11, III; ABC, IV; D 7, CCXLIII, CCXLV and CCLXIV.
- Kubga, *S.T. of Zaghdwa*, I, 4, IV.
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- Kūbía, V., D 3, 11.
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- Kubra ibn Surūr, II, 2, XXIII.
- Kudá'a, Ar. T., I, 1, XIX; II, 1, II, III, VI and VII; II, 2, VIII; D 1, XV, XVII and CLXXXVIII.
- Kudūr, *panegyrist*, ABC, XXI.
- Kūfa, *el*, BA, CCXXVIII; A 11, XLV.
- "Kukur," III, 2, XI.
- Kumáti, I, 4, IV.
- Kumayl, *Beni*, Ar. T., II, 1, VI.
- Kumdar, T., BA, XC.
- Kumr *el* Dowla, II, 2, XXXVIII.
- Kumūr, S.T., ABC, 4th tree.
- Kunan; Kunaniyyūn, III, 1, XI; BA, CXLII; AB, tree; ABC, 4th tree; A 3, tree; A 4, tree; A 11, XIII; B 1, tree.

- Kungára, S.T., I, 4, xx *et seq.*; III, 1, iv and xxxi; III, 7, II; BA, lxxxvii; ABC, xxiii and xxviii; C 3, iv; D 1, ccix and ccx; D 3, 147; D 7, cxxiii.
- Kungur, S.T., ABC, 4th tree.
- Kunna, T., II, 2, xxiii.
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- Kura'an, T., *General account of*, I, 4, III.
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- S.T. of Hawdza, III, 3, x.*
- Kurátáb, S.T., A 2, tree.
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- Kuraysh, Ar. T., *General account of*, II, 1, xi.
- Passing refs. to*, II, 1, III, VII, ix and xi; II, 2, II, viii, xxiii, xli and l; III, 1, xxxiii and xl; III, 2, xiv; III, 11, 1; BA, xxvi, xxxi, xlvi, xlix, cxxx, cxxxi and ccx to ccxii; ABC, xxii, xxiv, xxviii, xxix, xxxvii, xxxix, liii and lvi; A 3, iv to vi; A 11, v, vi and xii; B 1, xxii; C 5 (b), II; C 9, xxiii; D 1, II, xx, xxi, cxxx, cxxxi and cliv; D 5 (c), viii; D 6, xl.
- Ḳuraysháb; Ḳurasháb; Ḳurayshá, S.T., III, 1, xxix; BA, clii; AB, tree; ABC, 3rd tree; A 2, tree; A 3, tree; A 4, tree.
- S.T. of Kawdhla, III, 5, v.*
- Kurbán, *chief*, III, 4, ix.
- Kurbán, S.T., C 9, xxi.
- Kurdasáb, S.T., AB, tree.
- Kurds; Kurdish dynasty, II, 1, vi; BA, LIII. *See also "Ayyūbiyes."*
- Kurkur Oasis, I, 2, x.
- Kurmu, T., I, 4, vi.
- Ḳurnáb, S.T., ABC, App.
- Ḳurni ibn Muḥammad, D 3, 155.
- Ḳurra, *Beni*, Ar. T., II, 1, vi, vii and xiv; II, 2, xxvii.
- Kurru, G., I, 2, xviii.
- Kursháb, S.T., A 11, xxxviii.
- "Kursi," I, 4, xxi.
- Kurtán, T., III, 1, v and xxxvi; BA, xcvi; AB, tree; A 2, tree; A 4, tree; A 11, xvi; D 1, clxx.
- Kurtáwi, S.T., A 3, tree.
- Kurūd, S.T., A 11, lxv.
- Kurumusia, S.T., III, 2, xxii and xxvii; III, 3, App. (tree 4).
- Kurun, G., III, 6, ii.
- Ḳuşá, Ar. T., II, 1, vii and xi; III, 5, 1; BA, xxxi.
- Ḳuşás; Ḳuşásin, T., III, 1, xi; BA, cxlii; AB, tree; A 3, tree; A 4, tree; A 11, xiii.
- Ḳuşaysáb, S.T., ABC, xxi; C 8, xxxv.
- Kush; Kúsh, I, 2, III and xiii; I, 4, iv; D 1, lxxvii and lxxviii.
- Ḳuşsáb, S.T., ABC, 3rd tree.
- Ḳūtáb, S.T., D 5 (c), xxx.
- Ḳuṭáf; *Beni Ḳuṭayf*, Ar. T., A 2, xxxv; D 1, iv and v.
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